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Reaction to the Publication of the *Sonetos del amor oscuro*

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Si esta obra no se ha perdido, si, para honor de la poesía española y deleite de las generaciones, hasta la consumación de la lengua, se conservan en alguna parte los originales... (1a)¹

The publication, first in a clandestine and then in an authorized edition, of the Spanish texts of the known surviving poems from Lorca's *Sonetos del amor oscuro*, his "libro más oculto y esperado" (5a), is a major literary event, and the considerable reaction in the Spanish and foreign press is both fascinating and instructive about Lorquian affairs. In the present article, published commentary of the first twelve months after publication of the sonnets is listed (in an appendix) and analyzed. Included as well are José Luis Cano's report of his discussions with Vicente Aleixandre at the time of the sonnets' publication, and a study of Mario Socrate, published in 1985 although

¹The numbers and letters in parentheses refer to entries in the bibliographical appendix which follows the text. A large number of persons have assisted me in collecting the materials used in this article. They include José Amezcua, Andrew Anderson, Gilberto Greco, Víctor Infantes, Thomas Lathrop, Christopher Maurer, Germán and Lilia Orduna, Giuseppe di Stefano, Scott Tucker, Noel Valis, and Jack Walsh.

written earlier.² As a conclusion I have commented on two problems discussed in this material, the legitimacy of the application of the title *Sonetos del amor oscuro* to these poems, and the problematic and incomplete access to Lorca's texts in general.

Of these sonnets only two were known up to 1980: "El poeta pide a su amor que le escriba," whose autograph manuscript bears the earlier title of "Soneto de la carta" (9d; 18, p. 213), and the poem known from its first line as "Tengo miedo a perder la maravilla," found in manuscript with the title "Soneto de la dulce queja." They were published in 1940 and 1941 respectively and have been reprinted many times, while the remaining sonnets "se creían perdidos."³

Thirty-nine years later three more sonnets, "El poeta pregunta a su amor por la Ciudad Encantada de Cuenca," "Soneto gongorino en que el poeta manda a su amor una paloma," and "El poeta dice la verdad" were published, together with the "Soneto de la carta," in a "libro de lujo" (5a), "suntuoso" (9a), "en edición numerada y carísima" (2), an "elitismo para escogidos" (4).⁴ In 1981 eleven sonnets, including all of the above, were published in French translation by André Belamich; surprisingly, Belamich, who worked from manuscripts in the Lorca family archive, did not know or at

²Missing is an Italian tesina on the sonnets from November of 1985, on which I have been unable to obtain more information than that contained in a letter from Giuseppe di Stefano, December 16, 1985: "La tesina sobre los Sonetos lorquianos, en efecto, fue discutida aquí en noviembre. Le puedo asegurar que no es nada especial y creo que no se le puede sacar ningún fruto a efectos críticos. La acompaña una traducción al italiano de algunos sonetos. De momento no puedo darle los datos que me requiere: el profesor que la dirigió es ausente y del estudiante se han perdido las huellas."

³ María Dolores Aguilera, "Lorca en francés" [review of the translation of Belamich], *Quimera*, No. 14 (December, 1981), pp. 6-9, at p. 8.

⁴According to the colophon, this unpagged and unbound publication was issued in Barcelona in January of 1980, in an edition of 100 copies, plus 20 copies "fuera de comercio." While the publisher is not specified, at least on the pages of which I have a xerox, numerous references to it (7; 9a; etc.) reveal that it was "Maeght." It also contains a commentary on the poems by Jorge Guillén, "Una lectura" (3 pp.), and an editorial note of Mario Hernández (2 pp.).

least made no reference to the limited edition of the previous year.⁵ Indignation was, according to Eutimio Martín, the result of the availability only in French translation of these texts (and many others published for the first time by Belamich).⁶ *Faute de mieux*, the five sonnets whose publication in Spanish was authorized were reprinted by Mario Hernández in 1981 and by Miguel García-Posada in 1982.⁷

This was the situation when the anonymous edition of the Spanish text of the eleven sonnets appeared. It bears the title *Sonetos del amor oscuro*, and is further described as follows: “El libro es de pequeño formato, tiene 22 páginas, las cubiertas rojas, muy bien impreso en letras igualmente rojas, edición ésta no venal, bastante cuidada, con el cordoncito que sirve de separata. En las páginas del libro no aparece para nada el nombre de Federico García Lorca, ni el editor, ni nada que pueda hacer sospechar dónde han sido impresos” (3). The edition, which shows signs of hand printing (personal examination; 6; 18), stated on the title page verso that it consisted of 250 numbered

⁵*Sonnets de l'amour obscur*, trans. André Belamich, in Lorca, *Oeuvres complètes*, I (Paris: Gallimard, 1981), pp. 613-21; commentary and textual notes, pp. 1599-1609. In a preliminary note of Belamich we find the date June, 1980 (p. lvii).

⁶Eutimio Martín, “Los puntos sobre las íes. Edición de la obra de Federico García Lorca,” *Quimera*, No. 17 (March, 1982), pp. 15-18, at p. 15. Some examples, chronologically: “Improbable resulta que esos a quienes corresponde la responsabilidad no se sonrojen al ver aparecer así [i.e., in French] estos poemas, en esta extraña lengua con estas palabras extrañas” (María Dolores Aguilera, p. 8); “Tanto este tomo II como el I ven la luz en circunstancias peculiares: aparecen faltos de un número considerable de poemas de García Lorca que se han publicado en lengua francesa, en el tomo I de *Oeuvres complètes* (Gallimard, La Pléiade, 1981), pero que siguen inéditos en castellano. Es de desear que esta situación se resuelva lo más pronto posible” (García-Posada, Akal, II, “Advertencia”; also in his review, “Lorca en ‘La Pléiade,’” *Ínsula*, No. 430 [September, 1982], pp. 4-5); Joaquín Forradellas, “Un libro póstumo de García Lorca: *Suites*,” *Ínsula*, No. 450 (May, 1984), pp. 1 and 12, on p. 1, n. 1; Armiño (2).

⁷Hernández: *Diván del Tamarit, Llanto por Ignacio Sánchez Mejías, Sonetos* (Madrid: Alianza, 1981). García-Posada: Akal, II (this volume of Lorca’s verse is reviewed by Andrew Anderson in *Revista canadiense de estudios hispánicos*, 9 [1984], 112-31.) I say “whose publication was authorized” because Hernández had access to the unpublished Spanish texts of the remaining sonnets as early as 1976 (18, p. 196, n. 9).

copies, and that it was “no venal” (not for sale); copies were mailed in an envelope with no return address, postmarked Granada, to “varios poetas, profesores y críticos de Granada y de varios puntos de España,” including Isabel García Lorca (personal examination; 3; 18).⁸

On the identity of the publisher(s) of the clandestine edition there has been no speculation; even those in Granada itself (3; 4; 8; possibly 6) have been unable to identify the printer,⁹ who worked “en soledad de alquimista” (6). “Solamente se sabe que ha sido aquí en Granada por la referencia que hace a esta ciudad...en la primera página del libro” (3); Mario Hernández, much later and without explanation, stated that “casi con toda seguridad la edición se ha realizado a muchos kilómetros de la ciudad andaluza” (18, pp. 193-94), and called it “la versión que se dice editada en Granada” (p. 196, n. 9) and “la edición ‘granadina’” (p. 228). Early speculation said that the texts “no proceden del manuscrito que posee la familia, como demuestra el análisis de las variantes, sino de otros manuscritos o copias que el poeta había regalado antes de su muerte o que alguien consiguió después de su asesinato” (5a), “un amigo granadino de Federico, al que éste, en sus últimos días, pudo entregarle una copia de los sonetos, y esa persona, que ignoramos quién es, se ha cansado de esperar a que la familia publique los sonetos, decidiéndose a publicarlos él” (21, p. 280). In contrast with this explanation, Lorca family spokesman Manuel Fernández Montesinos, presumably in a better position to know, said that “toda la obra poética contenida en el mencionado archivo ha sido revisada y estudiada por un grupo de expertos lorquistas, a alguno de los cuales le han debido sacar copia

⁸*Hispanic Review* and *Journal of Hispanic Philology* received and acknowledged copies (52 [1984], 261 and 8 [1984], 260, respectively). According to John C. Miller, the *Hispanic Review* copy was stolen from its office (“The Scholars and Lorca’s Sonnets,” *Gay Studies Newsletter*, 12, 2 [July, 1985], pp. 3-4, at p. 4).

⁹All the commentators save Eduardo Castro (8), Lázaro Carreter (9a), and Socrate (20) speak of a single perpetrator; Lázaro, with no explanation, uses the plural (“los anónimos remitentes”), Castro speaks of “el editor o los editores,” and Socrate attributes the publication to “un gruppo di intellettuali granadini” (p. 251).

de los sonetos” (9e).¹⁰

The edition bore a postmark dated December 14, 1983 (18, p. 193), and was first mentioned in print within the month (2); a reviewer called it a Christmas present (4; also see 10).¹¹ In January, 1984, Tele-Radio, magazine of the official Radio y Televisión Española, reprinted all the previously unpublished sonnets (5). In March an authorized edition of what was called, with mysterious quotation marks, ““todos’ los sonetos de amor hasta ahora conocidos de Federico García Lorca” (9c) was published in the Madrid newspaper *ABC*.¹²

Opinions expressed were quite in favor of the clandestine edition. Tele-Radio stated roundly “hay que agradecer a esta edición pirata; no se queje ahora quien pudo hacerla antes y no la hizo” (5a). Such an authority as Fernando Lázaro Carreter said: “No dispondré de mejor ocasión que ésta para agradecer su envío a los anónimos remitentes” (9c), Vicente Aleixandre that “ha hecho bien ese editor anónimo en darlos a conocer” (21, p. 280), José Luis Cano called the edition a “pequeña joya,”¹³ and Francisco Ayala said that it was wrong to call the unauthorized edition “pirata”: “Esa edición ilegal

¹⁰“Los once sonetos han salido clandestinamente de los archivos de la familia García Lorca en Madrid,” echoes Eutimio Martín, *Federico García Lorca, heterodoxo y mártir. Análisis y proyección de la obra juvenil inédita* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1986), p. 61, who refers, p. 60, to “el responsable (o responsables).”

¹¹Cano’s report that he discussed the edition with Aleixandre on November 15, 1983, must be an error for December 15 (21, pp. 279-80).

¹²The only possible elucidation I have found is an equally mysterious note of Mario Hernández: in addition to the eleven sonnets, in the family archive there is found with them “el arranque de un doceavo (dos cuartetos, en borrador y sin título),” and a sonnet so far published only in the translation of Belamich (I, 497), who does not include it with the *Sonetos del amor oscuro*: “El viento explora cautelosamente” (18, p. 218). There is also an unpublished sonnet imitating Alberti, of which Hernández published the first quartet, beginning “Cuatro arcángeles—sí—de verde menta” (18, p. 214).

¹³José Luis Cano, “Nota sobre una fijación infantil de Lorca: los muslos,” *Cuadernos hispanoamericanos*, Nos. 433-34 (July-August, 1986), 139-44, at p. 144, n. 9.

que él [Manuel Fernández Montesinos] califica de pirata... parece no perseguir ningún despojo económico, ni tampoco muestra otras intenciones torpes, sino que más bien da la impresión de ser una ofrenda anónima y desinteresada a la memoria inmortal del poeta” (12). Mauro Armiño (2) described his reaction to the publication as “gozo,” adding “por fin se rompe un mito falso; por fin se conoce una verdad por encima de las hipocresías pudibundas y mezquinas.” Álvaro Salvador (4) called the clandestine edition a “felicísima idea,” and declared that: “la injusticia, finalmente, ha sido abolida, quizás por medio de una trampa, pero una trampa hermosa y valiente con cuyo autor me solidarizo.... El que esos versos durante tantos años secuestrados por odio, intolerancia y miedo salgan a volar libremente gracias a una mano anónima, te reconforta con la vida y con los seres humanos.” Finally, Antonio Muñoz Molina, in the most poetical of the newspaper articles (6), reported that “el libro ha recobrado una ternura tan hermosa y secreta que nadie puede ser invulnerable a su celada.”

Subject of almost unanimous comment was the “belleza inmortal” (15) of the sonnets; they were described with such adjectives as “impresionantes” (3), “hermosísimos” (5b), “espléndidos” (5d), “asombrosos” (9a; 9f), “bellísimos” (11), and “maravillosos” (11).¹⁴ Their position in Federico’s poetry was pointed out: they were called “poemas perfectos, limpios, terriblemente encendidos por el amor, magistrales en su clasicismo y en su finura.... Lorca dominó de modo perfecto una estructura tan difícil como el soneto; en ella volcó una pasión amorosa encendida y luminosa; tales poemas figuran entre los mejores de los suyos” (5a, adapted); more simply, they were just “los más hermosos y valientes poemas que escribiera Federico” (4; 8). Other writers pointed out their significance within Spanish poetry: Mauro Armiño found the sonnets of a “belleza inaudita, perfectamente entroncados con la mejor lírica que desde Garcilaso cultiva el soneto; ardientes expresiones amorosas, metáforas perfectas que se mueven dentro del ámbito simbólico lorquiano” (2). Miguel García-Posada said that “la enorme, ilimitada capacidad de esta voz para tocar todos los registros, todas las formas, e introducir ese acento quemado, trémulo y exacto a un tiempo, ...sólo tiene parangón, en lengua española, con San Juan de la Cruz o Quevedo” (9c). *ABC*, in an unsigned note, said that its publication of the sonnets “ha causado

¹⁴Breaking the unanimity is Aleixandre: “son desiguales, y unos son más hermosos y dramáticos que otros” (21, p. 280).

una profunda admiración entre todo el mundo literario y también entre el pueblo.... Se consideran los versos aparecidos ayer en nuestro periódico como los mejores del poeta y situados junto a las más altas muestras de la poesía en lengua castellana de todos los tiempos” (9g). ... “el ritmo seguro de los endecasílabos” (6)

The question of why such extraordinary poetry had not been and apparently was not going to be published in Spanish was an obvious topic for comment; its publication did away with the myth that its subject matter made it unpublishable (3; 11). According to Montesinos, an edition of the sonnets was already “en preparación”: “Los textos aún inéditos de García Lorca, no es que no se editen, se están editando, pero con el ritmo (que algunos podrán considerar lento, muy señores míos) exigido por la dificultad misma de la tarea y los a veces poco sincronizados calendarios tanto de preparadores como de editores de los textos” (9e).¹⁵ That an authorized edition of the sonnets was already in preparation is not supported even in the same publication: Fernando Lázaro Carreter titled his essay “Poesía de García Lorca recuperada,” and said that this part of Lorca’s work “ya parecía perdido” and that these poems had been “rescatados del silencio” (9a). According to Álvaro Salvador, it was only as a result of the clandestine edition that “la familia ha decidido finalmente publicarlos” (4). Eduardo Castro added that “los *Sonetos del amor oscuro* han sido objeto de polémica durante muchos años debido a la negativa dada siempre para su publicación en España por parte de la familia del poeta granadino” (8). A foreign commentator subsequently stated that “el libro parecía irremediabilmente condenado a no publicarse en su idioma de origen” (14).

Now that it could be seen that the sonnets were not “impublicables,” other explanations were sought for “el hecho de que la familia del poeta se negara a darlos a conocer, en su totalidad y en castellano, hasta nuestros días” (11). Mauro Armiño attributed their suppression to “hipocresías pudibundas y mezquinas,” “estupidez,” “censura y ocultación,” and “mala guarda” of Federico’s manuscripts: “la

¹⁵This then, represents a correction of Montesinos’ previous statement: “Todo lo que está hoy guardado por la familia aparecerá o se hará referencia a ello en esa edición [the authorized critical edition]” (“Sobre los inéditos de García Lorca,” *El país*, November 5, 1978; emphasis added). However, it is in harmony with that of Isabel García Lorca, “no puedo anticipar si saldrá algo en algún plazo concreto” (quoted in “Lorca el oscuro,” *Cambio 16*, July 9-15, 1978, p. 39).

manipulación a que ha sido sometida la transmisión de los textos ha traspasado, y mucho, los límites del escándalo.... Conocemos mejor, pese a la distancia y a lo perdido, viajado, traspapelado, a Quevedo que a Lorca” (2). Mario Socrate cited, besides “rigore filologico,” “motivi d’ordine familiare e di ‘difesa’ dell’immagine del poeta,” which “costituissero gli effettivi ostacoli, le resistenze che seguitavano a rimandare negli anni la pubblicazione di testi cos’i attesi” (20, p. 251). Álvaro Salvador attributed their suppression to “odio, intolerancia y miedo” (4), and Tele-Radio to “desidias, bajos intereses e hipocresias” (5a), and, simply, “censura” (5c).

The “bajos intereses” is perhaps illuminated by the family’s decision to publish the sonnets in *ABC*, which, because of the conservative history of the newspaper, was found surprising (10, 11, 12, 14, 21).¹⁶ In a first-person statement, the family spokesman Montesinos attempted, defensively, to justify the unusual forum (9e). *Cambio 16*, unsatisfied, interviewed Montesinos on precisely this point: “Manuel Fernández Montesinos, sobrino del poeta, justificaba así su decisión de publicar los sonetos en un periódico como *ABC*: ‘porque a Luis María Ansón, buen amigo de Neruda, quien en nada menos que tres ocasiones le había hablado de los sonetos de Federico García Lorca, se le ocurre dedicar parte del periódico de su dirección a este tema’ [quote from 9e]. Preguntado por *CAMBIO 16*, Montesinos no quiso añadir más a lo ya dicho en *ABC*: ‘Yo soy hombre de pocas palabras, lo que tenía que decir ya lo he dicho. No soy un vendedor ambulante ni un muñeco de pim-pam-pum. Lo he publicado en *ABC* porque ha sido el primer periódico que ha tenido esta iniciativa,¹⁷ y nada más’” (11). Montesinos’ suggestive denial of being a “vendedor ambulante” was perhaps behind *Cambio 16*’s own suggested explanation for their publication in *ABC*: the family was

¹⁶“Sorprende que la familia Lorca haya escogido precisamente el *ABC*, con toda su historia reaccionaria y franquista, para publicar esos sonetos” (21, p. 284); the editor Ansón, perhaps responding to this statement of Alexandre, admitted that *ABC* was “un periódico de posición diferente a la del poeta,” but publication in it showed “la gran lección que brinda la poesía eterna, por encima de las ideologías políticas, a todos los que quieren, como Lorca deseaba, la España de la concordia y la conciliación” (*Los domingos de ABC*, August 17, 1986, p. 27). In *Los cuadernos de Velintonia* there is much commentary on the conservative orientation of *ABC*.

¹⁷A “magnífica iniciativa,” according to Lázaro Carreter (9a).

“movida quizá por motivaciones económicas” (11). Considering the previous form in which sonnets had been made available (the “edición numerada y carísima”), and the revelation of previous offers of publication which had not even been answered (9f, 11), this suggestion would seem well founded, at least as probable as Socrate’s suggestion that the choice of a conservative vehicle was to neutralize the “scandal” of such texts (20, p. 252).

A summing-up of the whole episode was provided by Francisco Ayala (12), who commented on a “problema arduo...: el del pretendido derecho que los familiares de un autor puedan tener sobre sus escritos, no en cuanto fuente de ingresos económicos (que esto no suele cuestionarse), sino como facultad de sustraer al conocimiento general la obra que se supone debiera pertenecer a la comunidad....” Ayala pointed out that any poet, artist, or intellectual is necessarily in conflict with those around him or her, and especially when dealing with love: “Muy verdad es que todo amor, y no sólo el homosexual, es amor oscuro; todo amor busca el secreto, la sombra, y todo amor suscita en principio una reacción de hostilidad por parte de los excluidos, hostilidad que fácilmente puede llegar a la violencia.... La impudicia del poeta merece la reprobación de las gentes. El poeta, como, en mayor o menor medida, cualquier artista o intelectual, es un réprobo, y lo será hasta que, entrando acaso por la puerta falsa del éxito en el terreno de una precaria y siempre dudosa aceptación, se haya hecho perdonar su salvaje independencia y adquiera la posición equívoca de héroe popular.”

The most significant commentary, however, was provided by the sober and knowledgeable André Belamich (11), a senior Lorca scholar and one of the authorized editors and translators. “Esos sonetos son maravillosos y expresan sentimientos amorosos universales. Es rarísimo, inexplicable y criticable que la familia no haya querido publicarlos hasta ahora. Es una pena que haya tantas generaciones que no hayan podido disfrutar de ellos.... Me resulta difícil comprender que no hayan querido publicar esos poemas hasta ahora. La familia es muy discreta y puede que haya tenido miedo de dar a conocer esa parte de la personalidad de Federico, pero creo que con eso han contribuido a alimentar la leyenda, una leyenda para la que no había motivo porque se trata de unos poemas bellísimos y púdicos. Creo que tantas precauciones se les han vuelto un poco en contra. A mí me hubiera gustado que se publicaran antes en español que en francés, pero fue una cuestión que ni siquiera se consideró.”

The interview concludes: “en el conjunto de la obra oculta de Lorca¹⁸ hay poemas sobrecogedores de la vida que no pudo tener, de la persona que no pudo amar y de los hijos que no pudo abrazar.”

There are two questions addressed in the materials discussed above which deserve additional attention; the first of these is the validity of the title *Sonetos del amor oscuro*. The length at which the title was discussed suggests that it has been to some extent responsible for the delay in publication of these sonnets; the title in question would seem to imply that Federico had written a book of homosexual love sonnets, or even worse in its impact, first-person sonnets which envisioned homosexual love as an equally valid type of love. Francisco García Lorca, Federico’s brother and the one who has shaped the current editorial situation, wanted the poems to be published “bajo el título de *Sonetos*, o, a los más, *Sonetos amorosos* o *Sonetos de amor*” (9f); it is this latter title which appeared on the cover of *ABC*. Eduardo Castro helpfully points out that “los herederos de Lorca habían negado hasta ahora la existencia de estos sonetos *en forma de libro*” (8; emphasis added).

A case not only against the title *Sonetos del amor oscuro*, but against any homosexual overtones to it if it had any validity, has been made by the Lorca family members and by García-Posada (9c) and Hernández (18). It may be summarized as follows. There is stronger documentation for the composition of a larger and broader collection of sonnets, in which the love sonnets may have been included, than there is for the *Sonetos del amor oscuro*. The title *Sonetos* “es el que cuenta con la mayor legitimidad al ser el único atestiguado documentalmente y faltos los manuscritos conservados de cualquier indicación al respecto” (9c); “el cambio de título da a indicar que el poeta había renunciado al monotematismo primero, para crear un conjunto más amplio.”¹⁹ The various references of Lorca’s friends to the title go

¹⁸In commenting on a draft of this article, Belamich stated that this is not a reference to additional unpublished material, but rather to the *Suites* (personal communication, December 14, 1984).

¹⁹Miguel García-Posada, *García Lorca*, in the series “Escritores de todos los tiempos” (Madrid: EDAF, 1979), p. 321.

back to a single, common source, Aleixandre's 1937 statement,²⁰ and therefore have no weight as independent confirmation. Aleixandre, furthermore, has indicated that although Lorca obviously used it, he has "presque regretté de l'avoir dévoilé car il a le souvenir que c'était un titre très provisoire."²¹ With which the title *Sonetos del amor oscuro* vanishes like a puff of smoke. The situation, however, is not that simple.

The sonnets under discussion are obviously a group, "claramente relacionados entre sí" (18, p. 220); ten of them are found together, on the paper of the same hotel, showing that they were written together, presumably when Lorca was staying in that hotel (the Victoria, in Valencia), in November of 1935 (9c; 18, pp. 194 and 218). Now, if Federico wrote a group of sonnets, he surely had a title for that group; Federico never lacked for titles. Yet according to Montesinos, as there is no title written on the collection these can not be the *Sonetos del amor oscuro*: "desgraciadamente no se conserva en el archivo (al menos en dicho archivo [familiar]) ningún manuscrito con sonetos que lleve la indicación de su pertenencia al libro mencionado... [Hay] tan sólo un soneto denominado 'del amor oscuro' [i.e., the sonnet whose first line reads 'Ay voz secreta del amor oscuro'; emphasis his]." Since these are not the *Sonetos del amor oscuro*, there is no such collection: "el poeta pudo perfectamente haber ideado el libro, incluso haber decidido qué sonetos lo iban a componer," but "en vida García Lorca no recogió nunca una serie de sonetos suyos que formaran un conjunto amparado bajo el título citado." To use the title *Sonetos del amor oscuro* is to "falsear el contexto" of the poems, permitting "una interpretación fruto de torpes manías." The only evidence for the title *Sonetos del amor oscuro* is what Montesinos calls "recuerdos lejanos de los amigos de García

²⁰1a. According to Belamich, Aleixandre's piece in which the comment on the *Sonetos de amor oscuro* was included is "en quelques pages, ce qui a été dit de plus profond sur Lorca" (I, xi, n. 1).

²¹From a letter to Jacques Comincioli, August 1, 1969, cited in Comincioli's *Federico García Lorca. Textes inédits et documents critiques* (Lausanne: Rencontre, 1970), pp. 84- 85.

Lorca.”²²

Everyone outside the Lorca family, however, attributes at least a partial validity to these “recuerdos,” concluding that *Sonetos del amor oscuro* is as well documented as is *Sonetos*: they agree that Federico did at some time conceive of a collection of sonnets called *Sonetos del amor oscuro*, and that the sonnets under discussion were part of that collection. “No cabe duda alguna de que fue uno de los títulos, quizás el primero, pensado por Lorca para su libro en preparación,” writes Mario Hernández (18, p. 194); as he specified in 1980, this “libro en preparación” was a “libro de sonetos amorosos.”²³ The chosen editor, Miguel García-Posada, admitted that “el título *Sonetos del amor oscuro* circulara...de modo privado”; “diversos amigos de Lorca... lo han mencionado, y sin duda se lo oyeron al poeta” (9c).²⁴

It is unlikely that Alexandre’s statement is the source for all the various references of Lorca’s contemporaries to the title, “testimonios sobrados,” in the opinion of Lázaro Carreter, “de que proyectó los de materia erótica como conjunto unitario” (9a). Not only Alexandre but also Neruda, Ayala, Cernuda, Rivas Cherif, Martínez Nadal, Giner de los Ríos, Guillermo de Torre, Altolaquirre, Bergamín, and Manuel Benítez IngloTT all used that title and no other.²⁵ It is hard to

²² 9e; “Sobre los inéditos de García Lorca.” According to Martínez Nadal, the same factor—that Lorca did not leave us a written discussion or outline of the book—was responsible for the delay in publication from 1973 to 1983 of Belamich’s reconstruction of Lorca’s *Suites* (“Los inéditos de Lorca,” *El país*, November 26, 1978).

²³In the “Maeght” collection discussed earlier. Its colophon states “Esta obra constituye la edición original de *Sonetos del amor oscuro* de Federico García Lorca,” but these words, to judge by his editorial note, were apparently not written by Hernández.

²⁴In his anthology *García Lorca* (*supra*, note 19), García-Posada wrote that “los...sonetos antologizados pertenecen, sin duda, a los *Sonetos del amor oscuro*” (p. 321).

²⁵Neruda: 1b, and also a quotation in W. Mauro and E. Clementelli, *Los escritores frente al poder* (Barcelona: Caralt, 1975), p. 73 (cited by Martín, “Los puntos sobre las íes,” p. 18). Ayala: 12. Cernuda: 18, pp. 194-95. Rivas Cherif: “La muerte y la pasión de García Lorca,” *Excelsior* [Mexico], January 13, 1957; Rivas is discussing a publication of Juan Rejano, which

believe that all of these friends and acquaintances took the title from a single indirect source, and that not one of them would have realized and corrected the alleged error in that source.

Aleixandre's attack (in a letter to Jacques Comincioli) on his own 1937 statement, in which *Sonetos del amor oscuro* was clearly and unambiguously named ("me leía sus *Sonetos del amor oscuro*"), is also suspect. Why was Aleixandre so definite about it, if it was merely a "provisional" title? Why are we to prefer a recollection of 1969 over one of 1937? Why has Aleixandre neither corrected his piece nor protested against its reprinting, if it is in error or misleading? Why, in discussing with José Luis Cano his 1937 statement and its documentation for the title, did he not correct or qualify it (21, pp. 280-81)?

Additionally undermining Aleixandre's isolated 1969 correction is his statement in it that "Federico n'a lu à Vicente Aleixandre que les seuls publiés jusqu'à présent" (Comincioli, pp. 84-85). In contrast with other persons who heard Lorca read the sonnets (Gil-Albert, Martínez Nadal, Neruda, etc.), Aleixandre claims that he heard only three or four, and that these coincide precisely with those published by 1969. This is so unlikely that it is for all practical purposes impossible, and therefore undermines Aleixandre's simultaneous attack on the title.

I have not seen. Martínez Nadal: introduction to *Poems*, trans. Stephen Spender and J. L. Gili (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939), p. xxv; *El público: Amor, teatro y caballos en la obra de Federico García Lorca* (Oxford: Dolphin, 1970), pp. 159, 169, 189, 258; letter, *El país*, September 8, 1978; Cuatro lecciones sobre Federico García Lorca (Madrid: Juan March/Cátedra, 1980), p. 105. Giner de los Ríos: 9f. Guillermo de Torre: review of the Aguilar *Obras completas*, reprinted in *Las metamorfosis de Proteo* (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1956), pp. 143-51, at p. 148. Altolaguirre: *El caballo griego*, in his *Obras completas*, ed. James Valender, I (Madrid: Istmo, 1986), 87 (note the same title in the variant text in the footnote). José Bergamín, in a draft of his introduction to the Séneca and Norton editions of *Poeta en Nueva York*; see Eisenberg, *Poeta en Nueva York: Historia y problemas de un texto de Lorca* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1976), p. 37 (why Bergamín, having included the title, then deleted it, is not clear, but there are in his introduction many allusions to the collection, as was pointed out by García-Posada, Akal, II, 759). Benítez Inglott: *Crucifixión*, Planas de Poesía [Las Palmas], 9 (September, 1950), according to Arturo del Hoyo, textual notes in the Aguilar edition to the sonnets "Tengo miedo a perder la maravilla" and "El poeta pide a su amor que le escriba."

That Lorca did call these poems *Sonetos del amor oscuro* would thus seem quite probable. There are two arguments, neither incontrovertible, that he moved from this collection and title to a less specific, more inclusive one; these arguments, rather than reinforcing, undermine each other. The first is the mention of the title *Sonetos* in a newspaper interview of April, 1936; this is the official, “documented,” family title.²⁶ However, Lorca might well not have wanted such a suggestive title as *Sonetos del amor oscuro* to be published.²⁷ In a letter to Adolfo Salazar of early June, 1936, he tried to prevent certain words of his from being published in a newspaper, and sources, such as Neruda, are definite in his treating these poems, like the “irrepresentable” *El público*, as something not to be circulated casually. Also, in the same interview Lorca used the title *Nueva York* for a book which he had already called *Poeta en Nueva York*, but no one has suggested that Nueva York is therefore the title we should adopt.

The second argument is based on the statements of Luis Rosales, the only one of Lorca’s circle to suggest a different title, and a title, furthermore, unsupported by any source outside Rosales’ family: *Jardín de (or de los) sonetos*. According to Rosales in 1978, this title was merely a projected one.²⁸ However, in 1981 Rosales claimed that Lorca had written sonnets in Rosales’ house, while in hiding shortly before his assassination,²⁹ these of course could not be the sonnets allegedly corresponding to the earlier “broader” title of *Sonetos*. Rosales further claimed that he had turned over “algunos” to the Lorca family, without keeping a copy. In 1984, repeating that he

²⁶“El título fue simplificado por el propio poeta en declaraciones últimas, bajo el simple título de *Sonetos*” (Montesinos, “Sobre los inéditos de García Lorca”; also 9e, 9f).

²⁷According to García-Posada (9c), one can understand why the title *Sonetos del amor oscuro* “no trascendiera a las declaraciones públicas del autor.”

²⁸Quoted by Ian Gibson, *El asesinato de García Lorca* (Barcelona: Crítica, 1979), p. 181. The same information is found in Hernández’s introduction his edition of *Diván del Tamarit, Llanto por Ignacio Sánchez Mejías, Sonetos*, pp. 128-29, citing a report of Gibson’s interview with Rosales in *Triunfo*, February 24, 1979 (not seen).

²⁹According to García-Posada, Akal, II, 759.

himself had turned over to the Lorca family Federico's sonnets, he stated that he was "absolutamente arrepentido, porque esos sonetos no están entre los publicados."³⁰

There are several problems with these statements of Rosales. They are contradictory on their face, and are combined with a claim, completely at variance with every other source, that Lorca's sonnet collection, the *Jardín*, consisted of 30 to 35 sonnets (see 18, pp. 220-22). (The possibility that Lorca could have written that many otherwise unknown sonnets in a short time Mario Hernández finds "perfectamente verosímil... [pues] en ningún momento debió temer por su vida" [18, p. 206], while Miguel García-Posada declares "no creo que el terror reinante, y que el autor conocía, le permitiera escribir" [Akal, II, 759].) They must also be assessed together with other statements of Rosales: that Lorca in his house was writing or intended to write a continuation of the *Milagros de nuestra Señora*³¹ and a work called Adán, which in one interview was called an epic poem,³² in another a drama (Molina Fajardo, p. 39). These statements, which to my knowledge no one takes seriously, are just as worthy of respect as is the *Jardín de los sonetos*.

A further problem with Rosales' statements is his claim that he turned over manuscripts to the Lorca family; this contradicts an earlier statement of his sister Esperanza that it was their father who had turned over to Lorca's father all the manuscripts in their possession (Gibson, *El asesinato*, p. 180), and also fails to address the fact that Rosales, who met Lorca in 1930, conserves poems from 1918 unpublished until 1976 and 1982 (Akal, II, 770-71), perhaps the same "inéditos" of Federico he was reading in 1944.³³ If either

³⁰Quoted by Hernández, 18, p. 228, n. 79.

³¹Eduardo Molina Fajardo, *Los últimos días de García Lorca* (Esplugués de Llobregat, Barcelona: Plaza & Janés, 1983), p. 178.

³²Gibson, *El asesinato*, p. 181; Hernández, introduction to edition of *Diván del Tamarit, Llanto por Ignacio Sánchez Mejías, Sonetos*, pp. 128-29; José Luis Vila-San-Juan, *García Lorca, asesinato: toda la verdad* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1975), p. 116.

³³Charles David Ley, *La costanilla de los diablos (Memorias literarias 1943-52)* (Madrid: José Esteban, 1981), p. 41. Regarding information in this volume relevant to the text of *La casa de Bernarda Alba*, see my "Nuevos

Rosales did give these sonnets to Federico's father, what has happened to them? Montesinos has repeatedly denied that his family possesses the texts in question, and most recently is quoted as follows: "Respecto a los *Sonetos del amor oscuro*, Fernández Montesinos dijo no conocer la existencia de otros, aunque reveló que quizá 'los tenga Luis Rosales.'" ³⁴ Furthermore, there is the question of Lorca manuscripts other than sonnets: Hernández believes it likely that at this time there passed from the Rosales to the Lorcas the or a MS of *La casa de Bernarda Alba* (18, p. 208), a text with a confusing history of its own. ³⁵

Furthermore, there are similar problems and contradictions in Rosales' incomplete accounts of the circumstances surrounding Federico's death. ³⁶ For all these reasons—the unsupported title, the quantity of poems, that they are missing, the self-contradictions and the general unreliability of Rosales—his statements about Lorca's sonnets must be judged suspect. As Mario Hernández summarized,

documentos relativos a la edición de *Poeta en Nueva York* y otras obras de García Lorca," forthcoming in *Anales de Literatura Española* [Alicante].

³⁴"Montesinos revela parte de la obra inédita de García Lorca," *Diario de Granada*, November 9, 1984, p. 1.

³⁵See note 33. In this context it is worth pointing out that no comment at all has been made on my suggestion (*Poeta en Nueva York*, p. 36) that Rosales might be one of the still-unidentified holders of a MS of *El público*, a work Federico was carrying with him in July of 1936.

³⁶"La muerte de Federico ha sido para mí una prueba decisiva. Yo quería mucho a Federico. Debo a los sufrimientos de todo orden que padecí entonces, y padezco aún, no sólo la pena más grande de mi vida, sino *el conocimiento definitivo de mí mismo* y la certidumbre de que uno no se puede fiar de nadie en este mundo" (quoted in Marcelle Auclair, *Vida y muerte de García Lorca*, trans. Aitana Alberti [México: Era, 1972], pp. 389-90; emphasis added). As an introduction to this aspect one might contrast his statements quoted by Rivas Cherif, "La muerte y la pasión de García Lorca," *Excelsior*, January 6, 1957, with Gibson, Chapters 9 and 10; also compare Claude Couffon, *Granada y García Lorca* (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1967), p. 117; Gibson, p. 181; and Vila-San-Juan, Appendix I. See also Daniel Eisenberg, *Textos y documentos lorquianos* (Tallahassee, 1975), p. 48, n. 5; and Soledad García, "Las cosas que oculta Luis Rosales," *Realidad*, No. 1036 (May 2, 1973), p. 6.

“el hecho de que progresivamente haya ido añadiendo nuevos datos provoca cierta desconfianza sobre la fidelidad de su memoria o, sin más, de sus testimonios” (18, p. 222, n. 62); “las declaraciones de Luis Rosales son contradictorias y cambiantes a lo largo del tiempo, lo cual hace dudar de la fidelidad de su memoria.”³⁷ Given this, one can not accept Hernández’ and García-Posada’s selective use of Rosales’ information.

None of this, then, would seem sufficient to remove authority from the clear statement of such a knowledgeable and straightforward source as Neruda: “La última vez que lo vi,³⁸ me llevó a un rincón y, como en secreto, me dijo de memoria seis o siete sonetos que aún persisten en mi recuerdo como sonetos ejemplares, de una increíble belleza. Era un libro entero que nadie conoce aún. Lo tituló *Sonetos del amor oscuro*.”³⁹

According to García-Posada, even if Lorca did use the title *Sonetos del amor oscuro*, which he calls “mítico” (9c), that does not therefore mean that it has the meaning commonly attributed to it.

³⁷“Se reaviva la polémica de García Lorca,” *Diario de Granada*, November 9, 1984, p. 10.

³⁸July 11, 1936, according to Auclair, p. 323.

³⁹1b. The title is also used by Neruda’s widow, who refers to *ABC*’s edition not by its title *Sonetos de amor* but as *Sonetos del amor oscuro* (*ABC*, edición internacional, July 18-24, 1984, p. 21). Also in *ABC*, Claude Couffon is quoted as using the title *Sonetos del amor oscuro* (15); it is used three times in the heading and text of “Amancio Prada cantará los *Sonetos del amor oscuro*, de García Lorca, en el teatro María Guerrero,” *ABC*, edición internacional, February 5-11, 1986, p. 32. While reprinting the “*Sonetos de amor*,” the heading being the only place that title is found, the editor of *ABC*, Luis María Ansón, three times in his introduction uses *Sonetos del amor oscuro* (*Los domingos de ABC*, August 17, 1986, p. 27). In the same issue, the title is also used by Charles Marcilly: “la denuncia de la marginación más dolorosa y personal, la del amor homosexual que se confiesa en los poemas del *Diwán del Tamarit* y los *Sonetos del amor oscuro*” (“El pensamiento de Federico,” p. 13), and by Julio Huelamo Kosma: “el código amoroso que recorre con manifiesta acuidad los *Sonetos del amor oscuro*” (“El soneto ‘El poeta pregunta a su amor por la Ciudad Encantada de Cuenca,’” pp. 42-43, at p. 42). According to Mario Socrate, “le obiezioni risentite al ‘mítico’ titolo *Sonetos del amor oscuro*...appaiono trascendere gli scrupoli d’un rigore filologico” (20, p. 252).

“Amor oscuro” means “amor secreto,” and also “el amor que mata o hace morir.” To claim that “amor oscuro” meant “homosexual love” would be “irresponsabilidad,” “hacer daño,” “falsear datos,” “manipular hechos,” an “abusiva simplificación... otorgándole unas resonancias morbosas, y aun mórbidas,” and in sum “lectura e interpretación errónea de la obra lorquiana” (9c, adapted). Faced with which, one must cite the reaction of Carmelo Samonà:⁴⁰ “Un curioso riserbo trapela dalle pagine del quotidiano madrilenno. Perché? Nel 1984 occorre davvero difendere Lorca da se stesso?” (17).⁴¹

García-Posada’s own collaborator Mauro Armiño wrote “uno de los insultos lanzados contra Lorca es el de su homosexualidad. Y los *Sonetos del amor oscuro* cantan esa pasión.”⁴² Even in the same publication, Lázaro Carreter (9a), while sensibly pointing out that “amor oscuro” meant “love” in general, did not avoid the implication that a love which is general is not only heterosexual. “Lorca vivió con dramatismo su condición... Aunque Federico no rehuyó el equívoco, ese adjetivo [oscuro] en su intención decía mucho más. Se refería esencialmente al ímpetu indomable y a los martirios ciegos del amor.... ¿Que ese amor es distinto?... Aguijoneaba a Federico [que este amor fuera] un amor improductivo.... Pero no niega que sea

⁴⁰García-Posada himself, carefully choosing his words, wrote (in Akal, II, 131) that “no se puede negar que hay en él [the word ‘oscuro’] una franja de significado que conecta con una concepción amorosa no heterosexual,” although in Lorca it was “exento de connotaciones turbias.” If it does not have those connotations, though, then why is there such resolute opposition to its use?

⁴¹The quotation of Aleixandre which closes Cano’s *Cuadernos de Velintonia*: “Lo curioso es cómo en todos los artículos que acompañan a los sonetos [in *ABC*] se evita cuidadosamente la palabra homosexual, aunque se aluda a ello, pues nadie ignora que esos sonetos no están dedicados a una mujer. Se ve que todavía ésa es palabra tabú en España, en ciertos medios, como si el confesarlo fuese un descrédito para el poeta. Todo eso viene de muy antiguo, de cuando la Inquisición quemaba vivos a los culpables del delito nefando. No es extraño que aún haya gentes para las que toda sospecha de ese supuesto pecado sea vista como peligrosa, aunque ya no haya inquisición” (21, pp. 284-85).

⁴² Mauro Armiño is credited in the colophons of Akal I and II, and is also listed on García-Posada’s García Lorca as the editor of the series in which the book appeared.

amor.” Mario Hernández, while pointing out that “las connotaciones del sintagma ‘amor oscuro’ se disparan en más de una dirección,” described as not only “comúnmente admitido” but “justifica[do]” the meaning just mentioned (18, p. 195).

One can maintain the contrary position: even if Lorca did move to a broader concept and title for his sonnet collection, the meaning “comúnmente admitido” is still correct. That Lorca compared his book of sonnets to Shakespeare’s *Sonnets*, of which García-Posada makes much,⁴³ recalls the attribution of homosexual implications to Shakespeare’s sonnets, an interpretation so widespread—more so than today—that Lorca certainly must have been exposed to it.⁴⁴ In defense of the *Jardín* title Hernández refers to Lorca’s “remotos jardines verlenianos de sus prosas y poemas juveniles” (18, p. 211), but forgets the meaning of Verlaine to Lorca.⁴⁵ In sum, even if Lorca was planning a larger sonnet collection, the poems he called *Sonetos del amor oscuro*, and only those poems, were what was new about it, what he was reading to his friends, what was thematically linked to other writing projects of the same period.

The second and final point which the incident brings up is—yet another time—the question of access to Lorca’s works. Not only do we not have an edition of his complete works, we do not even know what his complete works would contain. Naturally this makes much study of Lorca provisional in nature.

This problem has two facets; the first is the Lorca family archive. Statements made about it have repeatedly been shown to be inadequate. For example, in text 93, Montesinos said that all of Federico’s “obra poética” was being studied by a group of “expertos lorquistas,” leaving unanswered the question of the fate of the materials which

⁴³9c; *García Lorca*, p. 321.

⁴⁴For an introduction to this crux of Shakespeare scholarship, see Martin Green, *The Labyrinth of Shakespeare’s Sonnets* (London: Charles Skilton, 1974), Chapter 4, and Joseph Pequigney, *Such is My Love: A Study of Shakespeare’s Sonnets* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).

⁴⁵“Soy un pobre muchacho apasionado y silencioso que, casi casi como el maravilloso Verlaine, tiene dentro una azucena imposible de regar y presento a los ojos bobos de los que me miran una rosa muy encarnada con el matiz sexual de peonía abrileña, que no es la verdad de mi corazón” (from Lorca’s first letter to Adriano del Valle).

were not poetry. The “expertos lorquistas” (in answer to Rafael Martínez Nadal, “Los inéditos de Lorca,” *El país*, November 26, 1978), published a joint letter in *El país*, January 7, 1979, stating that “el archivo de la familia del poeta ha permanecido desde hace años abierto y a nuestra entera disposición para el trabajo que realizamos”; this letter was signed by Ian Gibson, Francisco Giner de los Ríos, Mario Hernández, Marie Laffranque, Eutimio Martín, and Antonina Rodrigo.⁴⁶ That even those signing could not independently endorse what they had signed, however, can be seen from Hernández’ later conflicting statement: he had only been able to see the manuscripts of the sonnets “en dos o tres ocasiones... sin tomar más que alguna nota suelta,” and had access to copies only through those of Eutimio Martín (18, p. 196, n. 9).

In fact, direct access to the family archive is restricted to Montesinos and Isabel García Lorca (Montesinos, personal communication, June 9, 1984), and to this day no full description of its contents has been published. García-Posada, declaring a heavy debt to an article of Marie Laffranque, published a list of “inéditos” contained in it (Akal, I, 561-62); although without any reference to the bulky files of Lorca’s correspondence, we find that there are “conservados en los archivos familiares” Lorca’s diary, “de la época adolescente,” “poemas de 1917 a 1920,” an “esbozo” of *La bola negra*, “proyecto de drama contra la represión homosexual,” as well as the first act of *Los sueños de mi prima Aurelia*⁴⁷ and a one-act play, *Sombras*. It was

⁴⁶ García-Posada and Belamich are not among the signatories, the former because he has not been able to consult the Lorca archives (Akal, II, 763); the latter’s access, which he has commented favorably and gratefully on (11; his translation, I, lx), was prior to the death of Francisco García Lorca.

⁴⁷The manuscript of this play was exhibited at the New York Public Library in 1985 as part of the *Tesoros de España* exhibition. According to the catalog of the exhibition (New York Public Library, 1985), p. 412, a facsimile edition was being prepared by Marie Laffranque, to be published by the University of Granada and the García Lorca Foundation. The Spanish and English parallel-text commentaries disagree on the nature of the edition, which according to the English text will contain “the last 28 sheets” [according to the catalog, the MS consists of only 28 sheets], and according to the Spanish “estas últimas veinticinco cuartillas.” Publication of the “esbozo” of *La bola negra* has not been announced at all, nor has that of the “una hoja” of *La destrucción de Sodoma*, which, according to Montesinos (“Sobre los inéditos de García Lorca”), is in the family’s

a revelation to hear the latter, dated 1920, discussed by Eutimio Martín; its topic is a comparison of Christianity with Greek philosophy.⁴⁸

Belamich's translation included "más de cincuenta canciones, poemas en prosa, odas, los escritos juveniles e incontables variantes a millares de versos" (María Dolores Aguilera, p. 6), "entre tres y cuatro mil versos" (2) unavailable in Spanish. With the publication of the *Sonetos*, the *Oda y burla de Sesostris y Sardanápalo* (note 53, *infra*), a piece of juvenilia, "Mi compadre pastor,"⁴⁹ and the partial publication of *Sombras* by Martín, it seemed that progress was being made. At least through Volume I (poetry and prose) of Belamich's translation we thought, for a time, that we knew the contents of the archive in this area, with access to the French translations.

Leaving aside the case of a sonnet to Neruda's daughter, present in the Lorca archive but not in Belamich's volume of translations,⁵⁰ in November of 1984 we had the revelation by Montesinos of many additional works, whose existence was apparently unknown even to Belamich, in the family archive. According to a talk given in Granada on November 8, 1984, reported in an article significantly titled "Fernández Montesinos reveló parte de la obra inédita de García

possession.

⁴⁸ "La primera pieza teatral (inédita) de García Lorca," paper presented at the VIII Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas, Brown University, 1983; published in *Quimera*, No. 36 (March, 1984), pp. 51-55 (not seen). According to Martín, *Heterodoxo y mártir*, p. 246, n. 35, the *Quimera* article and AIH paper is incorporated into that book. "Los puntos sobre las íes," cited *supra*, note 5, is also incorporated, pp. 46-64.

⁴⁹Eutimio Martín, "En torno a un texto autobiográfico (inédito) de Federico G. Lorca," in *L'Autobiographie en Espagne* (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1982), pp. 227-59. This article is reproduced with minor changes, although without the facsimile of the manuscript found in the original publication, in Martín, *Heterodoxo y mártir*, pp. 175-99.

⁵⁰"Versos en el nacimiento de Malva Marina Neruda," *ABC*, edición internacional, July 18-24, 1984, pp. 22-23. Neruda himself had no copy of this poem (p. 21).

Lorca” (italics mine),⁵¹ these include fragments of five of the six works mentioned as in press or in preparation at the end of the long-unavailable *Impresiones y paisajes: Místicas, Fray Antonio (Poema raro), Elogios y canciones, Eróticas, and Tonados de la vega (Cancionero popular)*; these fragments are up to 114 pages long. In addition, Montesinos mentioned “un breve estudio sobre una obra titulada Diego Corrientes, tópico andaluz en tres actos,” “que termina con la aparición del Cristo del Gran Poder,” “un diálogo en el que intervienen Federico, Buñuel y Augusto Centeno,” and “diálogos como el *Diálogo de la sombra*, otro sin título que comienza ‘Jehová aparece solemne...’ y uno, curioso titulado *Diálogo mudo de los cartujos*, donde en vez de parlamentos, los frailes hablan por signos ortográficos.” In May, 1985, Ian Gibson has added that besides the *Místicas*, the juvenilia include “unos 140 poemas, algunos de ellos largos, otros muy extensos...varias pequeñas obras teatrales” and “otros interesantes manuscritos.” Gibson comments on the material’s importance: “la publicación de este material nos brindará importantes claves para el mejor entendimiento del mundo lorquiano.... Demuestra, en primer lugar, que la crisis religiosa del joven Lorca fue mucho más profunda y virulenta de lo que hubiéramos podido deducir de la lectura de *Impresiones y paisajes, El maleficio de la mariposa y Libro de poemas*.”⁵² Although an unspecified portion of it is reported

⁵¹ *Diario de Granada*, November 9, 1984, pp. 1 and 10. The content of *Místicas* was reported in more detail in *El país*, November 13, 1984, known only through the reprint in the international edition, November 19, 1984, p. 19 (in turn reproduced in *Hispania*, 68 [1985], 560). Greater detail is found in an inventory by Christopher Maurer, “Sobre la prosa temprana de García Lorca (1916-1918),” *Cuadernos hispanoamericanos*, Nos. 433-434 (July-August, 1986), pp. 13-30, which includes some brief excerpts.

⁵² Ian Gibson, “Crisis de religión y dudas de amor,” *La gaceta del libro* [Fondo de Cultura Económica], 1^a quincena de mayo, 1985, 2 pp. Gibson adds—the possible connection with the inaccessibility of this material is obvious—that “si el Lorca adolescente ha llegado a odiar al Dios de las Batallas [of the Old Testament], es principalmente porque éste condena la sexualidad humana.” Further information on the juvenilia is scattered in Martín, *Heterodoxo y mártir*, and Maurer, “Sobre la prosa temprana,” *passim*.

to have been included in an appendix to Martín's dissertation,⁵³ no plans for its publication have been announced.⁵⁴

Yet the question of Lorca's unpublished or imperfectly published works does not end here, nor is it only a question of juvenilia. The mysteries of the manuscripts of *Poeta en Nueva York* and *El público* are still unresolved, and Martínez Nadal has yet to tell us the nature of the "papeles personales" which Lorca gave him together with the incomplete draft MS of the latter.⁵⁵ Salvador Dalí, in 1978, said that he would publish his correspondence with Lorca, and Gerardo Diego said the same in 1979 regarding his correspondence; neither has taken place.⁵⁶ Rafael Sánchez Ventura has yet to carry out his plan to

⁵³ "La juvenilia inédita del poeta (que hemos podido leer gracias a la tesis de Eutimio Martín, que la incluye en apéndice)" (Ian Gibson, "Un probable artículo de García Lorca sobre Omar Jayyam," *Cuadernos hispanoamericanos*, Nos. 433-44 [July-August, 1986], pp. 37-42, at p. 39). On p. 37, n. 2, Gibson gives the title: "apéndice documental a la tesis doctoral de Eutimio Martín, 'Federico García Lorca, heterodoxo y mártir. Análisis y proyección de la "juvenilia" inédita,' Diss. Université de Montpellier Paul Valéry, 1984." This is also the title of Martín's 1986 book, in which the documentary appendix is not included. I have not yet been able to obtain a copy of the original dissertation.

⁵⁴If it had been up to the Lorca family—as, by the laws of literary property, it should have been—*Poeta en Nueva York* would not have been published in 1940 (Martín, "Los puntos sobre las íes," p. 17). The same argument against publication ("su estado fragmentario y...carecer del último visto bueno del autor," *Oda y burla de Sesostri y Sardanápalo*, ed. Miguel García-Posada [Esquio-Ferrol: Sociedad de Cultura Valle-Inclán, 1985], pp. 16-17) is mentioned by García-Posada, apparently because he had to refute the argument in order to be able to publish the *Oda y burla*.

⁵⁵*El público*, p. 15. See also 21, p. 229, and Montesinos, "Sobre los inéditos de García Lorca."

⁵⁶Gerardo Diego: Martín, *Heterodoxo y mártir*, p. 54, n. 24. Dalí: Mónica Zerbib, "Salvador Dalí: 'Soy demasiado inteligente para dedicarme sólo a la pintura,'" *El país*, July 30, 1978. This is apparently not to be identified with the letters of Dalí to Lorca, published (together with others written to Lorca) on the basis of MSS in the family archive by Antonina Rodrigo in *Lorca-Dalí: Una amistad traicionada* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1981); that book was obviously prepared without Salvador's cooperation, and the incomplete and erroneous nature of one letter published in it was pointed out by Martín,

publish Lorca's letters to Adolfo Salazar.⁵⁷ After fifty years of believing it destroyed we learn that Lorca's correspondence both to and from Aleixandre is in existence (Martín, *Heterodoxo y mártir*, p. 89). And one could continue in this fashion.

According to García-Posada, the reappearance of the revised MS of the *Sonetos del amor oscuro* would be "casi un milagro." The handwritten originals were allegedly given to Rafael Rodríguez Rapún, Lorca's secretary, to be typed.⁵⁸ Whether or not he typed them is not known, nor why he would not have given the typed copy to Federico, who had seemingly gotten back his drafts (the only texts we have for nine sonnets). Still, the death of Rapún is offered as explanation for the disappearance of a "manuscrito más completo y definitivo" (9c).⁵⁹ Rapún, however, was killed in combat, in mid-1937, and that his death itself would lead to loss of manuscripts would seem possible only if he were carrying manuscripts into battle with him, a colorful but unlikely fantasy. Manuscripts in Rapún's possession have been presumed lost for another reason as well: his family's house in Madrid was bombed and burned—not so suddenly that anyone was killed or injured during the same, but still, manuscripts of Republican Spain's greatest and internationally famous hero and martyr were simply abandoned there to be destroyed.

It is no more "milagroso" that *La niña que riega la albahaca y el príncipe preguntón*, described as late as 1981, without controversy,

Heterodoxo y mártir, pp. 86-88, n. 6.

⁵⁷*Autógrafos*, ed. Rafael Martínez Nadal, I (Oxford: Dolphin, 1975), xx, n. 6.

⁵⁸Rapún is also supposed to be the "destinatario" of the sonnets, something which Aleixandre "sospechó siempre" (21, p. 280) and is stated without qualification by Mario Socrate (20, p. 250).

⁵⁹ Along with a MS of *El público* (Nadal, *Autógrafos*, II [Oxford: Dolphin, 1976], p. vii, n. 3), and the only drafted act of *La destrucción de Sodoma*, according to Luis Sáenz de la Calzada, "*La Barraca*": *Teatro universitario* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1976), pp. 12, n., and 157. On Rapún, see C. Rivas Cherif, "La muerte y la pasión de García Lorca," *Excelsior*, January 13 and 27, 1957; Suzanne Byrd, "*La destrucción de Sodoma*: A Reconstruction of Federico García Lorca's Lost Drama," *García Lorca Review*, 4 (1976), 105-08; Sáenz de la Calzada, pp. 187-91; and Hernández, 18, pp. 223 and 226.

as “perdido,” should be published, and yet it has.⁶⁰ The “discoveries” of *Lola la comedianta* and *Comedia sin título* are surely “miracles”; that the Lorca family had the draft sonnets that have now been published was another. An earlier generation had its “miracle”: the publication of all but the last page of *El maleficio de la mariposa*. “Miracles” are happening all the time in Lorca studies. One legitimate position, faced with this, is a sad one: “más vale tarde que nunca,” and there is, even today, the danger that unpublished materials may be lost.⁶¹ However, some compensation may be found in the attention all these delays and problems are attracting to Federico’s work. His own words are an appropriate concluding reflection: “Sólo el misterio nos hace vivir. Sólo el misterio.”

Appendix

1. *Sonetos del amor oscuro*. Granada [?]: n. p., 1983. 19 pp.

1a. Preliminary text of Vicente Aleixandre (reproduced in 3; identified in 9c, 10, and 18). An extract from “Federico,” published in *Hora de España*, No. 7 (1937), 43-45, reprinted in

⁶⁰Described as lost: *Lola la comedianta*, ed. Piero Menarini (Madrid: Alianza, 1981), p. 83. Published in *Títere*, a small magazine devoted to puppet theater, it first came to my attention in an advertisement on the back of Akal II, announcing its inclusion in the second edition of Volume III (*Teatro*, 1) of García-Posada’s Akal edition of Lorca’s works. This has not been published; the text is available, however, in *Anales de la Literatura Española Contemporánea*, 9 (1984), 295-306, and was studied by the editor, Luis González-del-Valle, in “*La niña que riega la albahaca y el príncipe preguntón* y las constantes dramáticas de Federico García Lorca,” *Anales de la Literatura Española Contemporánea*, 7 (1982), 253-64.

In response to a draft of this article, André Belamich sent me a draft of part of the introduction to his translation of Lorca’s theater, setting forth his reasons for believing the text of *La niña* to be a forgery (personal communication, February 5, 1985).

⁶¹See Martín, *Heterodoxo y mártir*, p. 81, for one example. I fear for the destruction of the manuscript of *Poeta en Nueva York*, which could be recovered rapidly were there cooperation among the various parties interested in it.

Homenaje al poeta García Lorca contra su muerte (Valencia-Barcelona: Ediciones Españolas, 1937), pp. 27-30, and included in the Aguilar edition of Lorca's works.

1b. Preliminary text of Pablo Neruda (reproduced in 3; identified in 10 and 18). From his *Para nacer he nacido* (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1978), pp. 107-08: it is a "Discurso pronunciado en la inauguración del monumento a la memoria de Federico García Lorca, en São Paulo, en 1968."

1c. Unidentified preliminary text (reproduced in 3).

1d. Eleven sonnets.

2. Mauro Armiño, "Sonetos del amor oscuro," *Alerta* [Santander], December 21, 1983, p. 19.

3. A. Cárdenas, "Aparece una edición pirata de los 'Sonetos del amor oscuro,' de Federico García Lorca," *Ideal* [Granada], January 24, 1984, p. 4.

4. Álvaro Salvador, "Mi libro favorito" (column), *Granada en mano*, No. 1 (1984), 16-17.

5abcd. "El libro del año," *Tele-Radio*, Nos. 1357, p. 10, No. 1358, p. 9, No. 1359, p. 8, and No. 1360, p. 8 (January, 1984).

6. Antonio Muñoz Molina, "El libro secreto," *Ideal* [Granada], February 2, 1984, p. 3.

7. "Una sorprendente edición de los *Sonetos del amor oscuro* de García Lorca," *Ínsula*, No. 447 (February, 1984), p. 2.

8. Eduardo Castro, "Publican una edición pirata de los *Sonetos del amor oscuro* de Federico García Lorca," *El país*, February 14, 1984. Due to differences between the daily domestic edition and the weekly international edition, this is apparently to be identified with the article in *El país*, February 20, 1984, mentioned by Lee A. Daniel in *Hispania*, 67 (1984), 650.

9. *Sonetos de amor*. *ABC*, March 17, 1984.

9a. Fernando Lázaro Carreter, "Poesía de García Lorca recuperada," p. [3].

9b. L[uis] M[aría] A[nsón], "Sonetos de amor," p. 11. Seen only in reprint in *ABC*, international edition, March 21-27, 1984, also p. 11.

9c. Miguel García-Posada, "Un monumento al amor," pp. 43-44.

9d. Text of eleven sonnets.

9e. Manuel F[ernán]dez-Montesinos, "Algunos sonetos de Federico García Lorca: ¿Por qué ahora y en el *ABC*?" p. 57.

9f. Francisco Giner de los Ríos, "Lorca o el asombro," p. 59.

9g. Unsigned note in *ABC*, March 18, 1984.

There have been many reprints based on this publication in *ABC*. The text itself was reprinted in *ABC* a year later, March 17, 1985 (not seen); with a new introductory note by editor Luis María Ansón, referring to a letter on the sonnets by Matilde Urrutia, Neruda's widow, received and published in *ABC* (see *ABC*, edición internacional, July 18-24, 1984, p. 21), they were published again on August 17, 1986. The texts from this edition, sometimes accompanied by reprints or paraphrase of the secondary material, were reprinted in Teresa Barutell, "Los desconocidos sonetos de amor de Federico García Lorca," *Argumentos*, 8, Nos. 63-64 (1984), 90-91; "La versión original de los sonetos de amor, de Federico García Lorca," *Nervo* [Bilbao; "suplemento editorial de *CLA*, cuaderno mensual de poesía"], March, 1984, 4 pages between pp. 32 and 33; *La Nación* [Costa Rica], April 29, 1984; *Uno Más Uno*, April 20, 1985, supplement "Sábado," pp. 1-2; and a very curious volume, *Inéditos de Federico García Lorca. Sonetos del amor oscuro*, Buenos Aires: Instituto de Estudios de Literatura Latinoamericana, 1984 (June 1984, according to the colophon). The volume contains only the sonnets, despite the title, plus introductory material, primarily based on *ABC*, by Marta Teresa Casteros, identified as "compiladora," and Jorge Arbeleche. I stumbled on this volume by chance, and used the copy in the University of Wisconsin Library. In response to a request to obtain a copy, Germán and Lilia Orduna answered from Buenos Aires that the Instituto de Estudios de Literatura Latinoamericana,

Casteros, and Arbeleche were all unknown to them.

10. Giuliano Soria, "García Lorca inedito. I sonetti scoperti a Madrid," *Tutto Libri*, X, No. 399 (March 24, 1984), p. 4.
11. Silvia Llopis, "Fin de una leyenda. La familia de García Lorca se decide a publicar los sonetos del amor oscuro," *Cambio 16*, April 2, 1984, pp. 109-10.
12. Francisco Ayala, "Los réprobos," *ABC*, April 3, 1984, p. [3].
13. "De nuevo, los *Sonetos de amor oscuro*," *Ínsula*, No. 449 (April, 1984), p. 2.
14. Flavia Acosta Fálquez, "Al fin Lorca. Con la publicación de los 'Sonetos del amor oscuro,' el poeta parece definitivamente recuperado," *Semana* [Colombia], No. 102 (April 17-23, 1984).
15. J. V., "Claude Couffon: 'Los "sonetos del amor oscuro" ya forman parte de la gran poesía de amor universal,'" *ABC*, edición internacional, May 2-8, 1984, p. 18.
16. B[las] M[atamoro], "Lorca, poeta clandestino," *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos*, No. 408 (June, 1984), pp. 189-90.
17. Carmelo Samonà, "E García Lorca cantò l'amor 'diverso.' Un risvolto sconosciuto della vita e dell'opera del grande poeta spagnolo," *La Repubblica*, June 1, 1984. It includes an announcement of Mario Socrate's translation (No. 20, *infra*), and includes two samples, "Llagas de amor" and "Noche del amor insomne."
18. Mario Hernández, "Jardín deshecho: los *Sonetos* de García Lorca," *El Crotalón. Anuario de Filología Española*, 1 (1984), 193-228. A portion (pp. 194-98) of this article was delivered as a lecture in early November, 1984, and published as "Noche de los sonetos lorquianos" in the pamphlet *Problemas de edición de la obra de Federico García Lorca*, Aula de Poesía, 3 (Granada: Universidad de Granada, Secretariado de Extensión Cultural, 1984), unpagged.
19. "Suppressed Gay Poetry of Lorca Published Clandestinely," *Gay Studies Newsletter*, 11, 3 (November, 1984), p. 2. This report contains the erroneous statement that the *Sonetos de amor oscuro* are

the earliest known collection of gay poetry in the Spanish language; actually Cernuda's *Placeres prohibidos* and *Donde habite el olvido* are earlier.

20. "Studio critico" of Mario Socrate, included in his translation *Sonetti dell'amore oscuro e altre poesie inedite* ([Milan]: Garzanti, 1985), pp. 249-69. The other "inéditos" in the volume are the *Suites*.

The *Sonetos* were of course available in French in 1981. Italian is thus the second language to have a published translation. The first and only published English translation appeared in *Fag Rag*, No. 41, p. 3; the issue bears only the date 1984, apparently mid-84, and is as much an adaptation as a translation. A more faithful translation by Scott Tucker is unpublished save for one sonnet ("You'll never know my vigil and my love") included in his review of Paul Binding's *Lorca: The Gay Imagination* (*The Advocate*, No. 447, March 27, 1986, pp. 59-60); a translation by Jack Walsh, which antedates the clandestine edition, remains unpublished (personal communication, October 5, 1986).

21. José Luis Cano, *Los cuadernos de Velintonia. Conversaciones con Vicente Aleixandre* (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1986). (In this book, p. 229, my *Poeta en Nueva York* is called "absurdo," for having said exactly the opposite of what is actually said in the book, my pp. 216 and 220; also *Songs* [Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1976], p. 10.)