

The Galician Consciousness: A Reading of *Cousas* by Alfonso Rodríguez Castelao

Ana Isabel Carballal
University of Nebraska-Omaha

Some critics associate Galician literature with that written in Spanish by Galician authors. In this sense, Emilia Pardo Bazán, Valle-Inclán and Wenceslao Fernández Flórez would be the main contributors to this regional corpus and, in some instances, it could be seen as a component of Spanish literature. Nevertheless, as stated by historians of Galician literature, this should be singularly a type of discourse that has been written in Galician and in Galicia. Ricardo Carballo-Calero as well as Anxo Tarrío and Dolores Vilavedra agree on this definition. Vilavedra, for example, affirms that: "...por literatura galega entendemos aquela formulada neste código lingüístico. Xa que logo, ficarán fora do noso ámbito de atención aqueles textos redactados noutras linguas, por moi próximas que –xeográfica ou lingüísticamente– estean ou estivesen" (15) ("...by Galician literature, we understand that formulated within that linguistic code. Then, we are not going to pay attention to those texts written in other languages, no matter how close –geographically or linguistically– they are or they were").

Written for Galicia and in Galician, this literature started in the medieval ages with, on one hand, the writing of *cantigas de amigo, amor e maldizer*, and on the other, its flourishing particularly under the reign of Alfonso X el Sabio and his consideration of Galician as a learned language to be used in the writing of some of the most memorable works of that period, specifically, for his "Cantigas a Santa María" ("Songs to Saint Mary", 13th century-1289). After his kingdom, the use of Galician fell down until it was considered only the language of peasants and fishermen. The Catholic monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, instituted Castilian as the official language of the Iberian Peninsula, and it was not until the 19th century when a group of writers, presided over by Manuel Murguía opened a path towards the reevaluation and promotion of Galician language and values and started writing once again about Galicia, its culture, society and history. The period in which these writers developed their work is called "Rexurdimento" ("Renaissance"). It was at this moment when Galician language and culture became an object of study and recognition.

The work started by these historians, novelists and poets of the Rexurdimento and this compromise for the recovery of Galician language and culture has been proven to be the base upon which Galician nationalism stands. In the 1930's a central figure of this nationalism emerged in Alfonso Rodríguez Castelao. Castelao (Rianxo 1886- Buenos Aires 1950) was one of the most important Galician writer, painter and politician of all time. His political and social stands and his defense of Galicia's culture and economic interests make him overshadow other important political and literary figures in Galicia such as Alexandre Bóveda or Rosalía de Castro. Born in 1886, and being from a conservative (*maurista*) family, he was the first to use the Galician language in all his literary writings; as a writer and as a painter, Galicia, its people and problems are his focus; as a politician, he was not only one of the main supporters of the Republic (even in exile, after the Spanish Civil War was lost when he was never able to return to Galicia), he was also the founder of the Galician Nationalist Party, the first representative of

Galicia in Congress, one of the main writers of the *Estatuto de Galicia* (a Galician constitution that would provide the region with certain prerogatives for its self government) and the first president of Galicia in his exile. For critics like Fernández del Riego and Tarrío, Castelao is the most important representative of Galician nationalism:

Toda a produción artístico literaria de Castelao é unha afirmativa do seu galeguismo esencial. No conto, no teatro, no debuxo humorístico, nas impresión de viaxes, na novela, na opinión sobre temas artísticos, no ensaio histórico político, nos traballos eruditos, o seu talento maniféstase en estreita comunión coa vida e coas angueiras do seu pobo. (Fernández del Riego 156)

(“All Castelao’s artistic and literary production is an affirmation of his essential Galician essence. In short stories, in theater, in humorous drawings, in his travels impressions, in the novel, in his opinions on artistic topics, in his historical and political essays, in his erudite works, his talent is manifested in strong communion with the life and desires of his people”).

Pérez Prieto elevates him to the category of myth: “É a meirande figura que deu Galicia, a personificación mesma de Galicia e do home galego. Castelao acadou xa a categoría de mito, ou mellor de símbolo. Él e mais Rosalía son as máximas figuras representativas do ser de Galicia” (205) (“He is the greatest man that Galicia gave, a true personification of Galicia and the Galician man. Castelao is already part of Galicia’s mythology, he is its symbol. He and Rosalía are the most important representatives of the Galician being”). For Castelao, the lives of Galicians were always characterized by repression.

Throughout history, Galician people have been at the mercy of a few rich and politically powerful: the “caciques”- local political bosses who demanded votes for their parties through intimidation and duress, -and the nobility, who were fighting to preserve their privileges as the owners of the land, employing cheap labor to rent and work their properties. These two groups lived on the work of the majority: the peasants, the fishermen and other laborers. This chain of repression caused economic paralysis and an increase in poverty that resulted in a deeper submission of the many to the few or for the many, in the painful decision to abandon their homes and families in pursuit of better opportunities elsewhere. These types of diatribes are presented in all Castelao’s works and particularly in *Cousas* (1926-1929), a collection of forty-four stories dedicated to different characters, problems and descriptions of the lives of Galician people and their treatment by those in power.

This book with its different stories means to be a portrait of Galicia. The author uses description of Galician nature, of traditions and mythical stories to honor the history and the undeniably magnificent past of Galicia, to show the valuable contributions that nature, its riches and its people have given to the development and the sustainability of Galicia and whoever lives in it. On one hand, the stories show how the Galician land and its people have provided all the resources, all the work and support for this region in order to move forward and leave the endemic state of poverty and disillusionment with what it has been characterized. On the other, the stories illustrate as well how that rejoice in the past glories and the illusion that everything

has been said and done, puts the region in danger to depend too much on the help and good judgment of others to move on and succeed.

For Castelao, the richness and values of Galicia have been exploited by foreign governments and individuals pretending to be Galicians whose sole purpose will be to take advantage of their situation of power in order to exploit its resources. That is the reason why Xusto Beramendi describes Castelao as a populist who: “Apón todos estos males sociais á acción dominadora e depredadora dos caciques, do Estado e dos seus funcionarios” (121) (“Blames the political bosses’, the State’s and bureaucrats’ controlling and predatory actions for all these social maladies”). The solution for Castelao is the reappearance of Galicians with strong values and convictions regarding the land, who are not going to leave it or live on it for their own benefit. Galicians have to realize and own the situation of exploitation that they are living in and decide to change it. In the stories, the author uses narrative techniques and irony to express Galicia’s poverty and oppression as a type of subliminal message for all Galicians to stop being victims and start claiming their own values against the *status quo*. According to Manuel Rosales:

Castelao mergúllase, como xa fixera nos seus debuxos, no mundo mariñeiro e aldeán: retrata as maneiras e costumes do pobo como revelación sólida da vida social do país, e identifícase moral e espiritualmente con eles, o que non evita que con penetrante ollo fure ás veces nos homes e nas cousas, ironizando, satirizando ou ridiculizando como xa fixera nos seus debuxos. (62)

(“Castelao enters, as he did with his paintings, in the world of the fishermen and peasants; he portrays people’s customs as a solid revelation of the social life in the country, and he identifies morally and spiritually with them, what does not prevent him to analyze men and things with a penetrating eye, using irony, satire and ridicule as he used to do in his paintings”).

According to Rosales, Castelao uses irony to criticize the Galician people for living in the illusion that as long as they do not rebel and instead submit themselves to the idea of keeping that state of things they will live in peace and in the safety provided by others. This type of irony that moves between the Socratic approach to the conception of figure and trope (“Institutio Oratoria”, 166) and also and the Augustinian inflection of what “wishes to be understood” (“On Christian Doctrine”, 191) is extremely close to what Paul De Man defined as a “...a permanent parabasis of the allegory of tropes” (179). De Man, following Aristotle’s premises and taking into consideration the approaches of deconstructivists, defines irony as absolute negativity. According to him, irony breaks with the narrative techniques used in the text, stops guiding the reader through coherence and credibility and takes a path of self annihilation that leads to a suspension of all reliability on the part of the reader and incites him to go beyond an understanding of the surface.

Through these systems, the reader is forced to surpass the merely superficial and to analyze causes, motivations and effects that those circumstances described in the text will bring in the future. Castelao’s stories employ irony in an equal manner, using three key procedures: the existence of an extra or intra-diegetic and hetero-diegetic narrator, in the words of Genette, who establishes himself as the only truthful focalizer but at the same time fails to reassure the reader

of his vision, leaving him doubting his credibility. Also, the author uses a type of narrative characterized by deterministic environments where characters live, work and fight with the hope that a better future is awaiting them but who will not be able to escape an irreversible destiny. Finally, each story concludes with characters who fail not only to fulfill their fates but also to conquer their deaths, to control the manner in which they are going to end their existence. This leads to illogical endings that force the reader to question the validity of that conclusion and the potential decisions that would make possible a different outcome.

These techniques are used in many of Castelao's stories in *Cousas*; nevertheless this essay will focus on three that are particularly relevant. The first one, entitled "O Rifante," tells the story of a Galician fisherman who makes a good living working at the sea. For him, the sea is an infinite source of riches that provides everything until the fishing industries modernize fishing techniques. All of a sudden, the supply is depleted. At this moment, Rifante goes to a friend's house to ask him for money. However, this money, strangely, will be used not to feed Rifante's family (whose financial stability is broken), but to build a new balcony in his house and in that way keep all appearances. The second narrative, entitled "Si eu fose autor" ("If I were an author"), is a dramatic piece in two acts.

The first part of the piece is dedicated to the upper class, the "señoritos" ("rich kids who were the sons of the owners of the land") and the caciques, and it represents the sadness and desperation of some peasants because the cow -the only source for economic gain in the family- has died, leading to the mockery and laughter of the masters who cannot comprehend the sadness of the peasants for the passing of such a rustic, unattractive and irrational animal. The second part of the theatrical performance, dedicated to the Galician peasants, represents the sadness and desperation of three women from the upper class who cry because their beloved dog has died, leading again to the mockery and ridicule of the peasants who see in the dog not a valuable animal that may serve to feed and economically increase the wellbeing of a family but an animal that may be substituted at any time by another and whose presence really would not be missed.

Finally, the third narrative to be analyzed, entitled "O pai de Migueliño" ("Migueliño's father"), tells the story of a young boy who goes to the harbor to pick up his father who is returning from earning money abroad. The boy observes how everybody is coming out of the boat, and he imagines that every rich and well-dressed man may be his father. At last, when his real father descends from the boat, he notices that he is not like any other American. He is thin, pale and sick and the so- told wonderful plentiful America is only an image built on lost health and traditions.

In each one of the narratives, irony conceals the key formula to understanding the story; the instruments the reader needs to reveal these hidden meanings are to first realize the difference between the narrator of the story, the plot and words used to transmit the story, and the focalizer, the eyes through which the reader is allowed to go beyond words, text and narrator to observe what is really going on for himself. The story uses irony in the depiction of a separate narrator and focalizer to show the incoherence of the Galician people who on one hand, are enslaved and dying of hunger and on the other, do not perceive their options to claim what is rightfully theirs. According to Genette, "...in every narrative we define the narrator's status both by its narrative level (extra- or intra-diegetic) and by its relationship with the story (hetero or

homodiegetic)...” (248). The extra-diegetic and the intra diegetic narrator refer to the levels of narration. The first refers to a narrator who presents him outside of the level of narration while the second, the intra- diegetic narrator, is one who presents himself inside the first level of the narration and is a character in the narrative. Heterodiegetic and homodiegetic narrators refer to the persons inside the story; heterodiegetic narrators are also characters in the story, while homodiegetic narrators are not.

Keeping in mind these considerations, the narrators who appear in these three Castelao’s stories facilitate the use of irony as a mechanism to criticize the Galician peasants who live under the yoke of their masters and endorse this situation without realizing it. In the story of Rifante, one finds an intra-homodiegetic narrator who allows the reader to see the problem from the inside of the story and also from the inside of the character who is narrating and a direct witness to what is going on. In the story of Rifante, the narrator admits that Rifante went to see his father to ask him for money because Rifante’s family was hungry: “O Rifante apareceu un día diante do meu pai” (80) (“One day, Rifante came to see my father”).

This narrator nevertheless is going to relate to readers the background of this request, letting them share the ironic sense of the story. First it is through this narrator- character that readers find out and believe that Rifante was a well-to-do man whose only source of income was the sea. He had a lot of children and grandchildren, he was a good skipper and he made a good living from fishing; he was considered one of the most wealthy and lucky men in the village. Through the narrator, the readers are also aware of the difficulties that he sometimes comes across. One day Rifante almost drowns in the sea, but that does not happen because he prays to the Virgin and is saved in exchange for a 6,000 *reás* shroud. Another time, when Rifante’s son loses the fishing gear, his father assures him that the sea will give him enough money to buy another one.

With these stories narrated by a character who is part of the context, the reader is prepared for the change of venue and to accept the contradiction that even to the wealthiest people, disgrace may strike at any time and there is nothing to prevent it. That is the case, the narrator continues, when “as traiñas mataron o xeito” (“The boats killed the nets”). The change of the fishing techniques was an institutional decision. The government rejected the more traditional fishing techniques for modernized ones. These were only used by the big industries then, this decision left many fishermen without a job. Rifante’s family started suffering from starvation. Nevertheless, although hunger motivates Rifante to ask his neighbor for money, the narrator does not hide the fact that the protagonist really wants the money not to feed his family but to keep appearance of his wealth: “... veño a que me emprestes mil reás. Quero botarlle un balcón novo á miña casa ¿sabes?, e así a xente que vexa que ando en obras, non pensará que os meu non teñen que levar á boca...” (80) (“I am coming to ask you for a loan for one thousand reás. I want to build a new balcony for my house, you know, that way, when people see that I am building something they won’t think that my family is going hungry...”).

If “O Rifante” is a story with a narrator who is simultaneously a character and intra-heterodiegetic, the stories “If I were an author” and “Migueliño’s father” have an extra-heterodiegetic narrator. The narrator’s position outside the story will favor that ironic vision of the events and a higher degree of focalization and independence helping the reader become a

more objective judge of what is happening. In the stories of “If I were an author” and “Migueliño’s father”, the narrator focuses on his desire to write these stories. In the first one, he wants to write a theatrical piece that may be considered totally Galician, and in the second, he wants to focus on Migueliño’s feeling when his father is returning from America. When the narrator separates himself from the story, he is able to concentrate on other aspects that are not part of the story but are going to be crucial to understand it.

In the *Rifante* story, the narrator is going to focus on the trust that the fisherman has for the sea and its treasures, trust that is going to be broken when the fishing industries modernize their fishing techniques, leaving everybody without a job. In “Migueliño’s father,” the narrator will focus on the protagonist’s confidence in the expected wealth coming from America. In “If I were an author,” the narrator emphasizes the sadness of individuals who live in the past and their inability to go on with their lives and solve their problems. In this narrative, the peasants ramble on in their stupid comments and cannot overcome the loss of their cherished cow: “...ditos paifocos de xentes labregas, angurentas e cobizosas” (122) (“idiotic remarks of country people, selfish and ambitious”).

The narrator’s focus on characters is also essential. In “O Rifante,” the narrator focuses on the fisherman, his noble work, his love for his land and the sea, but also his lack of preparation for the future. In the theatrical piece, the narrator focuses in the families who mourn the death of the animals: Both families cry for very different reasons, but neither one of them is able to overcome their loss, still consumed by the disbelief that it actually happened. In “Migueliño’s father”, the narrator focuses on the boy who, being as blinded by illusion as the grownups, expects to see his father coming down the stairs of the boat wealthy and well-dressed: “De súpeto avistouno de lonxe [...] e Migueliño sinteu por él un grande amor e canto mais se achegaba o Americano, mais cobiza sentía o rapaz por enchelo de bicos” (155) (“Suddenly he saw him from afar [...] and Migueliño felt a great love for him, and as the American was approaching, he craved to give him many kisses”). The boy is the only one who is learning a lesson. Galician people live in the past and live in the illusion that without exerting any effort on their part, problems are going to be solved. Through these stories, Castelao tries to make Galicians see that if they want to be crafters of their fate, if they want to claim their rights as an independent nation and put an end to the oppression of the “caciques,” they have to stop dreaming and start working for themselves.

Another technique used by Castelao to show irony is the deterministic explanation of a sequence of events. The term “determinism” was most importantly used by another Galician author, Emilia Pardo Bazán, in her book *La cuestión palpitante* (1883) where she explains:

Por determinismo entendían los escolásticos el sistema de los que aseguraban que Dios movía o inclinaba irresistiblemente la voluntad del hombre a aquella parte que convenía sus designios. Hoy, determinismo significa la misma dependencia de la voluntad, solo que quien la inclina y subyuga no es Dios, sino la materia y sus fuerzas y energías. De un fatalismo providencialista hemos pasado a otro materialista. (34)

Although Castelao cannot be considered a naturalist or determinist, he shows through his works the tendency of the Galician people to trust in God, the government or the political

situation for them to control their destinies. In his works, individuals are born into environments from which they cannot escape unless there is a change of destiny. Castelao uses those environments to show how destiny is not the result of supernatural or political forces but the prerogative of each human being. In the story of Rifante, the reader may see that determinism when one of the protagonist's sons comes back home without one of his fishing implements. When he tells his father, Rifante answers, completely indifferent, "Non teñas medo, Ramón, o mar levouno o mar dará para outro" (79-80) ("Don't be afraid, Ramón, the sea took it away, the sea will give for another one").

The climax of the story takes place, though, when the fishing industries change the fishing nets to increase production and leave old fishermen out of a job. According to Henrique Monteagudo, "Na base desta situación está a inxerencia dos cataláns no sistema tradicional de explotación do mar. A industria de salazón introduce a rede de aparello, que consegue capturas superiores ás do xeito e remata por esquilar a pesca de ría" (*Cousas*, 80) ("In the basis of this situation we may find the access of the Catalanian industries into the traditional systems of fishing. The fishing industries introduce a tackle net that produces higher captures than with the traditional methods and ends up depleting all the fish in the river"). The introduction of this new technique has as a consequence the disappearance of all the fish from the river and the impossibility for the fishermen to earn a living. That is what happens to Rifante: "Pero tanta fartura menguou de súpeto e a fame foi entrando en todos os fogares. Tal aconteceu cando as trañas mataron o xeito" (80) ("But so much abundance stopped all of a sudden and hunger started to enter in all homes. That was the way it happened when the small dragnet killed the traditional method").

In "If I were an author," the reader may find a similar type of determinism. In both parts of this piece, characters do not move forward, refusing to accept their loss. In the case of the peasants, the narrator indicates, "Enriba do estrume hai unha vaca morta" (122) ("On a pile of straw, there is a dead cow"). When the narrator gives such a direct description, it makes the scene deterministic. There is nothing anybody can do about it. The cow is over the straw and it is dead. Nothing can change that. Something very similar happens in the case of the dog, "...enriba da almofada hai unha cadelinha morta" (123) ("...on the pillow lies a dead dog").

In both cases, the loss is irreversible. The cow and the dog are dead. In the case of the dog, the loss is only emotional. The loss of the cow is not only emotional but economic; it threatens the survival of the family. Nevertheless, in both instances, the characters' sadness and desperation only incite the audience's laughter and ridicule. Their mourning cannot resuscitate the dead animals; it only provokes the spectators' amusement. In "Migueliño's father", determinism is seen through the acceptance of emigration and its consequences. For instance, in the story, the boy is expecting his father to return from abroad with riches, in good health and economic and social strength. The narrator explains that when Migueliño goes to the harbor, he recognizes his dad in each one of the men who comes down the ramp. He wants to think that his dad is coming back wealthy, tall and strong like each one of those other men: "Migueliño escolleu así a moitos pais que nons eran e a todos quixo totalmente. E cando esculcaba con máis anguria fíxose cargo de que un home estaba abrazando á súa nai..." (157) ("In this way, Migueliño chose many fathers who were not and he loved all of them completely. And when he was watching more anxiously at them, he realized that a man was hugging his mother..."). This

determinism achieves its climax at the end of all these stories, when the protagonists fail at last, unable to keep clinging to their hopes anymore.

The story of Rifante ends with the protagonist's warning to his children. When he dies, they will have to pay off the loan of fifty "duros" to his friend: "Se morro, xa sabedes que se lle deben cincuenta pesos a iste home" (81) ("If I die, you know that I am in debt with this man for fifty duros"). Rifante does not see any other exit to his troubles but death. From now on, he will live keeping up appearances as much as he can and waiting for his death. Galician people may be reflected in this character. Castelao is showing the tendency of some Galician people to live depending on what destiny or the Spanish Government brings them. After Rifante's death, his children, and in total all Galicia's children, will have to pay the debts that their ancestors have contracted because of their lack of vision and strength to rebel against the injustices thrust upon them.

It happens similarly with the theatrical piece. Both parts, which reflect life in Galicia, are performed to make people laugh. There is no hope of buying another cow or another dog. At the end, only death is expected. This death, although sometimes physical, is above all spiritual. Galicia does not die because its citizens are disappearing but because they are defeated by their circumstances. Migueliño's father comes back from America not wealthy and proud as the rest of the Americans, but instead "Era un home que non se parecía ao retrato; un home moi flaco metido nun traxe moi floxo; un home de cera coas orellas fora do cacho, cos ollos encoveirados, tusindo..." (157) ("He was a man very different from the one in the portrait; he was a very thin man, wearing a very large suit; a man made out of wax with ears sticking outside of his head and sunken eyes, coughing...").

In one of his most important works, *Sempre en Galiza* (*Always in Galiza*, 1944) considered the bible of Galician nationalism, Castelao, while talking about the compliance of the Galician people and the necessity to create a political party to defend the interests and idiosyncrasy of these people, states "¿E cando contaremos con ese gran partido? Cando os nosos labregos abran os ollos e deixen de votar a quen non comprende a nosa diferenciación" (55) ("And, when are we going to have this great party? When Galician peasants open their eyes and stop voting for those who do not understand our differentiation"). Castelao's narrative cannot be considered a continuation of Rosalia's romantic works or Pardo Bazán's naturalism. In his works, Castelao breaks with the resignation and stoicism with which the Galician people have been characterized by many writers. His conclusions are a provocation.

In *Cousas*, the author introduces a Galicia that is trying not to lose its identity. To do that, the nation depends on its citizens. The irony and narrative techniques that the author applies in his use of narrators, his use of determinism and the conclusions he draws are not intended only for the caciques and despots of the government. Castelao wants the people to wake up and, as Carballo Calero stated "...non esgota a súa personalidade na relación pública, mais conserva a súa liberdade interior para realizar por encima das limitacións sociais, valores humanos que refiren a unha instacia natural previa e superior ao nivel da cultura" (*Escritos sobre Castelao* 140) ("...not debilitate [Galicia's] personality in the public realm, but to preserve its interior freedom in order to develop human values that go beyond culture to triumph over social limitations").

Works Cited

- Beramendi, Xusto. "As ideas políticas de Castelao". *Actas do simposio "Castelao na Galiza do século XX" celebrado na Coruña do 25 ó 27 de novembro de 1999*. Eds. Manuel Ferreiro e Xosé Ramón Freixeiro Mato. Sada: O Castro, 1999. 115-128.
- Carballo- Calero, Ricardo. *Historia da literatura galega contemporánea*. Vol. 2. Vigo: Galaxia, 1975.
- , . *Escritos sobre Castelao*. Barcelona: Sotelo Blanco, 1989.
- De Man, Paul. *Aesthetic Ideology*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- Fernández del Riego, Francisco. *Manual de historia da literatura galega*. Vigo: Galaxia, 1971.
- Genette, Gerard. *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1980.
- Hippo, Augustine of. "On Christian Doctrine". *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*. New York: Norton and Company, 2001. 185-196.
- Monteagudo, Henrique, ed. *Cousas*. By Alfonso Rodríguez Castelao. *Obras. Castelao*. Vol.1. Vigo: Galaxia, 2000.
- Pardo Bazán, Emilia. *La cuestión palpitante*. Madrid: Anaya, 1966.
- Pérez Prieto, Victorino. *A xeración Nós: Galeguismo e relixión*. Vigo: Galaxia, 1988.
- Quintilian. "Instituto Oratoria". *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*. New York: Norton and Company, 2001. 155-171.
- Rodríguez Castelao, Alfonso. *Cousas. Obras. Castelao*. Ed. Henrique Monteagudo. Vol. 1. Vigo: Galaxia, 2000.
- , . *Sempre en Galiza. Obras. Castelao*. Ed. Henrique Monteagudo. Vol. 2. Vigo: Galaxia, 2000.
- Rosales, Manuel. "Literatura e arte en Castelao". *Actas do simposio "Castelao na Galiza do século XX" celebrado na Coruña do 25 ó 27 de novembro de 1999*. Eds. Manuel Ferreiro e Xosé Ramón Freixeiro Mato. Sada: O Castro, 1999. 55-70.
- Tarrío, Anxo. *Literatura galega. Aportacións a unha historia crítica*. Vigo: Xerais, 1994.

Vilavedra, Dolores. *Historia da literatura galega*. Vigo: Galaxia, 1999.