The Displaced Poet:

Forced Cosmopolitanism and the Dislocated Nation in Transatlantic Exile Poetry

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CHAPTER 1:
INTRODUCTION

I. POWERFUL POLITICAL AND AESTHETIC FORCES

For most of us, our relationship to nationhood is stable. We do not question our attachment to our home nation. Regardless of where we may travel, we were born and raised belonging to a nation, and will continue to identify with it throughout our lives. Others, however, do not have such a simple relationship with their nations of origin. This thesis will examine the literary work of two individuals who had complex relationships to their nations: both identified with radical groups challenging majority politics, and both were eventually forced into exile. Spaniard Leon Felipe and Argentinian Juan Gelman were both left-wing intellectuals who fled from conservative, oppressive regimes, and lived as exiles in Mexico. This thesis will examine their literary responses.

Exile is a radically dislocating force. It is a coercive, involuntary removal from one's native nation and culture. However, this radical dislocation also frees these authors from traditional conceptions of nationhood. Felipe and Gelman both produce profound re-imaginings of cosmopolitan-influenced nationhood from exile. Although devastating at one level, exile allows both Felipe and Gelman the freedom to articulate new ideas. Edward Said writes that "[t]he achievements of exile are permanently undermined by the loss of something left behind forever" (Said 1). Even as Said focuses on the destructive nature of the uprooting, he recognizes the "achievements of exile." This thesis will focus on these achievements, and demonstrate that the loss and the gain of exile are inextricably intertwined. For both Felipe and Gelman, exile acts as both a destructive force and an energizing one.

Poetry provides Felipe and Gelman the tools with which to articulate the dislocation of exile. Exile is a constitutive loss, like that of grieving or melancholy, and it therefore lends itself well to poetic expression. The abstract, freeform nature of poetry allows Felipe and Gelman the space to articulate new realities. Miguel Ugarte notes the fruitful relationship between exile and literature, writing that exile "intensifies the tenuous relationship between language and reality, for the life of exile, is, in many ways, the life of fiction" (Ugarte 26). Ugarte underscores exile as a dislocating force, which moves those who experience it away from a located reality/presence in the world around them. The quotation also notes the relationship between exile and literary production. Ugarte goes on to argue that "the exilic search is, in a sense, a linguistic one" (27). As intellectuals search for meaning from an uprooted, exiled state, they also seek the words to represent their reality. Reading Felipe and Gelman's poetry illuminates their philosophical ideas and ruminations from an exile. Their linguistic interests are intertwined with their philosophical ones. In this thesis, I examine the images and literary tools present in their work alongside their ideological projects themselves. Poetry's inherent focus on language — on a deep exploration of individual words and their meaning — makes this literary genre a particularly rich medium through which to examine an author's engagement in intellectual concepts. The creative, linguistic space of poetry allows them freedom to explore their realities and reconceive them in different terms.

Examining this exile poetry reminds us that all aesthetic work is also political, especially in the cases of Spain during the 1930s and 40s and Argentina during the 1970s and 80s. In the context of these political backdrops, cultural production and political life were entangled. This is also due in part to the fact that both internal and external forces associated Spain and the Hispanic world with a cultural, Romantic Spirit. Specifically, prominent French, German, and

British writers and travelers saw in Spain the cultural and geographical manifestation of the Romantic essence, where pre-modern, original, and also exotic customs were still alive (Sayre and Löwy). Additionally, internally to Spain, as I will discuss in Chapter 2, both Felipe and General Francisco Franco — on opposing sides of the Spanish political spectrum during the Civil War — write about Spain as the cultural and spiritual center of Europe. This Romantic tradition is present in Felipe and Gelman's exile poetry, as both authors aim to express radical, political ideas through poetic work but, especially in Gelman's case, they do so through apolitical language. Felipe and Gelman are not alone in this gesture. In the 20th century, many Spanish literary works emerged in resistance to oppressive, conservative, Catholic governments.

This thesis will compare the exile poetry of two intellectuals born on opposite sides of the Atlantic and decades apart. Yet both Felipe and Gelman belong to the same broad temporal and political literary tradition. As they watched their progressive, Marxist cause lose relevance on the world's stage, their work metamorphosed, reflecting their coping with a defeated political cause and a ruptured sense of national identity.

II. COSMOPOLITANISM: CONNOTATIONS AND SCHOLARLY DEBATE

Outside the academic sphere, the concept of the "cosmopolitan" conjures images of the modern, global citizen. It brings to mind the suit-clad American businesswoman travelling to Europe for a work trip, or the French family embarking on a vacation to Asia to give their children a taste of another culture. In other words, we equate "cosmopolitanism" to privileged forms of transnational travel and cultural/linguistic fluency. This definition is narrow. It excludes refugees, political exiles forced from their homelands, and immigrants who have chosen to

migrate in search of a better life. Even if a Latin American refugee in the United States is fluent in two or more languages and cultures, we likely would not call them cosmopolitan. In summary, colloquially, the cosmopolitan belongs to the upper-class transnational.

In this thesis, I am not focused on this elite form of cosmopolitanism, a form that has been the source of much scholarly criticism. Instead, I tackle what I call "forced cosmopolitanism." This is the cosmopolitanism of Felipe and many others: that of political exile. Forced cosmopolitanism is markedly different from the chosen cosmopolitanism of the elite because its driving force is constitutive loss. These authors' exile marks a permanent loss of their previous relationship to their nations. Even though both were political dissidents who had deep and complex relationships with their homelands, prior to exile both were free to live in and complain about Spain and Argentina. Therefore, the exile space raises worthwhile questions about the relationship between cosmopolitanism and nationhood. Exile is an interesting window into the dialectical tension between nationhood and cosmopolitanism, which I will explore later in this section.

The philosophical history of the term "cosmopolitan" begins with Greek philosopher Diogenes the Cynic who self-identified as a "citizen of the world" over any one specific local lineage. This strain of early cosmopolitanism focused on a shared humanity across cultures. As Martha Nussbaum, one of the most prominent 20th century cosmopolitan thinkers, articulates, Diogenes' philosophy suggests "the possibility of a politics, or a moral approach to politics, that focuses on the humanity we share rather than the marks of local origin, status, class, and gender that divide us" (Nussbaum 1-2). Nussbaum and her contemporaries relaunch cosmopolitanism as a pluralistic solution to provincialism. Nussbaum explains the cosmopolitan ideal as "the person whose allegiance is to the worldwide community of human beings" over that of their own nation.

While this articulation of cosmopolitanism may seem like an unequivocally positive concept of unity and tolerance across borders, cosmopolitanism also raises difficult issues around identity and politics. Scholars like Timothy Brennan, Bruce Robbins, and Mariano Siskind argue that this universalist, idealistic cosmopolitan conception is fundamentally flawed: that cosmopolitanism falsely over-simplifies the universal and disregards the residues of national ties that do not fit a transnational lens. Scholars argue that cosmopolitan thinking can lead to a placeless subject who lacks commitment to issues within their own local community or nation-state in favor of a more abstract and overly general interest in humanity at large. Authors arguing against the cosmopolitan associate it with snobbish and superficial cultural accumulation. Robbins articulates this idea, writing, "[b]eyond the adjectival sense of 'belonging to all parts of the world; not restricted to any one country or its inhabitants,' the word cosmopolitan immediately evokes the image of a privileged person: someone who can claim to be a 'citizen of the world' by virtue of independent means, high-tech tastes, and globe trotting mobility" (Robbins 171). In other words, these scholars see the cosmopolitan person as superficially committed to understanding the literatures and histories of many places, but not committed enough to any one of them to have a meaningful in-depth understanding of it.

Cosmopolitanism is also necessarily linked to politics. Cosmopolitanism — the concept of allegiance to a worldwide community over allegiance to an individual community — calls to mind a multitude of interwoven political debates such as the pitfalls of white saviorism and the complications around foreign aid. For example, Nussbaum discusses cosmopolitanism that Siskind describes as an "ethical mandate to concern oneself with the good of others" (Siskind 8). This concept can easily be — and has been — adopted by state governments to justify potentially problematic (asymmetric and power-ridden) foreign relations. For example, the United States

government has utilized cosmopolitanism and humanism as a rationale when providing aid to countries in Latin America and Africa, often causing eventually damaging dependence and other issues. Cosmopolitanism has been an excuse for both political and cultural re-colonization, for example, as I discuss in Chapter 3 with regard to pan-Hispanism. The cosmopolitan is also defined in terms of political entities such as the nation-state. Even in its earliest stage of Greco-Roman times, cosmopolitanism was seen as a political project. By the 17th century, the word *cosmopolis* signified "a practical world government, enabled by philosophical and moral buttressing of intellectuals" (Brennan 3). In the modern-day global landscape, this has meant that the cosmopolitan is considered the antithesis of nationhood. Cosmopolitanism is associated with the universal and the transnational, while the national is associated with the local and the located. In other words, cosmopolitanism and nationhood fall at opposite ends of a binary. Kwame Anthony Appiah nods to the binary of this scholarly debate when he writes of the "slander" of the nationalist against the cosmopolitan (Appiah 22).

Modern cosmopolitanism, and specifically 20th century cosmopolitanism, exists *only* in relation to the concept of nation. We are only able to discuss the concept of moving across cultures and languages, and of prioritizing a universal humanity over individual national divisions through the concept of nationhood. However, both Felipe and Gelman challenge this binary. *In this thesis, I will demonstrate that for these authors, interrogating nationhood leads to cosmopolitan-imbued ideas. In other words, cosmopolitanism is a strategy these poets use to dislocate the nation, so nationhood is necessarily present in their articulations of cosmopolitanism. I will also argue that nationhood and cosmopolitanism are actually interwoven. I find the dialectical tension between the two to be productive. Through the nation, Felipe and Gelman problematize traditional forms of the cosmopolitan. Through*

cosmopolitanism, they problematize traditional forms of nationhood, belonging, and national identity.

Some scholarship engages with the interconnectedness of cosmopolitanism and nationhood. To ignore the global context of a work of literature seems simplistic, and yet to ignore an author's national ties seems equally reductive. In other words, the problem with the purely national is that it ignores that nations are influenced by the international and the cosmopolitan. On the other hand, the problem with the global is that it is self-involved, ignorant of the reality of the nation-state and the unavoidable, necessary presence of localized identities. Therefore, there are various scholars who have already worked to complicate the nationhood-cosmopolitan binary. Most qualify "cosmopolitanism" by placing a word or suffix in front of it. For example, Appiah's "rooted cosmopolitanism" conceives of an individual who is "attached to a home of his or her own, with its own cultural particularities, but taking pleasure in the presence of other, different places that are home to other, different people" (Appiah 22). However, while I take inspiration from the many theorists who add qualifiers to cosmopolitanism like Thomas Nail's "migrant cosmopolitanism," I do not wish to qualify cosmopolitanism in this way. Instead, my thesis will aim to dismantle the cosmopolitan-nationhood binary and examine what I will call the underlying "cosmopolitan forces" present in the concept of cosmopolitanism, and how these forces are inextricably interrelated to the concept of nationhood. This thesis will crack open cosmopolitanism to reveal its underlying forces — transnationalism, togetherness across difference, hybridity, and others — and similarly unpack the components of nationhood, especially how they relate to the cosmopolitan. More specifically, *I am interested in how Felipe and Gelman employ these "cosmopolitan forces" to dislocate and problematize the concept of a traditional spatially bounded, bordered nation, as well as how Felipe and Gelman's ties to*

nationhood affect their cosmopolitan dislocation. The space between cosmopolitanism and nationhood gives them a sense of freedom from the nations that exiled them while allowing them to maintain cultural ties to Spain and Argentina, respectively. In the end, we arrive at a productive tension between the cosmopolitan and the national.

Challenging this apparent binary has trans-historical import: nations defined by hardline provincialism alienate the exiled intellectual as much as the transitory migrant farmworker or refugee; likewise, cosmopolitanism in its privileged mode alienates those without the means to travel at will. In the literary sphere, this elitist cosmopolitanism can translate to a favoring of certain literary and poetic forms and contents over others, for example, the privileging of Western nations' canonical literature over African literature. I will refer to Mariano Siskind to demonstrate some of these cosmopolitan literary gestures and conversations around cosmopolitanism in the Hispanic literary world. Siskind's *Cosmopolitan Desires* gives us a framework through which to understand Hispanic authors' literary production, specifically through the lens of cosmopolitanism. Siskind reconceptualizes Latin America's place in world literature. He examines literary modernity as a "global relation, a set of aesthetic procedures that mediated a broadened transcultural network of uneven cultural exchanges," specifically challenging the relative marginal presence of Latin American literature. He posits that Latin American intellectuals imagine "a horizontal, universal discursive field" to disrupt the hierarchy of national literatures and make room for themselves on the world stage (Siskind 7). For intellectuals situated along the margins of world literature, he writes that a "cosmopolitan discursive space" frees them from their national borders (6-7). In other words, Siskind argues — and criticizes — that Latin American authors engage in a fantasy of cosmopolitan literature in order to cope with their "traumatic marginality" on the world stage. Latin American

authors imagine a world in which they are not the subordinate. He writes that they imagine a cosmopolitan literary sphere in which literature is free from the constraints of the local and the provincial. Latin American authors engage in an imaginary "world" where all writers can exist together (10). Siskind's argument is an interesting foray into understanding Hispanic authors' relative marginality and a potential cosmopolitan response. However, in this thesis I will demonstrate how Felipe and Gelman utilize cosmopolitan devices in a way that does not respond to Siskind's logic. This thesis will explore the specific poetic language, rhetoric, and literary devices that these authors use. These devices have a cosmopolitan orientation, but they are less a reaction to these authors' marginality in the literary sphere and more focused on a reaction to the forced dislocation of exile. Felipe and Gelman, in contrast to Siskind's explanation of other Hispanic authors, do not want to surpass or avoid the national, but instead to radically redefine it, and to engage with it for the sake of a critical, productive dialogue.

A text that has created dozens of conversations and controversies around the idea of what it means to produce Latin American national literature, Argentine writer Jorge Luis Borges' essay "el escritor argentino y la tradición" ["The Argentine Writer and Tradition,"] examines what it means to be an author belonging to a single nation. The essay is a central one in Latin American authors' own conversations around national identity as it intersects with the global literary landscape. In this text, Borges contests the "problem of the Argentine writer and tradition." He rejects the idea that "Argentine literature" is confined to a singular, provincial set of motifs and styles, and instead embraces a productive, dialectical tension between nationhood and cosmopolitanism. Borges develops a proposal for national literatures similar to what Siskind describes. Borges summarizes his call to action as follows:

> [Escritores argentinos deben] ensayar todos los temas, y no podemos concretarnos a lo argentino para ser argentinos: porque o ser argentino es una fatalidad y en ese

> caso lo seremos de cualquier modo, o ser argentino es una mera afectación, una máscara.
>
> Creo que si nos abandonamos a ese sueño voluntario que se llama la creación artística, seremos argentinos y seremos, también, buenos o tolerables escritores. (Borges 274)

> [[Argentine authors should] try out all themes, and we cannot limit ourselves to just Argentine subjects in order to be Argentine; for either being Argentine is a misfortune and in this case we will be so regardless, or being Argentine is a mere affectation, a mask.
>
> I believe that if we give ourselves over to that voluntary dream which we call artistic creation, we shall be Argentine and we shall also be good and tolerable writers.]

This essay becomes a center point to the ongoing debate around national identity in the 20th century Hispanic world. It is a helpful piece of writing to recall as we examine Felipe and Gelman's work. In their own ways, both authors accomplish — and then further — Borges' vision of a simultaneously located and dislocated author, one who both belongs to a nation and can pen literature that rises above any one nationality and national literary cannon.

In this thesis, I do not focus on the international literary landscape Siskind describes, but instead zoom in to discuss the cosmopolitan forces present in the aesthetics and poetic verse of these two authors. More specifically, Felipe employs 1) a rearticulation of national/nationalist tropes (such as Don Quixote), 2) a pan-Hispanic-inspired dislocating, cosmopolitan force that works to reframe nation in a different spatial plane and 3) secularized spiritual and Catholic tropes. Meanwhile, Gelman utilizes 1) Ladino and the myth of *convivencia,* 2) love poetry and universal themes, and 3) mystic thought. These strategies help both authors to dislocate a reader from any one national space in favor of a dislocated experience. Through these techniques, both authors articulate ideologico-cultural concepts in order respond to their challenging historico-political situations.

III. TWO POETS ACROSS THE ATLANTIC

Felipe and Gelman present us with an ideal comparative case study through which to examine the cosmopolitan forces in exile poetry. Both authors fled from countries with traditionalist, conservative, military, Catholic, nationalist regimes. We can suggest that Felipe and Gelman bookend the revolutionary cycle central to the global political history of the 20th century. The two poets share the specific experience of political exile during the Cold War era. Each was forced out of a country by a hyperconservative, pseudofascist regime due to his political involvement with left-wing groups, a theme I will return to in my conclusion to this thesis. The Spanish and Argentine political clashes were emblematic of similar regimes elsewhere in the Hispanic world in the 20th century, such as those in Uruguay and Brazil. These conflicts also became relevant and well-known outside the Hispanic world, which we can see due to their portrayal in global pop culture such as the films *Imagining Argentina* starring British actor Emma Thompson and the cinematic adaptation of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* produced in the United States. The Spanish Civil War and the Argentine Dirty War inspired a wave of international solidarity. These poets' move to exile was also part of a larger trend. The Spanish and Argentine dictatorships created a diaspora of intellectuals, many of whom who moved to Mexico, like Felipe and Gelman. Both poets responded to their situations by dedicating themselves to writing poetry that problematizes the concept of nationhood and the cultural and ideological roots of their home nation.[1] As I will explore, however, each poet adopted a unique

[1] I do not have time to explicitly unpack the term "nation" and its political history in this thesis; instead I focus on the concept as it relates to cosmopolitanism, as well as the concept of national identity. I will just note here that I translate both the Spanish word *patria* and the word *nacíon* to mean "nation" even though each has a slightly different connotation.

style and set of themes through which to explore these issues. Comparing Felipe's body of work with Gelman's paints a rich picture of radical literary responses to exile during this period.

Spaniard Leon Felipe (1884-1968) struggled with his relationship with his birth country throughout his adult life. In his early years, Felipe travelled the globe, not staying too long in any one place. He wrote poetry describing Spain as a symbolic cage he longed to escape. In "Autorretrato," penned in Madrid in 1920, he writes, "¡Qué lástima, / que yo no tenga patria! / "¡Qué lástima / que yo no tenga comarca, / patria chica, / tierra provinciana!" ["What a shame / that I don't have a homeland! What a shame, that I have no region, / no hometown / no provincial land"] (Felipe 122)[2]. I will return to this poem and Felipe's complex, frustrated relationship with Spain in Chapter 2. The early 20th century in Spain was characterized by the process of modernization and negotiations between a variety of political groups as the country worked to establish a democratic government. The country's conflicts in the 20s and 30s were part of a broader "European story of a crisis of liberal democracy" during these decades (Kössler 1). In the 1920s, General Miguel Primo de Rivera led an eight-year Catholic, conservative dictatorship. Between 1931 and the Civil War, Spain experienced the progressive, democratic rule of the Second Spanish Republic. In 1936, though, elections produced a Popular Front government backed mainly by left-wing parties. The right responded with a military uprising supported by the rebel Nationalists and conservative members of the clergy and military. Full-blown civil war broke out between the Nationalists and the Republicans soon after. Felipe returned to Spain to fight for the democratically elected Republicans against the fascist insurrection. The left-leaning Republican Army would eventually lose, giving way to Francisco

[2] All translations in this thesis are my own. I strive to provide fairly literal translations for the sake of closely mirroring the original texts in word choice and form, ensuring a non-Spanish/Ladino speaker can understand my textual analysis.

Franco's 36-year dictatorship. Felipe fled for Mexico just before this defeat. Although the war began over domestic issues, the Spanish civil war had global implications. Historian Stanley Payne deems it the most important political and military struggle in Europe before World War II. To liberals and leftists, the conflict represented "fascism versus democracy" while rightists and conservatives saw it as representing the struggle between Western civilization and communism (Payne 1).

Felipe's poetic project in the subsequent decades reflects his uprooting from Spain. Following exile, Felipe wrote about two different Spains. He breaks the concept of the Spanish nation into a physical, historically located Spain and a separate dislocated, cultural Spain that reflects his own dislocation. In his collection titled *España e Hispanidad*, written from Mexico and Bogotá, he writes, "*La España fisica y temporal murió*" ["the physical and temporal Spain has died,"] but "*la España del Espíritu*" ["the Spain of the Spirit"] is ever-present (Felipe 307). As I will explore in Chapter 2, Felipe conceives of the Spain of the Spirit as a set of pluralistic and democratic social ideals separate from the physical, historically located Spain on the Iberian Peninsula led by Franco. This redefinition of Spain as two distinct entities allows Felipe to reclaim ownership over the cultural aspects of Spain (the Spain of the Spirit). In this way, Felipe negates Franco's monopoly on the narrative of Spanish history and national images. In other words, Felipe understood the Spanish Civil war as a war between the Spanish nation and itself. Understanding the nation as bifurcated allowed him to fight for and reclaim a Spain unattached to Franco's fascist, ultra-conservative, exclusionary regime. Felipe constructs a pan-Hispanic-inspired community of communities in Latin America. He rejects the traditional concept of nationhood in favor of a new concept of Spain imbued with cosmopolitan forces such as intercultural unity. Although Felipe's pan-Hispanism is problematic in terms of its charged

historical connotations, as I will return to in section III of Chapter 2, I will ultimately reveal that Felipe's poetic work shows an intellectual who, ejected from his homeland, productively re-focuses his poetry to examine a pluralistic version of nationhood that challenges individual, bordered nation-states.

Juan Gelman (1930-2014) was an assuredly Argentine poet, but like Felipe, exile forced him to reconsider his definition of and connection to nation. Gelman would spend his early life rooted in Argentina. However, like Felipe's, his relationship to his home nation was oppositional. Both Felipe and Gelman dedicated their lives to the communist cause and confronted violent *coups d'état* and military dictators that destabilized their nations' previously democratic governments. Political turmoil characterized the middle decades of the 20th century in Argentina. Between 1930 and 1976, the Argentine nation experienced seven *coups d'état*, each more violent than the last. These culminated in the 1976-83 dictatorship. During this period, the military regime would lead what the government would refer to as *Proceso de Reorganización Nacional* [Process of National Reorganization]. The *Proceso* aimed to "reorganize the nation" to reflect a "totalitarian and discriminating understanding of what the Argentine nation was meant to be" (Burucúa 2). In other words, the dictatorship aimed to define a traditionalist, exclusionary, Christian Argentina, which it would use as an excuse for widespread war crimes and systematic violations of human rights. Gelman dedicated himself to the communist cause as a journalist and a member of the left-wing *Montoneros*, a Peronist guerrilla group most active in the 1960s and 70s.[3] The Argentine Guerra Sucia [Dirty War] broke out in 1976 when Isabel Perón was ousted and the military Junta, led by General Jorge Rafael Videla, was installed. The term "Dirty War" describes a conflict in which the Argentine military state waged "war" against its people. It is

[3] Peronist: Nationalist, labourist, populist ideology based on the legacy of Juan Domingo Perón (president of Argentina 1946–52, 1952–55, 1973–74) and his wife Isabel Perón (president 1974-76).

referred to "dirty" due to the many illegal paramilitary actions and the fact the conflict was never officially declared a war. The Dirty War involved tens of thousands of acts of state-led terror. Gelman's son and his pregnant daughter-in-law were among the tens of thousands "disappeared" by the military Junta. These Argentines were tortured, drugged, and drowned due to their perceived threat to the Junta regime and the new *Reorganización Nacional* [National Reorganization]. Soon after, the Argentine Anticommunist Alliance, or Triple A Death squad, threatened Gelman's own life, leading him to flee the country for Italy in 1975. He moved to Mexico in 1988.

Gelman seeks to upset a traditional understanding of nationhood. Felipe creates something new from exile. We find a similar gesture in Gelman's poetic trajectory. However, I argue that Gelman pushes in a different way and direction than Felipe, a nuance I will elaborate on in Chapter 3. In 1994, Gelman wrote *Dibaxu*, a bilingual Spanish-Ladino book of love poetry and the capstone of his literary work. This is the collection I will focus on in Chapter 3. I will demonstrate how Gelman's poetry engages in a pre-national proto-cosmopolitanism interested in individual transcendence. The language, genre, and imagery (hybrid language, universal themes, and dislocated images) in *Dibaxu* create a deterritorialized semi-mythological space that mirrors Gelman's own dislocated reality and problematizes the traditional concept of cosmopolitanism. More specifically, Gelman employs Ladino and the corresponding myth of *convivencia.* Ladino, the language of the Sephardic or Spanish Jews, is an ancient dialect spoken by Jews on the Iberian Peninsula in the Middle Ages. In the Hispanic world, *Sefarad* and the associated "mito de la convivencia" ["myth of the living together"], a Spanish fabled cultural space in which languages, religions, and cultures could co-exist to form a homeland of Jews, Muslims, and Christians together. In evoking these themes, Gelman finds a path away from the Junta's

conservative, Catholic, traditionalist political project through an archeology of the Spanish and Ladino languages. Ladino and Jewishness are the catalyst rather than an end goal. In choosing this specific bilingual translation project, Gelman calls to mind a mythological sub-cosmopolitan (a term I will define in Chapter 3) articulation of national belonging.

In other words: *both poets responded to exile by producing poetry reflecting a radical dislocation from traditionally bounded nationhood. They ultimately arrive at two semi-mythological spaces (i.e. the pan-Hispanic world and Sefarad), strategically dislocated from today's political and historic moment. In doing so, they also challenge the concept of nationhood and highlight the productive tension between nationhood and cosmopolitanism.* Despite these shared similarities, each of their poetic voices are distinct. Felipe speaks in a more oracular, omniscient, forward-looking manner, while Gelman's poetry, primarily love verses, focuses on small, erotic, transient, transcendent moments. Both Felipe and Gelman turned their exiles into productive projects, engaging with the inevitable, energizing tension between cosmopolitanism and nationhood. These poets utilize poetry — poetic, religious, and cultural motifs — to transcend and escape the nation-states that limited them, defined as they were by two repressive regimes.

In this thesis, I put two left-wing exiled rebel intellectuals in conversation with one another through the shared theme of cosmopolitanism and nationhood. This is a vindication of their projects: Felipe and Gelman aimed to paint themselves outside their national boundaries while still acknowledging and redefining their own national roots. This comparative thesis explores these poets in each of their own national contexts as well as in the broader Hispanic landscape. Chapter 2 of this thesis will analyze Felipe's work while Chapter 3 will explore

Gelman's. In the conclusion, I will discuss these two poets together and I will articulate a few brief observations including a summary of my methodological findings.

CHAPTER 2:
LEON FELIPE'S DOUBLE BIND

I. INTRODUCTION: LEON FELIPE CAMINO

Leon Felipe's poetry employs cosmopolitan tropes to challenge our traditional understanding of nationalism. In this chapter, I will demonstrate how Felipe's poetic work interacts with and is informed by the cosmopolitan ideas discussed in the introduction to this thesis, which allows Felipe to re-imagine nationhood as separate from spatial boundaries. Felipe was born and raised in Spain. However, he felt alienated from his birth nation from a young age, travelling around the world in search of belonging. His early work developed into a more coherent project on nationhood once Felipe was forced into exile in the aftermath of the Spanish civil war. In this post-exile stage, he writes about a new Spanish nation, one that is dislocated, beyond physical boundaries, inclusive, and outside of the strictly political realm. Felipe re-imagines the nation as a community of communities, a plurality of homes belonging to the same domain.

I will argue that Felipe's poetry utilizes cosmopolitanism to dislocate a traditional, spatially located version of nation. This is a productive project that calls attention to the middle ground between nationhood and cosmopolitanism. Felipe and his intellectual work exist in the liminal space between this pair of concepts; he utilizes the concept of *Hispanidad* to create a cultural, apolitical cosmopolitan nationhood that points to the problems with both extremes of the cosmopolitan-nationhood binary.[4]

[4] In English: Something like "Hispanicness," i.e. the Spanish-speaking world. In most instances I will keep the word in Spanish to emphasize its origins in a Spanish economic and political project, and to stay faithful to the word's emphasis on the Spanish language and separation from the United States and the non-Spanish-speaking world.

Scholars argue that Leon Felipe's true last name — Camino [path, road, way] — is a prophecy (Ruis). He spent his lifetime uprooted, searching for homeland. It is no surprise, then, that Felipe's poetry tracks his relationship to borders. He self-exiled in the 1930s after serving in the Spanish civil war against the Nationalists loyal to Francisco Franco. Once it became clear he was on the losing side, Felipe left Spain, eventually transplanting himself in Mexico. Even before exile, Felipe would spend a large portion of his mid-life as a cosmopolitan, by which I mean transient, trans-national, and global. He spent many years in Mexico and New York; he held a variety of jobs, including working as a pharmacist, a professor, and a travelling actor. He was a minstrel and a wanderer.

His work reflected this life in transit. He chose to engage in universal themes and shunned provincial ones. As a result, he is not claimed in Spain as a national poet but revered by the Spanish speaking world as an exile poet. Scholars write about Felipe as a poet who embodied universal forces. A journalist who interviewed Felipe in his last years put it as follows: "León Felipe fue un quijote antiguo transportado a nuestro tiempo por el viento, esa fuerza misteriosa de la creación poética" ["León Felipe was an ancient Quijote, transported to our time by the wind, this mysterious force of poetic creation"] (Fonseca). This quotation notes Felipe's embodiment of and interest in an ancient set of Spanish cultural images, including alluding to Don Quixote which I will explore more in the following section. But embodying these poetic forces was tiring, too: Felipe wrote about feeling uprooted, in transit, and nationless from early on in his lifetime; one could say he felt exiled long before his final move to Mexico in the 1930s. He self-identified as a man without a homeland. From Madrid in 1920, Felipe famously wrote: "¡Qué lástima / que yo no tenga una patria!" ["What a shame / that I have no homeland!"][5]

[5] Full poem in Appendix 1.

(Felipe 122). Feeling without a homeland is an early indication of Felipe's future wrestlings with nationhood and belonging.

Additionally, although he conversed with many of the famous literary voices of the era such as Octavio Paz and Alfonso Reyes, he did not locate his own work alongside theirs. Leon Felipe was, as Frau writes, "aware that his own voice was discordant in the literary landscape of the moment, proclaiming, not without a certain pride, that in his Athenian conference he found himself 'far from any school of thought and just as far from the ancient, orthodox rhetoric as from the modern heretics'"[6] (Frau 29). In other words, although a Spanish poet by heritage, Felipe emphasized his distance from the Spanish tradition.

In the poem "La España de la Sangre" ["The Spain of Blood"] from the collection *España e Hispanidad* [Spain and *Hispanidad*] penned in the 1940s, Felipe retroactively explores his relationship to a spatially defined nation over the course of his life, utilizing the trope of a bird to symbolize the piece of himself in search for a homeland. He writes that while one day he thought the bird had gone back to Spain, in fact it quickly took off again: "Un día creí que este pájaro había vuelto a España… / y me entré por mi huerto nativo otra vez. / Allí estaba en verdad… pero voló de nuevo. / Y me quedé solo otra vez y callado en el mundo…" ["One day I thought this bird had returned to Spain ... / and I entered my dead native land again ... / It was indeed there... / but it flew away once again. / And I was alone and quiet in the world once more..."] (Felipe 309).[7,8] In this passage he refers to the period of time during the Civil War in which he returned to Spain to fight for the left. But Felipe's bird was never in Spain for long.

[6] Original: "consciente de que su voz es discordante en el panorama literario del momento, y no sin cierto orgullo proclama, en su conferencia del Ateneo, hallarse 'lejos de toda escuela y tan distante de los antiguos ortodoxos retóricos como de los modernos herejes.'"
[7] Full poem in Appendix 1.
[8] Felipe includes many ellipses throughout his poetry. All "…"s in this chapter are the same in original poems. Any of my own abridging is denoted as ellipses in brackets.

Even if he believed the war to be worth coming back to Spain for, the return to his birthplace did not solve his relationship to it. Instead, his return revealed to him the brokenness of Spain and underscored that he did not belong within it, especially once his side of the war had lost. Felipe soon left Spain forever.

Felipe was torn apart by a contradiction between feeling alienated both within and outside of Spain, frustrated by his ties to a Spanish identity, alienated by traditional forms of national identities in Spain, and also frustrated he did not have closer ties to it, having both a love of country and a deep anger toward Spain. In this complicated relationship with his homeland, Felipe begins to develop two different Spains. He separates key cultural aspects away from the located Spanish nation-state to create the concept of "La España de la Sangre," literally "The Spain of Blood." This concept allowed him to take the spirit of his homeland with him to America while leaving physical Spain to Franco.

Felipe believed his nation to be a failure of the Spanish state; during the years surrounding his self-exile, he sometimes took to humor to poke fun at the Franco government and what he saw as the deterioration of his nation. "El payaso de las bofetadas," literally "The clown of the slaps," "The slapping clown," or "The slap clown" penned in 1937 in a collection titled the same, is emblematic of this increasingly bitter, sarcastic tone.[9] In the poem, Felipe writes about the failure and foolery of Spain, and the leftist fight for justice. He is political; he makes fun of Franco and his supporters. He develops this idea of political-statal Spain as a clown country, with Franco at its head. "Lo substantivo del español es la locura y la derrota" ["The thing about the Spanish is the craziness and defeat"] (Felipe 157). This is a poem about a nation Felipe loves and also knows to be "crazy."

[9] The Spanish title "El payaso de las bofetadas" is ambiguous. I give multiple translations here to give the reader a sense of the phrase's potential meanings.

Felipe's poetry reflects deep pain in addition to anger and grief. Despite fighting on the front lines, Felipe's poems do not depict scenes from the battlefield. Instead, Felipe writes about the pain of his country's political divisions, rather than bodily pain ("Oh, este dolor" ["Oh, this pain"] (Felipe 179)). His poems mourn the Spanish nation and his connection to it. In 1939, from Mexico, Felipe writes an elegy to Spain. *El hacha [Elegía Española]* [*The Ax [Spanish Elegy]*] is a collection of poems of heartache. The first line reads, "Por qué habéis dicho todos / que hay dos bandos, / si aquí no hay más que polvo" ["Why have you(pl) told everyone that there are two factions, / when here there is nothing more than dirt(dust)"] (181). Felipe is pained by the presence of the "two factions" of the Spanish Civil War. In these lines, he establishes this idea of peninsular Spain as dirt or dust with little cultural value. This Spanish "polvo" [dirt/dust] is a physical representation of Spain, as well as a representation of the decay of the Spanish nation. The idea of "nothing more than dirt" articulates an extreme deterioration into nothingness, reminiscent of a biblical return to dirt/dust (think: Genesis 3:19 "For you are dust, and to dust you shall return").

Felipe is caught in a double bind: on the one hand, he exists dislocated, exiled, nationless, and on the other, he is unable to separate himself from Spain — born and raised there, and drawn back to fight for the Republic. In his early life, he feels trapped by Spanish nationhood. Later, forced into exile, Felipe builds a complex relationship with cosmopolitanism and nationhood as a method of freeing himself.

II. The Figure of Don Quixote

The figure of Don Quixote is heavily sprinkled across Felipe's work. As I will describe here, Don Quixote is a valuable puzzle piece in our analysis of Felipe's poetry, both Miguel de

Cervantes' two-part *Don Quixote* and the figure of Don Quixote taken apart from Cervantes' work. Originally published in two volumes, in 1605 and 1615, Don Quixote de la Mancha is the story of a man who becomes so unaware of his reality, that he believes he is a knight ("Don Quixote"). Already, the dislocated themes present in Don Quixote remind us of Felipe's own dislocation from his homeland. Like Don Quixote, Felipe is a wandering creative who looks to the past to create a mythological reality and dream for the future. In the context of the novel, the Don Quixote character represents idealism, non-material aspirations, and the desire to fix what he sees as a broken world. These same philosophical undercurrents are present across Felipe's work. Although I won't focus on these themes in this chapter, Felipe's poems explore Quixotic themes like right and wrong, revolution, and justice.[10]

Apart from the character himself, the literary work *Don Quixote* is foundational to the Spanish-language cannon, especially from the start of the 20th century onward (Anthony Close ctd. in Reguera 197). The novels are a prototype for the modern novel more broadly, and created an important figure in European Romanticism ("Don Quixote," Reguera). Although Don Quixote was originally conceived as a satiric take on chivalric romances, the 20th century brought a new wave of scholarly engagement with the text that reimagined the figure as a central Spanish symbol. Novelists, poets, and philosophers published commentary on the text and annotated editions of *Don Quixote*, imposing ideology and philosophy onto the figure of Don Quixote and his sidekick Sancho Panza. Jose Montero Reguera writes, "The Quixote began to be read not only as a fun book that caused readers to smile or laugh, but as a serious book, in which one could find wise advice regarding how to live; within Don Quixote and Sancho's actions you

[10] See for example, "Y qué es la justicia," a prose piece that explores the theme of justice, specifically referencing Don Quijote, likening him to Christ, vilifying him, and representing him, as the anthology's explanatory footnote notes, as a clown (Felipe 159).

could find a model of human behavior." He continues to note that Don Quixote had become "a Romantic hero, that hoped to resuscitate an ideal world in which he has submerged himself, and live within it" (Reguera 196).[11] Not only did Don Quixote come to symbolize a series of ideals and themes, it also came to embody the Spanish nation itself. Reguera writes that "Cervantes and the Cervantine converted into glorified icons of the national, in the same way as so many other historical themes" (Carlos Reyero ctd. Reguera 197).[12]

Understanding Don Quixote as a common stand-in for the Spanish nation, especially a Romantic, idealistic Spain, gives us insight into Felipe's feelings toward his birthplace that he expresses with the Don Quixote trope. First, Felipe paints the figure as defeated, representing his sadness and anger toward Spain. Later on, Felipe repurposes Don Quixote, demonstrating a more positive hope-filled possibility for the Spanish nation. Throughout his work, though, the Don Quixote figure aids Felipe in articulating a "Spirit of Spain" — a Spanish set of cultural values, a Spain removed from spatial bounds.

At first, we see Felipe's anger and sadness toward Franco's traditionalist Spain reflected in Don Quixote. In the first poem mentioning the character, Felipe tracks defeat and bitterness toward what he sees as a dying Spanish nation. During the 1920s, Miguel Primo de Rivera rose to power, leading an eight-year military dictatorship. Although it was less brutal than Franco's reign, Spain's traditionalist politics were contrasted with the modernization of much of the rest of Europe, leading many intellectuals to dream and write about a more "European" Spain. In the

[11] Original: "El *Quijote* empieza a leerse no exclusivamente como un libro divertido que causaba la risa y la carcajada de los lectores, sino como un libro serio, en el que se podía encontrar sabios consejos para conducirse en la vida más aún, en las acciones de don Quijote y Sancho podía encontrarse un modelo de comportamiento humano: se inauguraba así la increpación simbólica y filosófica de la obra cervantina que presentaba, por ejemplo, a un don Quijote convertido en héroe romántico que desea resucitar un mundo ideal en el que se ha sumergido y que quiere vivirlo dentro de si." (translated portions my own)

[12]Original: "Cervantes y lo cervantino se convirtieron entonces en iconos glorificados de lo nacional, lo mismo que tantos otros temas históricos" (rough translation my own).

poem, “Vencidos” [“Defeated”] published in 1920, Felipe begins with the narrator watching “la figura de Don Quijote” [“the figure of Don Quixote”] pass across the “manchega llanura” [“Manchegan plains”].[13] He describes Don Quixote as defeated and filled with bitterness. He writes: “Y ahora ociosa y abollada va en el rucio la armadura, / y va ocioso el caballero, sin peto / y sin espaldar, / va cargado de amargura…” [“And now idle and dented the armor / rides the donkey, / and the gentleman goes idle without his chest guard and backpiece, / He carries bitterness”] (Felipe 130). Here, Felipe paints the well-known figure of Don Quixote on horseback through detailed imagery. But the figure is “idle.” We are introduced first to the walking donkey, and then to the passive gentleman riding on it. If we understand Don Quixote to be representative of the Spanish nation like in so many literary works of Felipe’s time, this poem expresses Felipe’s frustrations with the Spanish nation. The figure appears to be returning from battle rather than riding toward it, “idle” and without a sword or shield, carrying “bitterness.” Although Felipe wrote this poem a decade before the Civil War itself, this poem shows that he sees Spain as a failed national political project. Already, he is exhausted with the traditionalism of Spain.

Felipe also locates himself in this poem, putting the “I” in conversation with the Don Quixote figure.[14] Felipe’s poetic voice, like the figure, carries “bitterness” toward his nation. He writes:

> ¡Cuántas veces, Don Quijote, por esa misma llanura,
> en horas de desaliento así te miro pasar!
> ¡Y cuántas veces te grito: Hazme un sitio en tu montura
> y llévame a tu lugar;
> hazme un sitio en tu montura,
> caballero derrotado, hazme un sitio en tu montura

[13] See Appendix 1

[14] While we have no way to determine whether the “I” figure is Felipe himself, we can say without a doubt that Felipe’s self is present in this poetry. Therefore, examining these poems as if he were the “I” figure helps shed light on Felipe’s own feelings as illuminated in his poetry.

que yo también voy cargado
de amargura
y no puedo batallar! (Felipe 130)

[¡How many times, Don Quixote, across this same plain,
in despondent hours have I seen you pass!
¡And how many times have I yelled: Make room for me to mount
and bring me to your place;
make room for me to mount
defeated gentleman, make room for me to mount,
for I, too, carry
bitterness
and I cannot go to battle!]

This poem likely refers to the end of the novel, when Don Quixote returns home to his house to die. The character is defeated, questioning for the first time whether he is in fact a knight or not. Like the character, the Don Quixote present in Felipe's poem also feels a strong sense of exhaustion, devastation, and lack of spirit. This poem represents Spain as a failed political project, and also expresses Felipe's frustration that he does not feel at home or welcome in the conservative Spanish nation. The poetic "I" expresses that he wants Don Quixote to make room for him to mount, in other words, he wants to find a place for himself to quit alongside Spain. This poem is a devastating expression of the failure of the Spanish political state. The words "caballero derrotado" ["defeated gentleman"] are especially key, as they note that even prior to the war, Felipe sees Spain's politics as going in the wrong direction. This poem was written in 1920, long before Felipe's exile, but he was already "bitter" toward his birth nation.

Felipe also identifies with the Don Quixote figure. This poem tracks a conversation between two lonely figures, the narrative voice and Don Quixote. Both are "bitter." The Don Quixote figure is not representative of a single Spain but represents many aspects of Spain at once, demonstrating Felipe's complex relationship to his homeland and foreshadowing Felipe's eventual articulation of the Spain of the Spirit. In this poem we see Felipe begin to separate the

Spanish nation into two — into a Spain of the Spirit and a physical-historical Spain, also referred to as "La España geográfica" ["The geographical Spain"]. Felipe's frustration toward the Don Quixote figure represents his frustration toward the politics of physical Spain, but the defeated Don Quixote also represents the deflated Spain of the Spirit. It is as if Don Quixote has come to embody the timeless, historically unbounded heart of Spain as well as the liberal ideals of justice and courage. By painting Don Quixote as defeated, Felipe is expressing the deflated, saddened state of this true, essential Spain beyond any one political or historical moment.

In his later work, the Don Quixote figure transforms from a defeated, frustrated semi-exiled figure into one that embodies the triumphant, dislocated "Spirit of Spain" that Felipe imagines. Felipe calls upon Don Quixote to signify the core spirit of the nation of Spain, a valuable trope that can help to unify Felipe's dislocated nation. This removal from spatial bounds is also a cosmopolitan action. During Felipe's early years, the Don Quixote figure seemed trapped, and now he has been freed. In "La España de la Sangre" ["The Spain of Blood"], the poem previously discussed in the context of the bird metaphor, Felipe writes:

> Cuando se muera España para siempre
> quedará un ademán en la luz y en el aire…
> Un gesto …
> Hispanidad será *aquel gesto* vencido, apasionado y loco *del Hidalgo Manchego…*
> (Felipe 310)
>
> [When Spain dies forever
> there will remain a gesture/expression in the light and in the air…
> A movement/gesture…
> *Hispanidad* will be *that defeated gesture,* passionate and crazy of/like the nobleman of the Mancha…]

I will return to this poem in the next section, but here I'd like to focus on this final line: the idea of Don Quixote as "passionate" and "crazy" yet productive, as defeated for the sake of rebirth. Rather than focus on the idleness of the figure, Felipe demonstrates that as one version of

Spain/Don Quixote dies/is defeated, the passionate spirit of Don Quixote will be able to live on. This poem also reflects Felipe's understanding of Spanish cultural motifs as a unifying force. The Hispanic world is tied together by literary history including the figure of Don Quixote de la Mancha. Felipe reclaims this "crazy" Spanish passion, seeing it instead as a piece of the Spanish culture that can serve as to unify Spaniards and Hispanics together across many nations. This is a key component of his cosmopolitan vision that I will elucidate further in the next section.

Reguera writes that in the first quarter of the 20th century, intellectuals saw four important aspects of the Don Quixote figure (Reguera 206). All four come into play in Felipe's use of the figure, but the first is perhaps the most central to my argument in this chapter. Reguera notes that these thinkers say the Quixotic figure represents "idealism, illusion, fantasy, daydreams that make possible the creation of an imaginary world removed from reality."[15] Felipe uses the Don Quixote character as one common image in his quest to dislocate Spain from the Iberian Peninsula and bring the Spanish cultural values with him to Latin America. He also calls on an ancient figure that has been used across time to expand the discourse beyond the confines of any one temporal analysis. In this way, it is a fantasy, a Quixotic daydream.

Engaging with the Don Quixote figure is a proxy for engaging with the cultural aspects of Spain, rather than the spatially bounded ones. Doing so also reclaims ownership of these values from Franco. In the 1940s and 1950s, Franco defined Spain as a renewed, traditionalist Spain oriented around spirituality and culture rather modern industry or pragmatic thinking. Franco often referred to Spain as the "reservas espirituales del Oxidente" ["the spiritual reserves of the West"]. In one 1962 speech welcoming the new year, he argued that "Most of society's evils are due to secularism; and precisely because we have placed the spiritual above the merely material

[15] Original: "idealismo, la ilusión, la fantasía y el ensueño que posibilitan la creación de un mundo imaginativo alejado de la realidad"

in our political Movement, many have come to consider us the spiritual reserve of the West." From these words, we can infer the Francoist mobilization of the figure of Don Quixote as an example of Spanish as the spiritual/cultural reserves of the West. Franco employed the Don Quixote figure to represent conservative, traditional, exclusionary versions of idealism. It is also evident from these words that Franco saw the spiritual, the cultural, the immaterial as good and Spanish, and secular modernity, materialism, and industry as evil and to be kept away from Spain.[16]

Felipe's imagery over time demonstrated his reclaiming of the Don Quixote figure. In his early years, prior to his exile, Felipe explored American industry, modernity, life outside Spain, and themes outside Spanish culture. His poetry often included English words and pop culture references. However, in his exiled, dislocated, nostalgic state, Felipe returns to the central, historical figure of Don Quixote, reclaiming Spanish cultural symbols back from the Franco regime. In *España y Hispanidad,* a different poem also titled "Hay Dos Españas," Felipe voices his ownership over the cultural, poetic aspects of Spain. He writes:

> Franco, tuya es la hacienda,
> la casa,
> el caballo
> y la pistola.
> Mía es la voz antigua de la tierra.
> Tú te quedas con todo y me dejas desnudo y errante por el mundo…
> Mas yo te dejo mudo… ¡mudo!
> y ¿cómo vas a recoger el trigo?
> y a alimentar el fuego
> si yo me llevo la canción? (Felipe 301)

[16] As he did in this 1962 speech welcoming the new year: "La mayor parte de los males de la sociedad se deben al laicismo; y precisamente por haber colocado en nuestro *Movimiento político lo espiritual por encima de lo meramente material, son muchos los que han llegado a considerarnos como la reserva espiritual del Occidente*" ["Most of the evils in society are due to secularism. Precisely because we have *placed the spiritual above the material in our Political Movement, many have come to consider us as the spiritual reserve of the West*"] (Franco) (transalaton my own).

[Franco, yours is the ranch,
the house,
the horse
and the pistol.
Mine is the ancient voice of the land.
You are left with (take) everything and you leave me naked and wandering in the world…
and I leave you mute… mute!
and how will you gather the wheat?
and feed the fire
if I carry the song?]

In this excerpt, Felipe gives Franco the material farm, house, horse, and pistol, while keeping for himself the ephemeral and cultural "voice." He writes that in return for Franco forcing him to be "naked," "wandering in the world" — in other words, to be exiled — he and the Revolution have made Franco mute, for he, Felipe, is the one who has kept the Spanish voice and the song. In this poem, voice and song symbolize some cultural and historical aspects of Spain, in other words, its Spirit. Felipe is letting go of his ownership of the physical body of Spain in return for something much greater. He is telling Franco: I have won, for the song and the ancient voice of the land are mine, while you are left with only the material — your ranch and your possessions. Felipe stresses the power of his ownership over the cultural aspects of Spain when he asks Franco: how will you gather the wheat and feed the fire, in other words, how will you feed your people and feed your political movement? Felipe is articulating that it is the spirit of a country rather than its physical place that is central to a nation and sense of national belonging. This is an articulation of the Spain of the Spirit I will elaborate on in the pages to come.

Additionally, Felipe saw himself and the political movement he participated in as Quixotic. The leftist Republic cause was defeated in the 1930s, but these revolutionaries continued to dream "crazy" dreams in hopes of righting the wrongs in the world. In using Don

Quixote as a central figure in his poetry, Felipe tells readers that the Revolution was not useless even if they lost. Instead, the Revolution fought against all odds for what is right, and its poets carried its values over to America even after Franco won the war. And Don Quixote was, after all, the first Spanish exile, per se, moving always from place to place to right wrongs, knowing that defeat was inevitable. So maybe Felipe found kinship in a fellow wanderer, identifying with the cultural figure in a way he did not identify with Spanish majority politics.

III. THE REBIRTH OF SPAIN AS *HISPANIDAD*

Don Quijote represents the beginning of Felipe separating a set of Spanish cultural values from physical Spain. In this section, I will lay out Felipe's new version of dislocated nationhood created from his exiled position: the idea of *Hispanidad* — an unstable and imperfect yet necessary post-national project imbued with cosmopolitan values.[17]

During the Civil War, Felipe struggles with mixed feelings toward his fellow soldiers on both sides of the war. He feels kinship toward them, and notes, with guilt, the blood on his hands: "Mis manos están rojas de sangre fraticida" ["My hands are red with brotherly blood"] (Felipe, "Oferta" from *El payaso tiene palabra,* 163). Felipe recognizes brotherhood across the two sides of the war. He sees that fighters on both sides of the war share Spanish blood — which, to Felipe, symbolizes the shared spiritual community I will further discuss later in this chapter. Felipe imagines unity across circumstance tied to Spanishness. Utilizing "blood" and "race," terms that Felipe uses metaphorically to symbolize the Spanish community (rather than in

[17] In this section, I use the concept of the "post-national" to signify a radically dislocated version of nationhood. It would undersell Felipe's project to call it a national one, and yet to describe it outside of nationhood entirely is also unfaithful. Therefore, I find the term post-national to best demonstrate the beyond national, the nation-like that is no longer a traditional, strict, nation-state. Pan-Hispanism and *Hispanidad* discussed in this chapter are examples of the post-national, borderless post-nation.

the fascist or Nazi sense as I will explore in a moment), Felipe dislocates Spanishness. From exile, he imagines a new Spanish nation outside of spatial, political, and even temporal bounds, in other words, a dislocated nation. He both rejects Spain and incorporates his Spanish heritage, as demonstrated in "La España de la Sangre." In the poem, from the collection *España e Hispanidad* written in México and Bogotá in 1942 and 1946, Felipe lays out his new conception of nationhood, influenced by cosmopolitanism. The poem opens:

> Hay dos Españas: la de la tierra… y la de la sangre.
> La España geográfica… La España física y temporal murió…
> Pero queda la España del Espíritu… la España del hijo
> del hijo muerto y resucitado… (Felipe 307)
>
> [There are two Spains: that of land ... and that of blood.
> Geographical Spain ... Physical and temporal Spain died ...
> But there remains the Spain of the Spirit ... the Spain of the Son
> of the Son that has died and risen...]

This is one of a series of poems in which Felipe conceives of two Spains. This particular duality — between land and spirit — shows his radical departure from the idea of nation as bound by borders. Forced from his homeland, rejected by Franco and those who now inhabited his home of origin, Felipe re-imagines what it means to be a part of a Spanish nation. In the above stanza, "la España del Espíritu" ["the Spain of the Spirit"] is the everlasting version of the nation that survives the death of the "La España geográfica" ["The geographical Spain."] This enables him to reclaim the cultural Spain from Franco, even if he is unable to stake claim over or feel belonging in the physical Spain that has rejected him.

Felipe defines Spirit, blood, and bloodline, rather than borders, as the national unifying force. It is noteworthy that Felipe's use of specific terminology such as "blood" is also politically charged. On the surface, his use of the word blood may appear problematic, as it reminds us of colonial projects aimed at irradicating Indigenous peoples, or even Hitler's rhetoric about blood

purity. However, although the word choice is perhaps unfortunate in the eyes of a modern reader, Felipe's use of the words are not racist. Instead, blood and race are proxies for the Spanish Spirit. Felipe is not attempting to reclaim the discourses of the Spanish inquisition, per se, nor is he referring to the type of biological blood and race that, for example, the National Socialists had in mind. Instead, Felipe echoes the Romantic-idealist tradition that saw the nation in terms of shared values. He is also reappropriating similar language as fascist, far-right movements across history. This is one strategy he leverages to subvert Franco's traditionalist, conservative ideology.

It is also worth noting here that Felipe was not the only intellectual interested in *Hispanidad* and the separation of the spirit of Spain from its physical body. Faber writes that the group of Spanish intellectuals who self-exiled from Spain believed they were bringing the heart of the nation with them. For example, Faber quotes Paulino Masip, a Spanish playwright who also fled to Mexico, "Allí quedó el cuerpo físico de España, nosotros nos trajimos su alma, su espiritu" ["there stayed the physical body of Spain, we brought its soul, its spirit"] (Faber 4). Felipe was also not alone in stressing the importance of this project. Faber defines *Hispanismo* as "a popular form of cultural pan-nationalism based on the idea that the former Spanish empire constitutes a unique cultural whole," noting that Spanish intellectuals believed *Hispanismo* to "embody a series of 'spiritual' values whose preservation is of crucial importance to the future of human civilization" (Faber xii). These spiritual values are in opposition to a more materialist Anglo-American modernity.

In the multi-page poem quoted previously, "La España de la Sangre," Felipe first breaks down the physical boundaries around Spain. In the second stanza, Felipe uses traditionally physical boundaries — specifically the cardinal directions — but attaches different cultural

values to each one, flipping physical borders on their heads and replacing them with the idea of a unifying set of cultural values stemming from history.

> España… La España inmortal de la sangre… limita
> Al norte… con la pasión.
> Al oeste… con el orgullo.
> Al este… con lago de los estoicos…
> Y al sur… con una puerta inmensa que mira al Mar y a un cielo de nuevas constelaciones.
> (Felipe 307-308)

> [Spain... The immortal Spain of blood ... with borders
> To the North... with passion.
> To the West... with pride.
> To the East... with the Lake of the Stoics ...
> And to the South... with a grand door that looks to the Sea and to a sky of new constellations.]

These listed values associated with the cardinal directions are part of Felipe's articulation of a set of values common to Spain, emphasizing cultural values over location. Felipe continues on in the poem by placing himself at the southern door, the land of the creative. In specifying the South, Felipe is also gesturing toward the side of Spain facing Latin America and the side of Spain most close to and historically influenced by North Africa, indicating a history of mixing of cultures rather than an exclusively Spanish one, an interesting nod to Spain's proto-cosmopolitan history.[18] Additionally, the poem is a call for unity and inclusion: Felipe writes that "all the poets of Exile" and "all the Spaniards of Exile" belong at the southern door even as they are no longer welcome in Franco's Spain.

This poem is also chronological, Felipe works his way through his lifetime, spanning pre-exile, his return to Spain and fight in the war, and later, his exile. In this fragment, we find him at the point of exile: he discusses how he and other exiled artists were forced to leave during the

[18] I say proto-cosmopolitan here because at the point in time I'm referring to — pre-1492, which I will discuss more in Chapter III — Spain was not a nation, and so cosmopolitanism did not exist in its current form, as in opposition to nationhood; instead, these cosmopolitan forces existed outside of the cosmopolitan-national binary.

war, after a failed revolution through the metaphor of being forced out of the southern door of Spain.

> Por esta puerta nos empujó el Viento… la Historia… la Gran Historia… Dios… Se vale de mil subterfugios y artimañas para que se cumplan las profecías y lo que está escrito en los libros sagrados desde hace muchos siglos…
> […]
> Un día el Viento se levantó malhumorado… y sacudió el polvo de la tierra…
> El español no entendió aquel signo…
> Entonces el Viento se hizo más fuerte… y lo revolvió todo…
> A esto… lo llamamos Revolución…
> pero no era más que un triquiñuela del Viento.
> Al final… después de mil episodios y disputas… el viento se hizo vendaval y borrasca… y empujó a unos españoles… a ciertos españoles elegidos… hacia la gran puerta que mira al mar y a las estrellas…
> Por allí salimos…
> Por allí salí yo…
> Por allí salieron los españoles del Éxodo y del Llanto. (Felipe 308)
>
> [Through this door the Wind pushed us ... History ... Great History ... God ... Worth a thousand subterfuges and schemes to fulfill the prophecies and that which has been written in the sacred books for many centuries ...
> […]
> One day the Wind rose, moodily... and shook the dust from the ground...
> The Spaniard did not understand the sign ...
> And so the Wind grew stronger ... and it stirred everything ...
> This… we call Revolution…
> but it was only a trick of the Wind.
> In the end... after a thousand episodes and disputes ... the wind became a gale and squall ... and pushed some Spaniards ... certain chosen Spaniards ... towards the great door that looks out to the sea and the stars ...
> We left there...
> I left there...
> That is the door that the Spanish of Exodus and of the Cry left through.]

This poem fragment portrays the 1936-39 Spanish Revolution as having failed, but in its failure, having opened a new space. More specifically, the poetic voice notes that the revolution became like a storm — both destructive and productive — that opened the door to a particular cultural project. The Revolution Felipe hoped for was only "a trick of the Wind," that instead led to the exile of a slew of Spanish intellectuals and fighters. In this poem, the poetic voice interweaves

Felipe's new cosmopolitan-infused nation with his frustrations about being forced to leave his homeland. This destruction of nationhood is inseparable from Felipe's newfound productivity. In this fragment, Felipe writes that while exiled Spaniards were forced out of Spain, they were pushed toward "new constellations." This demonstrates Felipe's view of his exile as a new beginning, an almost positive opportunity. Though the revolution itself has failed, Felipe describes that the Wind of the revolution — the storm — became productive, opening the door for a new, culturally centered (and also decentered, placeless) Spain. The "new constellations" are a metaphor, as moving to a new continent changes one's view of the stars. But Felipe does not write "stars," instead, he writes "constellations," which symbolize precarious, invented, constructed forms. Exile brings new ways of perceiving what already exists, including new ways of understanding the Spanish nation. These "new constellations" act as a metaphor for Felipe's entire project.

Felipe also describes a messianic discovery. Throughout his collection, we find Christian language applied to non-religious ideas. Specifically, Felipe reframes the leftist Revolution as a Christ-like sacrifice that led to a messianic discovery. The failure of the Revolution and subsequent rebirth of Felipe's new concept of Spain acts as a resurrection. This is reflective of the inherent Christianness of the Spanish nation and the Spanish cultural landscape. Other writers — such as Peruvian author César Vallejo in *España, aparta de mí este cáliz* (1937) — used similar Christian motifs in political poetry. These images serve to invoke strong, passionate, themes. Felipe's use of divine images tie him to a Spanish spiritual, cultural tradition of intellectuals who place themselves in opposition to Anglo-American, Western material modernity. For example, Ruben Darío's foundational "A Roosevelt" ["to Roosevelt"] (1905) is expresses a Hispanic reclaiming of America. He writes that although the Roosevelt's United

States may think itself to be all powerful, “falta una cosa: ¡Dios!” [“it is missing one thing: God!”] (Darío). In other words, although the United States may have economic and political power, it is missing the spiritual. Dario also notes that in contrast to the United States, Latin America is the America with the “poets.” Felipe is describing a cultural project that has strong political implications; a migration and conception of Spain focused on the literary and the cultural, but also one that is deeply revolutionary and oppositionist, against Franco and the conservative Spanish nation.

Felipe utilizes cosmopolitan tropes as he walks readers through his construction of this new nation. First, he notes that “La España de la tierra ya no me importa” [“The Spain of the land/earth/dirt no longer matters to me”] — i.e. the place of the Iberian Peninsula is no longer important. Next, he notes that now he will devote himself entirely to the “Spain of blood,” meaning a cultural, spiritual Spain antithetical to the located Spain of land. He locates this new Spain on the Latin American continent — “en estas latitudes del aire y de la luz” [“in these latitudes of air and light”] (Felipe 309) — though unbounded by any one specific nation-state. He writes that he is filled with “ruidosa alegría” [“noisy joy”] when he hears “voces extrañas y celestes que me anuncian que he de venir a ser no un ciudadano de México… de Guatemala… de Nicaragua… de Costa Rica… de Colombia… de Venezuela… del Perú… de Bolivia… de Chile… de Argentina… del Uruguay… *sino un ciudadano de América.*” [“strange and celestial voices that announce to me that I am not to become a citizen of Mexico ... of Guatemala ... of Nicaragua ... of Costa Rica ... of Colombia ... of Venezuela ... of Peru ... of Bolivia ... from Chile ... from Argentina ... from Uruguay ... *but a citizen of America*”] (309). Felipe imagines a universal, God-given Latin America (excluding the United States). I use God-given here not to invoke the religious but instead a sense of transatlantic messianism: Felipe and his fellow

intellectuals believed they were destined to carry on the Spanish Spirit to America. In this poem, he admires that Latin Americans are citizens of America as a whole, not only of their own individual nations. Felipe breaks down the physical barriers of the Spanish nation; as he flees into exile, he also dislocates the nation he can no longer call home: he engages with cosmopolitan ideas like that of global citizenship over provincial ties while also attempting to bring the Spirit of his home nation with him to America.

Felipe outlines what is essentially a pan-Hispanic ideal: he hopes to bring together Spanish and Spanish-language heritage everywhere to recreate Spain/create a post-Spain on Latin American land, unbounded by physical borders, especially those originating on the Iberian Peninsula. The three related political terms *Hispanismo*, *Hispanoamericanismo*, and *Panhispanismo* share the "conviction that through the course of history Spaniards have developed a lifestyle and culture, a set of characteristics, of traditions, and value judgements that render them distinct from all other peoples" (Fredrick Pike qtd. in Faber 135). These ideas, Faber writes, also assumed Spaniards passed these traits on to Indigenous peoples of Latin America during conquest. Pan-Hispanism, specifically, is a political project that originated in Spain in the early 20th century, in hopes of elevating the Spanish-speaking world by appealing to a shared language and culture (Thomas 332). A separation from and distaste toward Spain pervaded across Latin America in the wake of the 19th century Independence movements; pan-Hispanism aimed to repair these bonds for the sake of global political power (Rippy 1-6). The pan-Hispanic movement stressed the Spanish "race"; therefore, it is worth acknowledging that some in some instances it had neo-Colonial undertones. Faber writes that the right-wing Catholic Hispanism "depicted Spain in its traditional role of the guiding, imperial *madre patria.*" I do not argue, however, that Felipe's Pan-Hispanism had these same Colonist, Catholic-conservative

undertones. Instead, Felipe is part of a new *Hispanidad*. This is a version of *Hispanidad* redefined by the liberal sect to celebrate "republicanism, democracy, and social justice as the political expressions par excellence" of the Spanish culture. (Faber 136). Additionally, it is worth noting that although Spanish himself, Felipe excluded peninsular Spain in his use of America-centric *Hispanism*o, furthering the inversion of the original *Hispanidad* propaganda.

Felipe's new conception of Spain also disrupts traditional time barriers in addition to spatial ones. This is part of his gesture to remove Spain from today's political world in favor of a more spiritual and cultural space. This, like pan-Hispanism, is undergirded with proto-cosmopolitan values. As we have established, Felipe's definition of nation is that it "has no borders." Additionally, he removes it from a singular, located time, writing that "¡Mi casa es inmortal!" ["My house is immortal!"] (Felipe 310). Here he expresses an ideological exercise in nationhood that cannot be affected by wars or changes in power, an ideology that cannot be affected by Franco, who Felipe sees as a soiled spot in the canvas of Spain. In the final stanzas of the poem, Felipe cements this new idealist conception of nation as infinite: not only is it beyond the bounds of physical borders and of time, it is also beyond the bounds of this world entirely. It is dislocated from both space and time. He removes this *Hispanidad* from the traditional markers of nationhood:

> Hispanidad… ¡tendrás tu reino!
> Pero tú Reino no será de este mundo.
> Será un Reino sin espadas ni banderas…
> ¡Será un Reino sin cetro!
> No se erguirá en la tierra nunca. (Felipe 310)
>
> [*Hispanidad*… you will have your reign!
> But your Kingdom will not be of this world.
> It will be a Kingdom without swords or flags ...
> It will be a Kingdom without a scepter!
> It will never remain on earth.]

Felipe's *Hispanidad* exists outside of and beyond Spain. But *Hispanidad* also replaces Spain. While Spain will die, *Hispanidad* will have a kingdom in a world beyond this one — again, Felipe quotes the biblical ideal of a reign of God beyond this world, invoking the powerful transcendental forces beyond this political moment in history. This new kingdom is aspirational and ideal. "No se erguirá en la tierra nunca" ["It will never remain on earth,"] in other words, it is beyond our definitions of nationhood today. This is a cultural concept rather than a political one, for this new Spain will have no sovereign. It will not have the material objects we associate with nation, like swords, flags; there will be no territorial wars.

> Cuando se muera España para siempre
> quedará un ademán en la luz y en el aire…
> Un gesto…
> Hispanidad sería *aquel gesto* vencido, apasionado y loco *del Hidalgo Manchego…*
> Sobre él los hombres, levantarán mañana…
> *el mito quijotesco…* (Felipe 310)
>
> [When Spain dies forever
> a movement in the light and in the air will remain...
> A gesture/movement/sign…
> *Hispanidad* will be *that gesture*: the defeated, passionate, and crazy gesture of *the Hidalgo Manchego ...*
> On this, men will rise tomorrow ...
> *the quixotic myth ...*]

In the final lines of the poem, Felipe mixes Quijote imagery with this idea of "rising," which calls to mind the same Christ-like resurrection image. In doing so, Felipe reinforces Quixote's place as both a national myth and a mythical, prophet-like figure leading the way to a better version of Spanish post-nationhood. *Hispanidad* is a Quixotic gesture/myth — passionate, and a little bit "crazy," but powerful, liberating, and filled with the Spanish spirit. This is a productive gesture, an affirmation of the ultimate Spanish spirit behind political, historically located Spain.

Felipe frames this new Spain in terms of a rebirth. He frequently invokes a spiritually centered idea of death. He views death as an inevitable pattern and also a cleansing rebirth. And so, when he describes Spain's death, it is an opportunity for both (spiritual/religious) renewal and for a redefinition of Spain in his own mind. Not only was Spain reborn post-war, Felipe writes toward the end of his life that he, too, was able to begin anew after the figurative death that occurred at the time of his exile: "Pero aquí … he nacido de nuevo… Aquí… en este continente donde se ha vertido la mejor sangre de la gran España" [But here… I have been born again… Here… in this continent where the best Spanish (literally great Spain which encompasses the Hispanic world) blood has been spilt] (Felipe 309). This quote brings together many themes — tying the blood connection between Spain and America and the idea of cosmopolitan rebirth of nation.

Hispanidad is about new beginnings and redefinitions. Felipe wrote that he "died" in mainland Spain only to be reborn in America. Now, Felipe closes the poem by explaining that just as Christ had to die for the sake of the people, Spain too must die, in order for its spirit — *Hispanidad* — to be released and ignited.

> Murió el Cristo… y morirá la tribu toda
> que el Cristo redentor será ahora un grupo entero
> de hombres crucificados que al tercer día
> ha de resucitar de entre los muertos…
> Hispanidad será este espíritu que saldrá de la sangre y de la tumba de España…
> para escribir… un Evangelio nuevo. (Felipe 311)
>
> [Christ died ... and the whole tribe will die
> so that the redeeming Christ will now be an entire group
> of crucified men who on the third day
> Must rise from the dead ...
> *Hispanidad* will be this spirit that will come out of the blood and the grave of Spain ...
> to write ... a new Gospel.]

Felipe sees *Hispanidad* as a transcendental (dislocated, above this world) portion of cultural values and history, mixed with spirituality and a greater cosmopolitanism force. Felipe imagines that this combination of concepts comes together to provide belonging for all those who, like himself, find themselves in exile. Felipe's membership as a citizen of America is one expression of the possibilities of *Hispanidad* and the implication of Felipe's concept of a national — or perhaps a post-national — project. Here Felipe employs explicit Christ imagery. Spain is the "tribe" who has died — a communal sacrifice — and will rise again from the dust in the form of *Hispanidad*: a cosmopolitan, borderless, cultural post-national world.

Felipe's tone is prophetic. The certainty of lines like "the whole tribe will die" suggest that the poet sees into, or even is helping to build the future of the Spanish people. Felipe's poetry suggests his narrative voice is both sacrificial and the evangelical voice moving the Gospel forward. Perhaps it is he, the narrative voice, who is in the process of penning the new Gospel referenced in the final line. This prophetic language is a post-Christian and a post-religious gesture. Felipe utilizes these religious themes to help evoke his grand, transcendental, post-national, political project. The prophetic language also solidifies Felipe's productive, active role in the ownership over the Spirit of Spain and the creation of a new *Hispanidad.*

Felipe finds grandeur and joy in the idea of a rebirth in America. He connects this Pan-Hispanic ideal to a spiritual interconnectedness, expressing that "strange and celestial voices" told him of the "honor" of being a citizen of America rather than any one nation. And so, he writes that he does not wait for the doors of the Peninsular Spain to open — he has given up on his motherland. Instead, he has been reborn in his new mansion, in this new, prosperous America. His home nation having failed him, he brings a sense of entitlement to this poem, a tone of expression of his destiny in America. "América es la patria de mi sangre. / He muerto…

y he resucitado. / ¿Entendéis ahora?" ["America is the homeland of my blood. / I have died and have risen. / Do you(pl) understand now?] (Felipe, 310).

IV. Conclusion: Felipe's Liberation

The loss associated with exile drives Felipe to imagine the death and rebirth of the Spanish nation. This rebirth is founded upon cosmopolitan values. In a sense, this cosmopolitanism frees Felipe from his double bind — only from exile does he give himself the freedom to imagine a new version of the Spanish post-nation.

Felipe's life and poetic work is defined by a tension between nationhood and cosmopolitanism. He is a Spanish patriot despite his rejection of Franco's Spain. He takes pride in his Spanish roots even as he rejects the politics of present-day Spain and is rejected by Franco's Spain on the Iberian Peninsula. Like Appiah's "rooted cosmopolitanism" describes, Felipe is both rooted in Spain and also finds value in unity across political boundaries (Appiah). This is the beauty of his secular, prophetic poetry. Poetic work is often nonlinear; multiple ideas can exist together. Felipe could have penned his ideas in a series of essays, but instead, he chose a jumbled series of poetic collections, often scrawled in letters to friends and fellow intellectuals (Galindo notes in Felipe). Therefore, taken together, his poems are prophetic musings around nationhood and cosmopolitanism.

Felipe's concept's limitations form part of the value of his work. *Hispanidad* is by no means a perfect form of cosmopolitanism. Felipe erases individual, national boundaries in favor of this idea of a pan-National America. Felipe's idea of *Hispanidad* remains bound — but by continental borders (in addition to linguistic-cultural ones) rather than national ones. He places his new home among physical landmarks and boundaries in American — "from the Rio

Grande… to Patagonia" — despite his attempt to dislocate the Spanish nation. Felipe's work demonstrates that there is no such thing as a pure cosmopolitanism, rather he must utilize elements of both nationhood and cosmopolitanism to articulate his vision.

Despite this apparent shortcoming of cosmopolitanism, though, Felipe's project is a partially liberating one. Felipe is able to remove Spain from its national boundaries and instead imagine an inclusive version of the Spanish post-nation, separating the cultural history from the modern political and historically located moment as a way to reclaim an expanded and dislocated version of nation.

CHAPTER 3:
JUAN GELMAN AND THE MYTH OF THE COMMON HOUSE

I. INTRODUCTION: A POETIC REACTION TO THE ARGENTINE DIRTY WAR

I	I
Il batideru di mis bezus/	el temblor de mis labios/
Quiero dizer: il batideru di mis bezus	quiero decir: el temblor de mis besos
Si sintirá in tu pasadu	se oirá en tu pasado
Cun mí en tu vinu/	conmigo en tu vino/[19] (*Dibaxu* 9)

These are the opening lines of *Dibaxu,* a collection of love poetry written between 1983 and 85, from the heart of Juan Gelman's exile. The poet fled from military Junta-controlled Argentina in the 1980s. His poetry is a literary manifestation of this exile. Through his verses, Gelman brings readers into a diasporic, exile space along with him. Modern Spanish and Ladino, an ancient form of Judeo-Spanish spoken on the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages and subsequently by Jewish communities in diaspora, sit side by side in his work. The project's hybridity is inherently cosmopolitan: the poetry reaches across national influences and mixes languages from different historical moments.

Gelman was born in Buenos Aires in the 1930, the son of Jewish immigrants from Ukraine. He dedicated himself to the communist cause starting in his late teens when he dropped out of university to write and edit for left-leaning newspapers. He eventually joined the *Montoneros* guerilla group, though he would end his affiliation with them in 1979. Gelman was deeply affected by the war's tragedy: his son Marcelo, a journalist, and his pregnant daughter-in-

[19] I do not want to disrupt these opening stanzas with an English translation, as I want to present Gelman's poetry as he would have the reader experience it. However, for my English-speaking readers, my translation:

> I
> the trembling of my lips/
> I mean to say: the trembling of my kisses
> it will be heard in your past
> with me in your wine/

law were “disappeared” by the Junta, before the Argentine Anticommunist Alliance, known as the Triple A Death squad, threatened Gelman’s own life. He fled for Italy in 1975. He moved to Mexico in 1988. Gelman spent the next years searching for his son and daughter-in-law. In 1994, the poet published *Dibaxu*.

The backdrop to Gelman’s poetry is the violent “Dirty War,” or state repression by Jorge Rafael Videla’s traditionalist, conservative, ultra-catholic regime. As many as 30,000 victims were “disappeared,” meaning they were tortured in concentration camps before being drugged, and then thrown into the Atlantic Ocean from military planes (Finchelstein). Gelman’s *Dibaxu* collection is therefore also a radical project, as Gelman responds to the violence of the Argentine military Junta with a drastically different theme: love poetry. *Dibaxu’s* language dislocates the poetry from any one physical space or moment in time, allowing readers a break from daily life experience and invoking brief moments of transcendence throughout Gelman’s work. Gelman’s work also challenges the ultra-nationalistic, traditionalist, canonical culture established by the Junta — one of exclusionary, violent, monocultural, monoreligious, and monolinguistic values — with a multicultural, hybrid poetry collection that evokes the Spanish myth of *convivencia,* which I will discuss further in section II.

In this chapter, I will focus on *Dibaxu* to demonstrate how Gelman, like Felipe, traverses the complex terrain between cosmopolitanism and nationalism, ultimately invoking a semi-mythical space outside of the cosmopolitan-national binary that draws on both local and universal themes. As discussed in the previous chapter, Felipe searches for and constructs a cultural community: a cosmopolitan, mythical pseudo-nation within his poetry. These same dislocated, cosmopolitan forces that drive Gelman’s project push Gelman toward a different place than Felipe — universal, mystical, and intimate poetry rather than Felipe’s more overtly

prophetic, communal work. Gelman's poetry is individual in that his poetry inhabits the personal, small, intimate scale in contrast to Felipe's oracular, grand scale. However, like Felipe, Gelman is reconnecting with a communal, cultural practice that is not "individual." Both Felipe's and Gelman's projects are political commentaries. With the term "individual," I do not intend to suggest that Gelman is withdrawing into the personal, private, and the intimate and away from the publicly political. Instead, the intimate and the political are fully compatible in Gelman's work.

As we venture into Gelman's territory, I will need to incorporate new terms such as "located," and "universal," in addition to "national" and "cosmopolitan," in order to better extend my framework to describe Gelman's poetic work. I will also introduce the idea of "proto-cosmopolitanism," which is really a pre-cosmopolitanism, or cosmopolitanism as defined prior to and separate from the idea of modern nationhood. As described in the introduction to this thesis, traditional cosmopolitanism is inherently linked to nation, concerned with the idea of traversing across national boundaries or favoring global citizenship over national citizenship. Therefore, something cannot be cosmopolitan if it existed prior to the concept of nationhood. I will also describe Gelman's poetry collection as both pre-national and post-national. First, it is pre-national: through the use of Ladino and the myth of *Sefarad*, which I will discuss further in section II, Gelman draws on a time before the birth of the Spanish "nation." It is also post-national: Gelman confounds temporal categories as he articulates roots of Argentina and the Spanish language. His project aims to dislocate the reader from a linear, historical timeline. In this Chapter, I summarize these concepts with a term I will create: "sub-cosmopolitanism." I do not mean this as a culturally or literarily lower form of cosmopolitan, instead I use "sub" to echo Gelman's own interest in the "underside" of nationhood and language, which I will further

explore in section III. Sub-cosmopolitanism captures Gelman's interest in the fundamental, universal forces outside of our socio-political historically-located experience such as love.

Gelman's project problematizes both sides of the nationhood-cosmopolitan binary. His use of the hybrid language of Ladino and cultural myth of *Sefarad* challenges the Argentine Junta's monolinguistic and monocultural definition of Argentine history and culture. Gelman utilizes dislocating (cosmopolitan) forces to help free himself and his reader from this historically and nationally bounded worldview, which became suffocating in the Southern Cone in the late 1970s. His engagement with Ladino, the myth of *Sefarad*, universal themes, and mysticism, are all dislocating strategies that produce a sense of temporal and spatial breaking away from the bounds of nation-state, instead allowing Gelman and his readers to rise above this politically bounded work and come into contact with something otherworldly, something that does not belong to human temporality.

In summary, in this chapter, I will explore how the language, genre, and imagery of *Dibaxu* create a mystic world that mirrors Gelman's own dislocated reality and problematizes the traditional concept of cosmopolitanism as well as the Junta's conservative nationalism.

II. Dislocation and Deterritorialization: Ladino and the Myth of *Sefarad*

Gelman was literally dislocated — he fled his homeland for Mexico. He was not a world traveler prior to exile like Felipe. He left only when he absolutely had to, when he and his children had been threatened by the violent Junta regime. Gelman's poetry reflects this forced dislocation. His stanzas disengage from the traditional concept of located nation through cosmopolitan themes. In this section, I will focus on how the language of his project mixes influences across time and place and opens the door for transcendental cosmopolitan poems.

First, we can look to language as an indicator for this dislocation. Gelman's use of Ladino mirrors Gelman's own exile: both he and the language of Ladino are existing in diaspora. Penning Ladino poetry alongside a modern Spanish translation is a cosmopolitan literary move in that it demonstrates a rejection of bounded nationhood. Ladino is an ancient form of Judeo-Spanish spoken on the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages. Today, it is considered the language of Jews of Spanish origin (Sephardic Jews) (Quintana 427). It is a unique language because it has survived only in exile; today Ladino is spoken by a handful of Jewish people in Israel, North Africa, Greece, and other areas. It has evolved and changed over time, with subdialects forming among different communities.

Prior to 1492, a multitude of peoples and languages inhabited the Iberian Peninsula. Ladino was one of many Hispanic dialects. As there was no singular set of institutions through which to impose monolingualism, the peninsula was filled with a multitude of languages and cultures prior to 1492. There existed a proto-cosmopolitanism on the peninsula. By this I mean that the pre-1492 Spanish landscape was imbued with cosmopolitan values — transnationalism, multiplicity, and togetherness across groups — but the concept of nationhood did not yet exist. Therefore, the term pre-cosmopolitanism or proto-cosmopolitanism is more accurate than the term cosmopolitanism, as I have defined cosmopolitanism in Chapter 1 as in opposition to nationhood. It is not known exactly how Ladino fits into this proto-cosmopolitan landscape; an Encyclopedia Judaica entry on Ladino notes that "the theory that Ladino originated as a specifically Jewish language (as distinct from the dialects spoken in Spain) as early as the 13th or 14th century still lacks serious and sufficient proof" (Quintana 427). Regardless, it is clear Ladino was one of many local dialects on the Iberian Peninsula.

In 1492, the largest kingdoms on the peninsula unified, forming the seed of what we now call Spain. As the budding nation defined its physical and ideological borders, it would expel Muslim and Jewish peoples. It is worth noting here that Videla's military rule of the 1980s — the backdrop to Gelman's work — mirrors this exclusionary ideology. Finchelstein writes that Videla "saw himself as God's political representative on Argentine soil," and that as such, he "became the leader of one of the most murderous dictatorships in history and in this bloodshed he saw a redeemed future for his country, one that would bring Argentina back to Christian civilization" (Finchelstein). This interest in a "true" Argentinian, Christian civilization echoes the 1492 expulsion of the Jewish people. *Dibaxu* aims to place these two moments of cultural exclusion in conversation with one another. Gelman's Ladino poetry takes a political stand against the modern Argentine regime and challenges Videla's nationalistic vision of a singular "true" Argentinian religion, language, and culture. The 1492 unification would also quickly give way to the Spanish Imperial project. It is in this same year that Christopher Columbus arrives in the Caribbean Islands, marking the start of the Spanish colonization of the Americas.

In 1492, the Alhambra Decree ordered all practicing Jews to leave Spain, and Ladino followed Spanish Jewish communities into diaspora. The dialect would continue to morph and develop over time. On the one hand, diasporic Jewish communities would "[preserve] the Spanish and Hispanic dialects that had been spoken and written before Cervantes and the Golden Age." Ladino would absorb the local vernacular and lexicon of the local languages of Sephardic Jewish communities around the globe (Quintana 428). It was not adopted by any single nation-state, rather it is spoken by minority communities globally. Therefore, Ladino is a nationless and stateless language. It is both hyper-located in pre-1492 Spain and also amorphous and evolving. Its origins are not fully understood and it is without major recorded works of literature, having

been passed on largely orally. In other words, it is opposite from the conservative, nationalist concept of a singular, pure Spanish: Ladino is a language of notable contamination. It is also a dying language, spoken today by roughly 200,000 people worldwide (Quintana 432). Therefore, invoking Ladino is a literary manifestation of Gelman's exile. Both he and Ladino exist uprooted. Even though he, like Ladino, began rooted to a specific place, both the language and Gelman have been doomed to wander. Additionally, written Ladino was considered preliterary and liturgical; it was seen as lower than literature. This pairs well with Gelman's interest in looking to the roots below language.

Gelman engages in an archeology of the Spanish language through *Dibaxu*. His use of Ladino shows his interest in the past, more specifically, his interest in the Spanish culture and language before the Spanish nation existed. Gelman writes in *Dibaxu's* introduction that from exile, he became "obsessed" with looking for the "substratum" of Spanish: "Como si la soledad extrema del exilio me empujara a buscar raíces en la lengua, las más profundas y exiliadas de la lengua" ["As if the extreme solitude of exile pushed me to look for the roots in the language, the deepest and most exiled roots of the language"] (*Dibaxu* 7). In this quotation, Gelman emphasizes that his own exile has led him to engage with a language that has evolved by belonging to Jewish communities descendent from Iberian exiles. The "roots in the language" most obviously signify the roots of the Spanish language itself, but they also symbolize his own ties to Spanish and his nation of origin. The loneliness of exile drove Gelman to search for his own identity as it related to nation through this linguistic project. The title of his collection also expresses this interest: *Dibaxu,* which translates to *debajo* in Spanish and "underneath" in English. This word indicates his search for the underbelly of Spanish, which also demonstrates an interest in the origins of Spain and of national identity as they relate to bordered nationhood.

This idea of the underbelly outlines his goal as an archeological one: he is interested in those "roots" that are excluded from the Spanish and Argentine national narrative, that may not have been acknowledged as part of the official history of bordered Spanish and Argentine national identity.[20] This idea of "roots" continues to challenge Videla's ideology around a singular, true "Argentinianness." Gelman's work suggests that Argentina's roots are, in fact, hybrid and multiple, just as Ladino's are.

Gelman's archeological search for the "roots in the Spanish language" led him to write the collection in the non-national language of Ladino. He reminds readers of a language that existed before the formal construction of the Spanish nation and invokes a time when the Iberian Peninsula was a patchwork of dialects. This search for the roots of Spanish mirrors Gelman's search for his own identity away from Argentina. Balbuena notes that Gelman's choice of language reflects his identity, "To write his exile and express his deterritorialized, decentered identity, Gelman instead writes in a minor and diasporic language, one of a culture created without a State" (Balbuena 296). Not only does Ladino reflect Gelman's position, it also provides a strong first step toward evoking a sub-cosmopolitan, mythologized space to replace what he has lost in exile. By writing in a pre-national language which has survived across the centuries as a language in diaspora, Gelman undermines the long-held assumption that a single language is inherently tied to the identity of a nation. This falls into place alongside the concept of the "Jewish nation." Judaism teaches the unity of the Jewish nation across the world; the "nation" in "Jewish nation" is therefore a spatially unbounded one.

Hybridity is central to Gelman's use of language in *Dibaxu.* Mixing languages and influences also aided Gelman in dislocating the work from any one nation-state context. First,

[20] Monique Balbuena argues that Gelman engages in an "archeology of the language" (Balbuena 285).

Ladino is also a dialect, meaning in it of itself it is a hybrid project. In fact, the word *Ladino* has also come to mean *mestizo* or a person of mixed race in central America (wordreference). Furthermore, Gelman places this Ladino alongside modern, standard Spanish. The effect is simultaneously jarring and beautiful, revealing the similarities between the ancient and the modern languages while also underscoring the differences between them. Rather than focus on the restoration of the Ladino language, Gelman focuses on the experience of the Spanish and the Ladino — as well as the many other languages and dialects alluded to through the use of Ladino — side by side. Gelman writes, "Acompaño los textos en Castellano actual no por desconfianza en la inteligencia del lector. A quien ruego que los lea en voz alta en un castellano y en el otro para escuchar, tal vez, entre los sonidos, algo del tiempo que tiembla y que nos da pasado desde El Cid" ["I accompany these texts with Spanish not because I doubt in the reader's intelligence. Instead, I hope the reader reads these poems aloud in both Spanishes, to listen. Maybe, between the two sounds, time will shudder and give us past, all the way back to *el Cid*"] (*Dibaxu* 7). Here Gelman references the ancient *El Cid,* an 11th century Spanish knight who serves as the main character in *Cantar de Mio Cid*, a foundational epic poem and earliest surviving work of literature of the Spanish language. *Cantar de mio Cid* also took place during the same *convivencia* period during which Ladino was spoken, a concept I will discuss further later in this section. Gelman is therefore mixing temporalities, encouraging the reader to understand the present through the historical and also by reading them simultaneously, as one. Gelman destabilizes the linear, historical timeline. He pairs each Ladino poem with its modern Spanish translation, encouraging the reader to notice their similarities and to experience them together. He also does not preoccupy himself with a perfect construction of authentic Ladino. Instead, he prioritizes the joint experience of both languages together over either individual language. For

example, Gelman writes in Latin rather than Hebrew characters. Ladino has been recorded in Hebrew characters and other similar non-Latin scripts for centuries. This choice to use Latin lettering enables a reader to compare the language to modern Spanish without fluent understanding of Ladino. Using Latin lettering is also a dislocating action. Ladino written in Latin is necessarily unstable, transient, and hybrid, as the language is not depicted in its native lettering. Gelman is praising plurality, re-articulation, and several forms of translation in a moment in which Argentina is doing just the opposite.

Gelman pushes the two languages into conversation with one another. Each language's version of the verses of poetry poses questions to the other. For example, the first lines of the book highlight differences between the Ladino and the Spanish. The Spanish reads "el temblor de mis labios/ / quiero decir: el temblor de mis besos/" ["the trembling of my lips/ / I mean to say: the trembling of my kisses"] as if the speaker is clarifying his meaning of "lips" as sensual. In the Ladino, however, Gelman writes *bezus* in both lines, as the Ladino *bezus* can translate to both lips and kisses (Balbuena).[21] How, then, should we read this? And what does the pair of lines tell us if it does not give this original clarification? This duplicity underscores the ambiguity of reading two languages side-by-side. *Dibaxu* is also a translation project. Translation is a central element in the myth of *Sefarad* due to the multiplicity of languages/dialects in the same physical space. During the Middle Ages, *La Escuela de Traducción de Toledo* [The Translation School of Toledo] was the most important translation school in the world. Gelman nods toward this history of translation in his own project. His side-by-side poetry underscores the

[21] Balbuena and other literature on *Dibaxu* recognizes the multitude of meanings behind the Ladino *bezus.* Due to the fact that there is no standardized Latin spelling of Ladino, I have not been able to find a bilingual Ladino dictionary with the word *bezus* spelled as such. In *Diccionario Ladino-Español* by Pasual Pascual Recuero (1977) there is a Ladino entry "beso" which translates to the Spanish "bezo" as well as "labio grueso" both of which mean outer or thick lip, or rim.

multiplicity always present in translation. Similarity and difference appear simultaneously in translation; a reader both identifies with the translated work and feels alien from it. Gelman's dual-language text engages these issues. He forces a reader to go back and forth between modern Spanish and Ladino, to be unable to choose a singular "right" answer but instead to sit with the multiplicity of meanings and origins of these verses. It is impossible for poetry across two languages to convey precisely the same meaning; Gelman leans into the semantic uncertainty to underscore the semantic and cultural multiplicity. Once again, *Dibaxu* is in direct opposition to the Argentine regime's singular focus on Spanish as the national language, as it is representative of a larger mono-cultural, mono-religious project.

In addition to the significance of the Ladino itself, in choosing the Judeo-Spanish dialect, Gelman also invokes the central Spanish and Jewish cultural myth of the cosmopolitan concept of the common house or *el mito de la convivencia de las tres culturas* [the myth of the living together of the three cultures]. The concept of *convivencia* refers to the moment in time prior to the 1492 Jewish and Muslim expulsion in which the three major monotheistic religions of Christianity, Judaism, and Islam lived in relative harmony. The myth, however, has grown beyond the historical occurrence and has come to embody a cosmopolitan dream of community through/with multiplicity (multiculturalism *avant la lettre*). Most basically, *convivencia* can be defined as "a myth, a mirage, in which before 'defeating and converting' the Jewish people, there was a 'perfect medieval living together between three cultures' that only broke when the two Semitic religions 'did not understand their forced conversion to the true religion.'"[22] In reality, the three religions of the Iberian peninsula were not perfectly equal; instead, Plaza describes a

[22] Original: "un mito, un espejismo mágico, en el que antes de 'vencer y convertir' a los semitas, hubo una 'perfecta convivencia medieval entre tres culturas' que sólo se rompió cuando las dos religiones semitas no 'entendieron su conversión forzosa a la verdadera religión'" (Plaza 175).

singular dominant religion and culture, and two minor "accepted" or "tolerated" ones (Plaza 175). But regardless of the historical reality, this myth has taken on transhistorical import as a symbol of a perfect pluralistic, proto-cosmopolitan nation. Throughout the 20th century, the Spanish government meticulously constructed the myth of *Sefarad* for the benefit of projecting a national pluralistic image on the world stage: it was an attempt to paint themselves as superior due to a uniquely harmonious past (Aliberti 27-28). This in turn benefited the Spanish imperial project (Plaza 172). *Sefarad*, Alberti notes, "had always been a myth, an unreal/surreal geography, a product of the imagination" (Aliberti 306-307).[23]

Placing Ladino and modern Spanish in conversation with one another, and in doing so, invoking *Sefarad*, also raises a series of questions around national origin. Gelman works to disrupt any concept a reader may have of the history of the Spanish language. He demonstrates the multiplicity of the Spanish language by placing Ladino alongside modern Spanish. Viewing the two languages together is destabilizing for a reader. As most readers won't know Ladino, the experience is initially uncomfortable. But each individual language is less central to *Dibaxu* than the space between the two. This in-betweenness challenges any essentialist conception of the Spanish language or the Argentine nation, as it emphasizes the multiplicity of histories present in the Spanish language. Gelman argues that languages are always intended to be used by a plurality of members of many communities, just as *Dibaxu* is constructed as a combination of influences. During this period, the Argentine national political project is interested in a re-centering of the national self. Gelman, on the other hand, finds an opposing decentering of common and individual identity appealing.

[23] Original: "siempre había sido un mito, una geografía irreal, un producto de la imaginación" (Aliberti 306-307).

Every part of Gelman's use of language is hybrid. One main intertextual source for Gelman is Franco-Bosnian poet Clarisse Nicoïdski's work, an author Gelman references in the *Dibaxu's* dedication. Nicoïdski, who belonged to a Sephardic Jewish community, learned Ladino for the sake of language revitalization and a connection to her community. In 1986, she penned a bilingual Ladino-English poetry collection *Lus ojus, las manus, la boca*, whose language and images are heavily referenced in *Dibaxu* (Balbuena). Gelman, who is a Spanish-speaking Jew but not of Sephardic lineage, adopts Nicoïdski's dialect, the vernacular Balkan Judeo-Spanish (Balbuena 288). In other words, Gelman's Ladino is not his own. Writing Ladino poetry, then, is not just Gelman's examining of his own roots. Even though the language allows him to explore the pre-Latin American roots of Spanish as well as his Jewishness, the choice was not an obvious reflection of Gelman's personal identity. He is also problematizing the idea of singular "roots" of his religious background, or of a culture or nation. By telling readers he is looking for the "roots" of language, and then writing poetry in an inherently diasporic and pluralistic tongue, Gelman is also arguing that his own roots and the roots of Spanish are hybrid and heteroglossic.[24] As he writes in the introduction to the collection, "Soy de origen judío, pero no sefardí, y supongo que eso tuvo que ver con el asunto" ["I am of Jewish origins, but not Sephardic, and I suppose this had something to do with the matter"] (*Dibaxu* 7). Gelman is not alone in his non-native interest in Sephardic Judaism. Many Jewish people who were not originally of Sephardic origins found truth and identity within the Sephardic identity and the myth of *Sefarad.* For example, excluded from Christian society, the Jews of Franco-Germany found a breath of fresh air in the "open atmosphere and secular arena" of Muslim Spain as they looked to free themselves of their

[24] Mikhail Bakhtin coined this term. (See Michael Holquist, editor's glossary, in M.M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), p. 428.)

Eastern European origins by distancing themselves from Ashkenazic Judaism (Schorsch 56, 47). Gelman's poetry seeks to highlight the Jewishness present in the roots of the Hispanic world that have been so meticulously repressed, and also seeks to deploy the Hispanic myth of *convivencia*. Gelman's introductory words also distance himself and his poetry from Jewish religiosity — weakly stating "I am of Jewish origins" rather than a more certain statement such as "I am Jewish" — therefore emphasizing that this is a poetry collection about understanding the roots of Spanish, *Sefarad*, and the concept of multiplicity within Spanish and Argentine linguistic roots rather than a collection focused on understanding his own Jewish identity. Ladino is a catalyst through which Gelman can explore the impure roots of language.

Hybridity and heteroglossia, then, become tools through which Gelman can escape the oppression of the Argentine nation, and of the idea of nationhood at large.[25] In other words, he responds to oppressive bordered spaces by mixing languages and influences in a cosmopolitan-imbued project, aiming to dislocate us from any historically or spatially located moment or nation-state. Balbuena notes that while Nicoïdski, unlike Gelman, primarily uses Ladino to reconnect with the Sephardic community, *Dibaxu* is a search for identity less focused on his own Jewish identity, and more interested in "escap[ing] the limited trappings of national identity defined by an oppressive military regime." Balbuena also calls this work "self-Sephardization" (Balbuena 283-84). Gelman is escaping through language; Ladino and Jewishness are merely the vehicle through which Gelman arrives at his final ideological space. Taken together, Gelman creates a hybrid modern Spanish language and Ladino space. This is also an exile space: by

[25] Another theme that does not fall within the bounds of this chapter is that of authorship and originality. Gelman raises this theme here and throughout his life's work. He has rewritten, translated, and otherwise converted texts for various of his poetry collections. For example, in *Traducciones III: Los poemas de Sidney West*, Gelman invents a poet to translate, challenging authorship and the definition of translation. *Dibaxu* is also not the first instance in which Gelman has engaged with older forms of Spanish specifically.

lifting readers into a space of mixed time, location, and language beyond the Argentinian national project, we are forced to experience exile along with Gelman.

III. Strategies for Dislocation

As discussed in the previous section, Gelman creates an exile space through language hybridity. I have shown that he utilizes language to dislocate his work from present-day Argentina, specifically, an Argentina obsessed with separating the "authentically" Argentine and Christian from the opposition. This is an essential first component of Gelman's goal of removing his work from the spatially and temporally bounded daily experience. In this section, I will discuss the various dislocating strategies Gelman employs to achieve this project.

Before I begin: throughout this section, I will argue that *Dibaxu* is dislocated in terms of both space and time. I define space as both a bordered Argentina and time as a located moment in history. Taken together, they form the concept of location in the current temporally and spatially bounded present-day experience. In other words, for the sake of this thesis, I will focus less on time and space separately and instead argue that time and space sum to located experience that is part of the linear historical timeline. This located experience is also the opposite of mystic transcendence. Therefore, when I discuss "transcendence," this phrase signifies 1) the literal dislocation from the space of Argentina and from the current time period, and 2) a more metaphorical dislocation that is Gelman's engagement with self-encapsulated moments away from/above the day-to-day.

First, Gelman employs aspects of mystic thought as a dislocating strategy. Gelman's use of Ladino nods toward Jewish tradition. Working with Ladino in the context of love poetry calls

to mind the Jewish mystic tradition and mysticism more broadly. Gelman also references mysticism in previous poetry collections, such as *Citas y comentarios*, which "rewrites" Spanish mystics San Juan de la Cruz and Santa Teresa de Ávila, as well as tango lyricists including Carlos Gardel, Alfredo Lepera, Discépolo (Balbuena 285). Juan de la Cruz and Teresa de Ávila were both born to Spanish *converso* lineage and became interested in mystic ideas.[26] Invoking these mystic thinkers therefore explicitly connects Gelman's work to mystic tropes. Michael De Certeau, who writes about a variety of mystic traditions, especially Christian forms in the 16th and 17th centuries, defines the mystic as a "'field in which specific procedures will be developed: a *space* and an *apparatus*,'" where the space is one of "withdrawal; it is an ecstasy, a standing outside of oneself and outside of history brought about by the 'seduction of the Other'" and the "apparatus" is a technique in which "words confess what they are unable to say" (Hollywood 198). In other words, mystics are interested in accessing the transcendent, the ephemeral, the otherworldly, especially through apophatic discourse.[27] Jewish and Christian mysticism often utilize the erotic as a method of accessing the transcendental/the divine. For this reason, there is a history of a connection to God being represented through erotic poetry. The erotic and the religious both allow a person to abandon the self. Mystic thought also includes a destabilizing of the linear time scale (Idel 184). This transcendent connection to God is experienced outside of and above the historical timeline present in day-to-day life. Both Jewish mysticism and Gelman's work implement cosmopolitan dislocation: both are diasporic, interested in nonlinearity and transcendence above and beyond a single space or time.

[26] *Conversos* are Jew who converted to Catholicism in Spain or Portugal during the Middle Ages, usually to avoid exile, and their descendants. Many continued to practice Judaism in secret.
[27] See Michael Sell's *Mystic Languages of Unsaying*, which discusses apophasis, a mode of mystical discourse that aims to access God at the other end of language.

Having established the mystic tradition underlying Gelman's work, I will turn toward the most basic of his dislocating strategies — the themes and images present in his work. First, Gelman chooses love poetry. Despite his political life, his poems do not employ explicitly political language. Instead, Gelman engages with a thematically different genre: love poetry. As mentioned previously, there is a history of representing the divine through erotic poetry. For example, the Hebrew Bible's *Song of Songs* eroticizes the relationship between man and God (the *Song of Songs* is also explicitly referenced in the first lines of *Dibaxu*). These universal, dislocated themes are evident from the first poem in the collection. The opening stanza reads:[28]

I	I
el temblor de mis labios/	the trembling of my lips/
quiero decir: el temblor de mis besos	I mean to say: the trembling of my kisses
se oirá en tu pasado	it will be heard in your past
conmigo en tu vino/[29]	with me in your wine/

In this poem, the narrative voice begins by describing their trembling lips, which he clarifies in the second line to be kisses. This poem paints an erotic scene between two individuals. The phrase "your wine" seems to allude to a sexual relationship between the I and you, especially in the context of "with me in your wine." The poetic voice is intimate, vivid, and precise. Gelman focuses in on individual body parts such as the lips that bring to mind the specific, fleeting nature of an erotic experience. Although Gelman's overall project reads as a political one, each individual stanza of poetry like this first one is hyper-located in sensual experience rather than overtly political commentary.

[28] Throughout this chapter, I have chosen to place my own English translation side by side along with the Spanish in order to mimic *Dibaxu*'s original Ladino-Spanish bilingual experience. See appendix 2 for the Ladino text. I hope the choice 1) demonstrates my understanding of the importance of both Ladino and Spanish to the original project 2) recognizes that in translating the Spanish into English, I am also intervening as an author alongside Gelman, and 3) does not overcrowd the page with three languages side-by-side.

[29] Poem printed in full in Appendix 2.

This quoted stanza echoes the *Song of Songs,* a prominent mystic text and part of the Hebrew bible. Where *Dibaxu* reads, "the trembling of my lips/ / I mean to say: the trembling of my kisses / it will be heard in your past / with me in your wine/," the *Song of Songs* reads, "Let him kiss me with his mouth's kisses! / Truly, sweeter is your love than wine" (Pope 28). This image is a quintessentially mystic, introducing eroticism between two people as a stand-in for a broader connection to the divine. Gelman uses the divine to mean the secular force that dislocates both the subject and the language from any precise moment and place. Although Gelman is not referencing a religious God, he utilizes the same erotic themes to signal a broader transcendence away from the day-to-day socio-political sphere. *Dibaxu* involves only two people — an "I" and a "you" — emphasizing the small-scale, personal journey Gelman faces as he accesses brief moments of transcendence above the modern socio-political world. As previously discussed, there is a history of using erotic images as a way to access religious transcendence, for example, I have already noted that Santa Teresa de Ávila, who Gelman directly alluded to in previous poetry collections, was a mystic. This can be seen in Bernini's "Ecstasy of Saint Teresa" in the Cornaro Chapel in Santa Maria della Vittoria in Rome which shows Teresa de Ávila experiencing a moment of transcendence, more specifically, her face and body position can be read as an orgasmic or sexual transcendence. The sculpture depicts her losing control of herself: she appears to be floating outside of herself in order to embrace the ineffable. Bernini wrote that the inspiration for the work was Teresa de Ávila's writings on her mysticism, specifically one transcendent experience in which an angel pierces Teresa de Ávila's heart with a spear and the wound from this spear causes her to feel the ecstasy of God's love and the pain from its absence (Bess).

This idea of the brief piercing pain bringing connection to God is deeply sensual — related to a strong sensorial experience — and, in turn, emblematic of mystic thought. Gelman leverages this mystic eroticism to dislocate the poetic experience of his work. He uses the divine to mean the secular force removing his poetry from any precise moment and place. Gelman's erotic, sensual, intimate poetic tone is markedly different than Felipe's grand, oracular voice. Both poetic voices mimic a religious tone, but the former is prophetic — proclaiming an omniscience and collective truth — and the latter is mystical — personal and sensorial. Both voices successfully dislocate a reader from the socio-political day to day, but Gelman does so through a subtle voice mirroring small, sensual moments that in and of themselves are outside of any one moment in history. Gelman's images are not explicitly religious, but he does utilize love to pull a reader away from temporally bounded socio-political reality. Gelman mixes these small, tangible images — such as a kiss — with phrases that pull a reader out of the current moment in history and into a temporally transcendental one. In other words, Gelman equates the inherently transcendental nature of sex or love to a different kind of transcendence — one that brings the reader outside of the present-day moment, rooted in modern day, nationalistic, violent Argentina into a sub-cosmopolitan space. In the context of *Dibaxu*, sensual, mystic, and spiritual experiences are indistinguishable from one another.

Across *Dibaxu*, although there are just two people in these poems, the "you" is multiple and shifting. More specifically, "you" is both God and a lover simultaneously, as Gelman's work evokes the mystic marriage of the religious and the erotic. For example, the individual receiving the "trembling kisses" is unknown; instead, the multiplicity of addressees in Gelman's poetry reinforces his transcendence away from a more socio-political, historically grounded understanding of these themes, as it unifies eroticism and religiosity.

Gelman repurposes Argentine images such as tango in his poetry. In his early authorial years, Gelman wrote political poetry rooted in provincial Argentine images. For example, Gelman titled a 1962 poetry collection *Gotán*, a slang for "tango." *Citas y Comentarios*, an exile work published just before *Dibaxu*, also centers on Argentinian images, including tango. The book "rewrites" tango lyricists including Carlos Gardel, Alfredo Lepera, Discépolo (Balbuena 285). This captures an exile's nostalgia for his home nation through remembrance of its themes. Tango is perhaps the most quintessentially Argentine symbol there is. However, even when Gelman's work focused on Argentine images, his poems also de-nationalized these tropes. In an essay on *Citas y comentarios,* María Rosa Olivera-William writes that Gelman "doesn't reject tradition, but instead captures it, remakes it, and amplifies it through the incorporation of popular symbols like tango" (Olivera-Williams 80). Even in his earlier pre-exile poetry more focused on Argentine images, Gelman was already playing with these tropes. Tango itself is also hybrid. It is an inescapably Argentine symbol, yet it was formed via a fusion of elements of Argentine and Uruguayan African culture, criollos, and European immigrants (Motion Arts Center). This mirrors Felipe's use — and de-nationalization — of the Don Quixote figure. Gelman and Felipe both work to complicate their relationship to Spain and Argentina, respectively, through complex, subversive use of national themes.

Later on, by the time he published *Dibaxu*, Gelman had diversified his poetic rhetoric. In *Dibaxu*, Gelman moves away from Argentine images like tango, instead utilizing rain and wine, images that could be located nearly anywhere (see Poem I for these images). In other words, *Dibaxu* separates itself from the present-day Argentina by employing universal tropes rather than hyper-located ones. Gelman's tango references, although still present, are not as central. Instead, he uses tango as a starting point through which to articulate the dislocation away

from modern, spatially located Argentina. He moves toward more universal themes not associated with Argentine national tradition. The forms a clearer dislocation from modern day Argentina than we saw in his earlier work. In the final stanza of Poem I, Gelman writes:

en la casa del tiempo	in the house of time
está el pasado/	is the past/
debajo de tu pie/	underneath your foot/
que baila/ (*Dibaxu* 9)	that dances/

The dancing foot invokes Argentine tradition of tango. However, he does not say "tango" or even reference a specific dance move. The lack of specificity ensures the poem's images remain universal.

The syntax of the above stanza also reflects the dislocating nature of *Dibaxu*. Each poem has multiple standalone stanzas that, although they work together to form a whole, serve as their own mini narratives. The first two stanzas of Poem I paint a picture of an erotic scene. However, each stanza also stands alone. While the first stanza paints a more immediate picture of a conversation and a kiss, the second stanza ("opening the door of time/ / your dream / let fall the sleeping rain/ / give me your rain/") opens to a more abstract, temporally dislocated dream. [30] This lack of temporal linearity across stanzas dislocates the poetry. Gelman mixes tenses, in the line "se oirá en tu pasado / conmigo en tu vino/" ["it will be heard in your past / with me in your wine/"]. The phrase expresses that, in the future, an element of the past will be experienced. The author is expressing that he both intends to reach back into history, and also to welcome the past into the present and the future. This poetic moment serves as one example of Gelman utilizing love as a mode through which to pen poetry that detaches from today's politically and historically located moment. It is also worth noting that, once again, there is no clear temporal

[30] See appendix 2 for complete poem and translation.

articulation across sentences in this short poem, instead, the verses exist suspended in time. Gelman also fragments his syntax to achieve temporal dislocation. Specifically, the typeface of the poetry reaches across history, acting as one ingredient in creating a temporally ambiguous poetic experience. The all-lowercase letters read as both modern and also pre-modern, as many pre-modern manuscripts prior to standardized syntax rules were written in lower case, a characteristic also emblematic of some ultra-modern, experimental poetry that does not follow the regular orthographic norms. The slashes decorating nearly every line of Gelman's poetry also emphasize fragmentation, which is related to Gelman's breaking apart and pushing together of themes and language across space and time. Additionally, the slashes reinforce that these poems are part of the oral tradition. They mark the intended caesura-like cadence and emphasize the importance of sound as readers experience the poems. This is likely a reference to the importance of oral tradition in the history and survival of the Ladino language.

The reference to oral tradition is also a nod toward the ephemerality of ecstasy. The spoken word, like these non-religious moments of transcendence, is inherently temporary and fleeting. Gelman's focus on sensorial experience aids in his dislocation. Similar to mystic poetry, he focuses on brief, specific, precarious moments. For example, he focuses on the addressee's dancing foot, a tiny, moving moment that will soon be over. It is these focused, sensorial experiences that allow a reader to move outside/beyond oneself, to be dislocated from the modern space/time. Additionally, Gelman explicitly references concepts of time in his poetry, breaking down the idea of temporality and the temporally/historically bounded every-day. In this same first poem, Gelman uses phrases like the door of time, pieces of time, and the house of time. Together, these images break down the idea of time and suggest a new sub-cosmopolitan temporal space of fragmented, dislocated time.

Gelman temporally/spatially suspends his poetry. The final stanza of Poem I locates the past "underneath" the dancing foot of the narrator's lover. The stanza notes that these lovers are dancing in the "house of time." This stanza explicitly connects the poetic voice's lover to Gelman's project of language archeology — searching for the roots of the Spanish language through Ladino. Gelman accesses the past that is "underneath" Spanish/Argentine culture/language/identity through both the Ladino language and by centering the relationship between the narrator and a lover. In other words, both Ladino and love poetry are strategies of dislocation, and both are underlain with mystic values — both push the reader away from this located spatial/temporal moment and toward transcendence. This, too, references Jewish mystic ideas: Moshe Idel writes that some Jewish mystics understand time to be a simultaneous "awareness of a long past" and also "an expectation of a better, messianic future" (Idel 180). This simultaneous engagement with history and hope for the future is present in Gelman's *Dibaxu*.

I will close this section with an exploration of the idea of "dream" as it relates to the transcendence we have discussed so far. By utilizing the word "dream," Gelman engages with the future, and more specifically, this "better" future as referenced in Idel's explanation of Jewish mysticism.

The third stanza of Poem I reads:

me detendré/quieto	you will keep me/quiet
en tu lluvia de sueño/	in your rain of dreams/
lejos en el pensar/	far away in the thought/
sin temor/sin olvido/ (*Dibaxu* 9)	without fear/without forgetting/

Gelman encourages the "you" — the reader, the lover, God, Argentina — to "dream" by opening "the door of time." The "rain" is a cleansing image that suggests new beginnings, possibly referring to the biblical flood. Gelman is perhaps proposing that Argentina would benefit from a total renewal, as the world did after the messianic, apocalyptic moment of the biblical flood. This idea of a dream also references the sub-cosmopolitan Gelman lives out in the pages of *Dibaxu.* In this poem, the poetic voice expresses a want for the "you" of these lines to hold him as they dream together. He wants to be held as he experiences the dislocation of his sub-cosmopolitan dream, as the "you" and "I" are removed from the grounded world and suspended in the non-spatial/non-temporal category of a dream. These poems are a reaction to the lack of freedoms of expression and speech under the Argentine regime, a way to reframe his exile as a productive project. Lonely and rejected by his homeland, Gelman has aimed to find the love of homeland through the love of a mythical partner in *Dibaxu*'s pages. In doing so, he also allows his reader to "dream," to reach "far away" in their thoughts. By providing a reader with transcendent poetry and pulling them away from today's socio-politics, he opens a space to dream. Dreaming is also a common method of dislocation across literary history. Teresa De Ávila and others used this trope as a way to examine the fleeting nature of our realities and dislocate ourselves from it, as Gelman does here. For example, in the Bernini sculpture referenced previously, Teresa De Ávila is depicted with her eyes closed, as if dreaming.

Gelman's forces of transcendence are informed by a pre-national rather than traditional cosmopolitanism. By removing cosmopolitanism from the national-cosmopolitan binary, locating it instead before the conception of nationhood was articulated, we are left with the universal, transcendental, mythical forces within cosmopolitanism. It is only then — when Gelman has freed himself, his reader, and his work from the temporally and spatially located

forces within traditional cosmopolitanism — that Gelman and his reader find moments of transcendence.

IV. Conclusion: Dislocation as a radical literary gesture

In the introduction, I lay out Jorge Luis Borges' text "The Argentine Writer and Tradition" which proposed what can essentially be read as a rooted cosmopolitanism. Borges rejected the idea that "Argentine literature" is confined to a singular, provincial set of motifs and styles in favor of embracing a productive, dialectical tension between nationhood and cosmopolitanism. He argued that a writer from Argentina will always be an "Argentine writer" regardless of their themes or images. Through the sub-cosmopolitanism that I've discussed throughout this chapter, Gelman engages with Jorge Luis Borges' proposal. Gelman has not succumbed to the pressures of becoming a hyper-located, national poet confined exclusively to Argentine subjects. He has also not attempted to "essay all themes" — to be so cosmopolitan and dislocated that he becomes, as Borges writes, unable to produce any literature at all. Instead, Gelman has done both together, and has "give[n] [himself] over to that voluntary dream which we call artistic creation." He has dislocated his poetry from any historically or temporally located zone, thereby challenging the Argentine Junta's monocultural and monolinguistic identity and the concept of the nation-state in general (Borges 274). Yet he does not reject the concept of located roots entirely. Gelman reclaims and redefines roots as pluralistic and non-static rather than exclusionary. Gelman repurposes Borges' dream in his own context as a political exile from a nation controlled by a violent military regime.

Gelman's response to exile is productive: he reconsiders the base forces underneath cosmopolitanism and nationhood. *Dibaxu* comes just after his collection *Citas y comentarios*, which María Rosa Olivera-Williams argues is a reconstruction of homeland from exile. She writes that Gelman has "channeled all of the sadness and pain of the punishment [of exile] to reconstruct homeland in exile," noting that "[Gelman's] mystical poetic process of (re)creation of the homeland does not look to vindicate the past, not even the immediate past […] nor does it escape to a utopian future […] but instead to restore what he has lost," which she defines as homeland (Olivera-Williams 82).[31] She goes on to demonstrate how the specific poem "Canción I: Cántico spiritual" discusses the union between the soul and God, while "comentario XXIV" discusses the magical-ritual union between the narrative voice and *patria.* In this chapter, I have argued that *Dibaxu* is the next step in his poetic trajectory. Rather than looking to restore aspects of homeland, Gelman looks to disrupt and examine the idea of Argentine nationhood and redefine a way of communal belonging that is pluralistic and inclusive.

Dibaxu is a radical and subtle response to Argentina's Junta.[32] Leafing through the pages of his love poetry, it is easy to forget that as Gelman wrote, he searched for his children who had been threatened and then disappeared by Argentina's military government. In 1990, five years after he finished writing these poems, his son Marcelo's remains were found in a cement-filled barrel. Gelman could have penned vivid images of the Junta's threats to his family or the violence he endured, but he did not do so *directly*. Instead, he chose to write about love and mystic encounters. More specifically, he chose to write about *Sefarad,* to imagine a plural,

[31] Original: Sin embargo, toda la tristeza y el dolor del castigo se encauzaron para reconstruir la patria en el exilio. En Citas y comentarios el proceso místico-poético de (re)creación de la patria no busca reinvindicar el pasado, ni siquiera el pasado inmediato, como lo hiciera en Si dulcemente (1980), ni tampoco evadirse hacia un futuro utópico, aun cuando mencione un futuro de paz (¿qué es esta paz sin venganza / o memorial de cielo por venir..., 14), sino restaurar lo que se le niega: el presente en / con la patria.

[32] Radical in its aim and subtle in its form.

fragmentary, hybrid, deterritorialized nation free from a historically located nation-state. This is a radical literary move: to react to the gruesome, restrictive, ultra-nationalistic, and ultra-conservative Junta government with this book of hybrid love poetry, bringing readers into a universal, timeless, cosmopolitan, transcendent, and pluralistic space. In traditional mysticism, God is the transcendent force a mystic hopes to access. Gelman connects his own unspeakable, complex forces — mass brutality, oppression, violence, and death — with a secularized version of this same transcendence. Like in mystic poetry, Gelman's work aims to comprehend these themes through radical, sub-cosmopolitan dislocation. The poetic mode allows Gelman to evoke a sub-cosmopolitanism. Gelman sheds light on the nuances of Argentine identity, his own identity in exile, and also allows the reader to personalize their experience to the work, as they are dislocated, released into moments of transcendence on their own terms. This project is an indirect but clear response to the Junta's ideologically unified, purified, and "true" Argentina.

CHAPTER 4:
CONCLUSION

I. A SEARCH FOR NEW FOUNDATIONS: THE DEFEAT OF POLITICS IN FAVOR OF SECULARIZED RELIGION

The Cold War forms the backdrop for Felipe's and Gelman's exile poetry. The political rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union, along with their respective allies, created a bipolar world that exhausted intellectuals. This contributed to their status as exiled, dislocated, untethered individuals and reinforced their complicated relationships to the concept of nation and national belonging. Felipe and Gelman reacted with similar thematic gestures: both depicted an apolitical version of nationhood and national identity. For Felipe, this meant articulating two different pieces of Spain, a Spirit of Spain that included the cultural values of a progressive and inclusive version of the nation that was separate from the physical Spain on the Iberian Peninsula. Gelman demonstrated his move toward an apolitical sense of national belonging through engagement with mystic love poetry and the myth of *Sefarad.*

Religious and mystic images are the most central of these apolitical tropes. I have explored both authors' use of religious and mystic language, despite the fact that I do not read either authors' work as Christian or religiously Jewish. The religious imagery present in Felipe's and Gelman's secular poetry signals these authors' search for new foundations on which to build their sense of identity and belonging. In other words, the abundance of religious language is a symptom of the failure of their original political ideologies, that is, the socialist revolution both in the 1930s and the 1970s. As exiles, their connection to their homelands had been irreparably damaged. The connection they did continue to have with their nationhood was not a political one, as both viewed their nations as hollowed, failed social projects. Additionally, these poets'

own ideological dreams had come to an end. Their causes had been defeated on the international stage and communist and communist-adjacent ideologies no longer existed as a practical, widespread agendas. These poets had therefore lost both their national and ideological unifiers that had brought them purpose and belonging. Religion served as a shell inside which Felipe and Gelman could produce political commentary. Religion is malleable, amorphous, and transcendent beyond any one moment in time or space. Therefore religion — as separated from any Church or official structure — aided these poets in accessing a foundational force, a new ideological project at least partially separate from politics. In other words, religious imagery served as an alternative foundation to politics. Once these authors could utilize these religious tropes to move into a new realm outside of politics, they had the freedom to turn around and take a good look at their own nations and national identities.

This is what I would call the 'culturization' of their politics. Felipe's and Gelman's experience of the political had been, prior to their exiles, exclusionary, violent, and largely negative. They responded by creating ideological projects that reflected semi-fictionalized dreams. They both aimed to create poetry that reflected a homeland and a sense of belonging tied to a realm separate from politics and achieved this through an implementation of religious imagery. Felipe's and Gelman's religiosity was also ecumenical. This reflects the inclusivity of Felipe's and Gelman's new ideological doctrines in contrast to the political agendas of the Spanish and Argentine dictatorships.

II. A Transatlantic Comparison

This thesis is a transatlantic comparison. In this comparative research project, the Atlantic Ocean serves as a mirror, each author looking toward the opposite continent. In Felipe's case,

exiled from the Iberian Peninsula, he turns his eyes toward Latin America and the idea of re-imagining the Spanish nation's Spirit and values as reformulated and reenergized in America. He creates a pan-Hispanic, post-statal version of nationhood in his new home in America. Similarly, Gelman's exile from Argentina leads him to turn his eyes toward Spain. His work explores the cultural semi-mythologized space of *Sefarad* as he examines the roots of the Argentine culture as they relate to peninsular Spain, and as they challenge the Junta's ultra-nationalistic agenda. This is the value of my comparative project. Felipe and Gelman demonstrate that these conversations around nationhood and cosmopolitanism in the Hispanic world must include both Spain and Latin America, for each is aware of and influenced by the other. Peninsular Spain and Latin America serve as an indirect reflection, an oblique mirror. Felipe and Gelman can therefore look toward each other in order to explore and problematize their own identities.

Felipe and Gelman found both nationhood and cosmopolitanism in their pure forms to be inadequate in creating a new foundation for themselves from exile. They found the political nation-state, in the cases of Spain and Argentina during these decades, to be an inherently exclusionary artifact. Nations are defined through exclusion; when physical and ideological borders are drawn, exclusion of certain groups is just as central as inclusion of others. Pure cosmopolitanism, on the other hand, is too abstract, too easily inclusive, and too immediate. Cosmopolitanism is a political project that lacks practical traction. It is inherently utopian and unable to be implemented. The fact that both authors faced failed political and ideological projects further underscored the inadequacy of either nationhood or cosmopolitanism and pushed these authors toward hybridity. These authors therefore developed third options. These third options, however, have their own limitations. Felipe's and Gelman's poetic work demonstrates

that the most productive space is the tension between the two poles of nationhood and cosmopolitanism: that each concept plays off and against the other.

III. Methodological Conclusion

I will close this thesis by proposing a new method of discussing nationhood and cosmopolitanism, one that understands the two concepts as inescapably dependent on one another.

As has become apparent over the course of this thesis, in order to understand how these two poets conceive of the concept of nation, one must employ cosmopolitanism. Likewise, we can only understand how Felipe and Gelman utilize cosmopolitanism as it relates to their connection to and dislocation from nationhood. Therefore, I propose that the problem with the majority of cosmopolitan and nationalist theory is its attempt to isolate the national and the cosmopolitan from one another. Theorists arguing both for and against cosmopolitanism seem to cancel one pole in favor of the other, articulating cosmopolitanism as a standalone concept. Even those who do complicate cosmopolitanism, such as Appiah, fall into this trap. Appiah distances himself from the "narrow nationalist" and instead places himself in the category of the "cosmopolitan" (Appiah 22). His essay begins the work of complicating this debate through the idea of "rooted cosmopolitanism" and "the cosmopolitan patriot," but he does not fundamentally challenge the cosmopolitan-national binary. He still conceives of the nationhood in opposition to the cosmopolitan as made plain in his self-identifying with one of the two ideological groups and negating his belonging to the other. I advocate for a different approach. We do not need to abolish either the term "cosmopolitanism" nor the term "national." Rather, we should affirm both

together to exacerbate the reciprocal friction between them. We should understand that there are cosmopolitan forces underlying the national, and national forces present in cosmopolitanism. As I noted in the introduction, I do not wish to qualify cosmopolitanism as others do, adding additional terms and prefixes. Instead, this thesis dismantles the cosmopolitan-nationhood binary to examine the underlying "cosmopolitan forces" present in nationhood, and similar national themes present in cosmopolitanism. There is a degree of productive antagonism between these two terms.

Felipe and Gelman attempt to reconceptualize nationhood in a practical setting. Therefore, analyzing their use of cosmopolitanism demonstrates that there is no such thing as a standalone, stable cosmopolitanism, just as a purely nationalist nation also does not exist. Cosmopolitanism and nationhood do not exist without one another. It is useless to examine these concepts without including both in the conversation.

APPENDICES

V. APPENDIX 1: LEON FELIPE

La España de la Sangre (Antología, *España e hispanidad,* "La España de la Sangre" 307-311, México y Bogotá 1942, 1946)

Hay dos Españas: la de la tierra… y la de la sangre.
La España geográfica… La España física y temporal murió…
Pero queda la España del Espíritu… la España del hijo
del hijo muerto y resucitado…
¡La España de la sangre redentora!
¡La que nos importa a nosotros!
A nosotros … y a vosotros hispano-americanos…
A vosotros… poetas de América…
A vosotros… y a mí…
A vosotros… y a todos los españoles del Éxodo y del Llanto…
La que tenemos que defender juntos…
Y éstos son los límites eternos e imborrables de esta España…
Oídlos... y no los olvidéis.

España… La España inmortal de la sangre… limita
Al norte… con la pasión.
Al oeste… con el orgullo.
Al este… con lago de los estoicos…
Y al sur… con una puerta inmensa que mira al Mar y a un cielo de nuevas constelaciones.
Por esta puerta salí yo…
Todos los poetas del Destierro…
y todos los españoles del Éxodo y del Llanto.
Por esta puerta nos empujó el Viento… la Historia… la Gran Historia… Dios… Se vale de mil subterfugios y artimañas para que se cumplan las profecías y lo que está escrito en los libros sagrados desde hace muchos siglos…
A veces el hombre se con final voluntariamente en su terruño… se apoltrona… y sólo le gusta tomar el sol en el atrio de la Iglesia de su pueblo…
El español se había hecho hogareño y doméstico…
Aquel hijo de los conquistadores y de los misioneros vivía ya sólo como un maniático en su casona solariega, comiendose un puñado de bellotas…
Creía que ya no tenía nada que hacer en el mundo… y apenas se asomaba de la ventana…
Un día el Viento se levanto malhumorado… y sacudió el polvo de la tierra…
El español no entendió aquel signo…
Entonces el Viento se hizo más fuerte… y lo revolvió todo…
A esto… lo llamamos Revolución…
pero no era más que un triquiñuela del Viento.

Al final… después de mil episodios y disputas… el viento se hizo vendaval y borrasca… y empujó a unos españoles… a ciertos españoles elegidos… hacia la gran puerta que mira al mar y a las estrellas…
Por allí salimos…
Por allí salí yo…
Por allí salieron los españoles del Éxodo y del Llanto.
Entonces Franco dijo:
<He limpiado la nación…
He arrojado de la Patria la carroña y la cizaña>…
Pero el Viento… la Historia… la Gran Historia… Dios habló de esta manera:
¡He salvado la semilla mejor!... ¡Y aquí nos trajo!
Entonces yo escribí:
Mi patria está donde se encuentre aquel pájaro luminoso que vivió hace ya tiempo en mi heredad. Cuando yo nací ya no le oí cantar en mi huerto…
Y me fui en su busca, solo y callado por el mundo. Donde vuelva a encontrarlo, encontraré mi patria… porque allí estará Dios.
Un día creí que este pájaro había vuelto a España…
y me entré por mí muerto nativo otra vez…
Allí estaba en verdad… pero voló de nuevo.
Y me quedé otra vez solo y callado en el mundo…
Mirando a todas partes… y afinando el oído…
Luego empecé de nuevo a caminar.
A cantar… a gritar…
Y mi grito y mi verso…
no han sido más que una llamada otra vez…
otra vez un señuelo…
para dar con este ave huidiza…
que me ha de decir…
dónde he de plantar la primera piedra…
de mi patria perdida.

La España de la tierra ya no me importa más que para sacar de allí a los que aún buscan la justicia.
Y hoy me lo juego todo por la España de la sangre.
Esta España… Está en estas latitudes del aire y de la luz…
Y me lleno de una ruidosa alegría cuando oigo voces extrañas y celestes que me anuncian que he de venir a ser no un ciudadano de México… de Guatemala… de Nicaragua… de Costa Rica… de Colombia… de Venezuela… del Perú… de Bolivia… de Chile… de Argentina… del Uruguay… *sino un ciudadano de América.*
Y este honor… este diploma de ciudadanía continental americana, lo he de ganar… no con la lanza de los conquistadores… what sino con la espada del verbo, de la luz… y de la justicia.
Y no espero ya a que abran las puertas ibéricas de la Península…
Allí me enterraron… Pero aquí… he nacido de nuevo… Aquí… en este continente donde se ha vertido la mejor sangre de la gran España.

Mi patria está en todos los rincones de esta tierra de promisión… que ahora se me abre inmensa… desde el Río Bravo… hasta la Patagonia.
He perdido la España matriz… la vieja España europea y africana donde nací… pero aquí… se me ha multiplicado la patria.
Y a cada paso que doy… una puerta nueva se me abre… y una cara amable, sonriente y familiar… se adelanta siempre para decir:
¡Pasa… ésta es tu mansión!

Que llore el alemán sobre las ruinas de sus ciudades y sus burgos…
Que lloren los franceses porque han perdido la Torre Eiffel con su estrella de cinco puntos en el vértice del pararrayos…
Y que llore el inglés con su flema tradicional, viendo que se le derrumba el imperio…
¡Mi casa es inmortal!
Y no tiene fronteras…
La sangre no tiene fronteras… como el amor.
América es la patria de mi sangre.
He muerto… y he resucitado.
¿Entendéis ahora?
y este es el momento de definir la Hispanidad.

Hispanidad… ¡tendrás tu reino!
Pero tú Reino no será de este mundo.
Será un Reino sin espadas ni banderas…
¡Será un Reino sin cetro!
No se eguirá en la tierra nunca.
Será un anhelo… un anhelo
que vivirá en la Historia sin historia…
¡Solo como un ejemplo!
Cuando se muera España para siempre
quedará un ademán en la luz y en el aire…
Un gesto…
Hispanidad sería *aquel gesto* vencido, apasionado y loco *del Hidalgo Manchego…*
Sobre él los hombres, levantarán mañana…
el mito quijotesco…
Y hablará de Hispanidad la Historia…
cuando todos los españoles se hayan muerto.
Para crear la Hispanidad… hay que morirse…
porque sobra el cuerpo.
Murió el héroe…
moriría su pueblo.
Murió el Cristo… y morirá la tribu toda
que el Cristo redentor será ahora un grupo entero
de hombres crucificados que al tercer día
ha de resucitar de entre los muertos…
Hispanidad será este espíritu que saldrá de la sangre y de la tumba de España…
para escribir… un Evangelio nuevo.

//

The Spain of Blood

There are two Spains: that of earth ... and that of blood.
Geographical Spain ... Physical and temporal Spain died ...
But there remains the Spain of the Spirit ... the Spain of the son
of the son that has died and risen ...
The Spain of redeeming blood!
The one that matters to us!
To us ... and to you Hispanic-Americans ...
To you(pl) ... poets of America ...
To you(pl) ... and to me ...
To you(pl) ... and to all the Spaniards of the Exodus and of the Cry ...
The one we must defend together ...
And these are the limits, eternal and indelible, of this Spain ...
Hear them ... and don't forget them.

Spain ... The immortal Spain of blood ... with borders
To the North ... with passion.
To the West ... with pride.
To the East ... with the Lake of the Stoics ...
And to the South ... with an grand door that looks to the Sea and to a sky of new constellations.
I left by this door ...
All the poets of the Exile ...
and all the Spaniards of the Exodus and the Cry.
Through this door the Wind pushed us ... History ... Great History ... God ... Worth a thousand subterfuges and schemes to fulfill the prophecies and that which has been written in the sacred books for many centuries ...
Sometimes the man voluntarily arrives in his homeland ... he reclines ... and he only likes to sunbathe in the atrium of the village Church ...
The Spaniard has become homey and domestic ...
That son of the conquerors and missionaries lived now only like a maniac in his manor, eating a handful of acorns [33]...
He believed that he no longer had anything to do in the world ... he barely leaned out of the window ...
One day the Wind rose, moodily... and shook the dust from the ground...
The Spaniard did not understand the sign ...
And so the Wind grew stronger ... and it stirred everything ...
This… we call Revolution…
but it was only a trick of the Wind.
In the end ... after a thousand episodes and disputes ... the wind became a gale and squall ... and pushed some Spaniards ... certain chosen Spaniards ... towards the great door that looks out to the sea and the stars ...

[33] Food for the famous Iberian hams.

We left there ...
I left there ...
That is the door that the Spanish of Exodus and the Cry left by.
Then Franco said:
<I have cleansed the nation ...
I have thrown scum and trouble away from the Homeland> ...
But the Wind… the History… the Great History… God spoke in this way:
I saved the best seed! ... And it brought us here!
So I wrote:
My homeland is wherever one can find that luminous bird that lived long ago in my home(inheritance/property). When I was born, I no longer heard him sing in my garden ...
And I went in search of him, alone and quiet by the world. Wherever I find him again, I will find my homeland ... because God will be there.
One day I thought this bird had returned to Spain ...
and I entered my dead native land(?) again ...
It was indeed there... but he flew away once again.
And I was alone and quiet in the world once more...
Looking everywhere ... and listening hard ...
And then I started walking once again.
To sing ... to shout ...
And my cry and my verse ...
they have not been more than a call again ...
again a lure ...
to find this elusive bird ...
so it can tell me ...
where I must to plant the first stone ...
of my lost homeland.

The Spain of the land/earth/dirt no longer matters to me except to take away from there those who still seek justice.
And today I'll go for broke for the Spain of blood.
This Spain ... It is in these latitudes of air and light ...
And I am filled with a noisy joy when I hear strange and celestial voices that announce to me that I am not to become a citizen of Mexico ... of Guatemala ... of Nicaragua ... of Costa Rica ... of Colombia ... of Venezuela ... of Peru ... of Bolivia ... from Chile ... from Argentina ... from Uruguay ... *but a citizen of America.*
And this honor… this diploma of continental American citizenship, I must earn… not with the spear of the conquerors… what but with the sword of the word, of light… and of justice.
And I no longer wait for the Iberian doors of the Peninsula to open ...
They buried me there… But here… I was born again… Here… on this continent where the best blood of the great Spain has been shed.

My homeland is in every corner of this land of promise ... which now opens wide to me ... from the Rio Grande ... to Patagonia.
I have lost the maternal(literally womb) Spain ... the old European and African Spain where I was born ... but here ... my homeland has multiplied.

And with each step I take ... a new door opens for me ... and a friendly, smiling and familiar face ... always steps forward to say:
Come in ... this is your mansion!

Let the German cry over the ruins of his cities and hamlets ...
Let the French cry because they have lost the Eiffel Tower with its five-point star on the tip of its lightning rod ...
And let the Englishman cry with his traditional indifference, watching as his empire collapses ...
My house is immortal!
And it has no borders ...
Blood has no borders ... like love.
America is the homeland of my blood.
I have died and have risen.
Do you(pl) understand now?
and this is the moment to define *Hispanidad*.

Hispanidad… you will have your reign!
But your Kingdom will not be of this world.
It will be a Kingdom without swords or flags ...
It will be a Kingdom without a scepter!
It will never remain on earth.
It will be a longing ... a longing
that will live in history without history ...
Just as an example!
When Spain dies forever
a movement in the light and in the air will remain...
A gesture…
Hispanidad will be *that gesture*: the defeated, passionate and crazy gesture of *the Hidalgo Manchego* ...
On this, men will rise tomorrow ...
the quixotic myth ...
And Hispanidad will speak of the History ...
when all the Spaniards have died.
To create Hispanidad ... you have to die ...
because the body is left over(as in: excess, useless).
The hero died ...
all his people would die.
Christ died ... and the whole tribe will die
so that the redeeming Christ will now be an entire group
of crucified men who on the third day
Must rise from the dead ...
Hispanidad will be this spirit that will come out of the blood and the grave of Spain ...
to write ... a new Gospel.

Vencidos (Antología, *Autorretrato,* "Vencidos" 129-30, Madrid 1920).

Por la manchega llanura
se vuelve a ver la figura
de Don Quijote pasar.

Y ahora ociosa y abollada va en el rucio la armadura,
y va ocioso el caballero, sin peto y sin espaldar,
va cargado de amargura,
que allá encontró sepultura
su amoroso batallar.
Va cargado de amargura,
que allá «quedó su ventura»
en la playa de Barcino, frente al mar.[34]

Por la manchega llanura
se vuelve a ver la figura
de Don Quijote pasar.
Va cargado de amargura,
va, vencido, el caballero de retorno a su lugar.

¡Cuántas veces, Don Quijote, por esa misma llanura,
en horas de desaliento así te miro pasar!
¡Y cuántas veces te grito: Hazme un sitio en tu montura
y llévame a tu lugar;
hazme un sitio en tu montura,
caballero derrotado, hazme un sitio en tu montura
que yo también voy cargado
de amargura
y no puedo batallar!

Ponme a la grupa contigo,
caballero del honor,
ponme a la grupa contigo,
y llévame a ser contigo
pastor.

Por la manchega llanura
se vuelve a ver la figura
de Don Quijote pasar…

//

[34] In Don Quixote, the place where the Knight of the White Moon brings the great Don Quixote back to reality, not sanity.

The defeated ones

Across the Mancheagen plain
you can once again see the figure
of Don Quixote pass by.

And now idle and dented the amor rides the donkey,
and the gentleman goes idle without his chest guard and backpiece,
He carries bitterness,
that there he found a grave
his love-filled battle.
He carries bitterness,
that there "his good fortune stayed"
on Barcino beach, before the sea.

Across the Mancheagen plain
you can once again see the figure
of Don Quixote pass by.
He carries bitterness,
Defeated, he goes, the gentleman returns to his place.

¡How many times, Don Quixote, across this same plain,
In despondent hours have I seen you pass!
¡And how many times have I yelled: Make room for me to mount
and bring me to your place;
make room for me to mount
defeated gentleman, make room for me to mount,
for I, too, carry
bitterness
and I cannot go to battle!

Put me on the rump with you,
honored gentleman,
put me on the donkey's rump with you,
and bring me to be with you
shepherd.

Across the Mancheagen plain
you can once again see the figure
of Don Quixote pass by…

VI. APPENDIX 2: JUAN GELMAN

Poems printed as original Ladino alongside Spanish. Below each, I've included my own English translation. Translations are fairly literal excepting grammatical challenges.

I
il batideru di mis bezus/
quero dizer: il batideru di mis bezus
si sintirá in tu pasadu
cun mí in tu vinu/

avrindo la puarta dil tempu/
tu sueniu
dexa cayeryuvia durmida/
dámila tu yuvia/

mi quedarí/quietu
in tu lluvia di sueniu/
londji nil pinser/
sin spantu/ sin sulvidu/

nila caza dil tiempo
sta il pasadu/
dibaxu di tu piede/
qui baila/

I
el temblor de mis labios/
quiero decir: el temblor de mis besos
se oirá en tu pasado
conmigo en tu vino/

abriendo la puerta del tiempo/
tu sueño
deja caer lluvia dormida/
dame tu lluvia/

me detendré/quieto
en tu lluvia de sueño/
lejos en el pensar/
sin temor/sin olvido/

en la casa del tiempo
está el pasado/
debajo de tu pie/
que baila/

English translation:

I
the trembling of my lips/
I mean to say: the trembling of my kisses
it will be heard in your past
with me in your wine/

opening the door of time/
your dream
let fall the sleeping rain/
give me your rain/

you will keep me/quiet
in your rain of dreams/
far away in the thought/
without fear/without forgetting/

in the house of time
is the past/
underneath your foot/
that dances/

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