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Dialogues With History: Discourses of the Spanish Civil War and Francoist Dictatorship in the Spanish Novel (1996–2011)

A dissertation presented to the Graduate Studies Office,
Trinity College Dublin
in partial fulfilment of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Eloise McInerney

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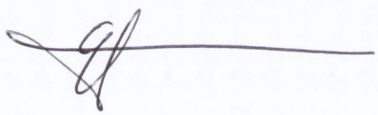

Eloise McInerney, 11 August 2014

Summary

Drawing upon the novelistic and linguistic theories of Mikhail Bakhtin, this thesis investigates the narrative strategies used by four novels to inscribe, challenge or subvert current and past discourses about the Spanish Civil War and Francoist Dictatorship. It also considers the underlying philosophy of history and asks how each of these works opens up a dialogic space within which the reader can engage critically with the interpretation of the past. The four texts are Eduardo Mendoza's *Riña de gatos* (2010), Antonio Muñoz Molina's *La noche de los tiempos* (2009), Rafael Chirbes' *La larga marcha* (1996) and Ignacio Martínez de Pisón's *El día mañana* (2011), works which allow us to compare the treatment of two periods of Spanish history: the spring and summer of 1936 in the case of the first two novels, and the Francoist regime in the case of the second.

Although writers, film-makers and historians had never stopped examining these difficult periods, a significant increase in popular public interest since the late-1990s has led to a boom in cultural production and renewed debate about how they ought to be interpreted and remembered. Many recent novels reveal fresh perspectives, drawing upon a mixture of narrative techniques in order to interrogate the past and its meaning for the present. Thus far, the new wave has only been the subject of limited academic investigation, with "memory studies" providing the dominant critical approach. Key ideas of this approach include Maurice Halbwachs' notion of "collective memory," Pierre Nora's *lieux de memoires*, and Jan Assmann's distinctions between "communicative" and "cultural" memory, while psychoanalytic trauma theory has also been used to explain why the interest in the civil war has suddenly resurfaced after many years of supposed silence and repression. However, these critical methods, while yielding some interesting analyses, have a number of limitations. In the first place, there is often a certain vagueness surrounding the definition of "collective memory," while the word "memory" itself has become overused and is frequently employed without reflection. In addition, the application of psychological phenomena to social collectives is not always appropriate, as individual experiences of trauma are

unique to each person and cannot be extrapolated to an entire population, and even less to those who did not directly experience the war or the suffering of the postwar years. Meanwhile, the political programme to "recuperate historical memory" in Spain is misleadingly named and has strongly normative associations; it suggests that a single version of the past—in which the defeated Republicans are unquestioningly vindicated—is somehow recoverable in its original form.

For these reasons, this thesis has preferred to largely steer clear of the terminology associated with memory studies, although the investigation could be said to fall within the general field. A Bakhtinian approach has been adopted because of the particular usefulness of concepts such as dialogism, heteroglossia and chronotope in the analysis of texts with a high political and historical content. The flexibility of Bakhtinian theory also means that it is able to account for all types of narrative forms, whether classical or postmodern, without imposing a prior value judgement on one or the other. In addition, it offers a way of elucidating the varied strategies used by different novel forms to create an ambivalent, dialogic space which disrupts the expectations of the reader and prompts reflection upon the represented discourses.

It is argued that all four novels use a variety of narrative strategies to break with the conventions of the classical historical novel and provide a multi-perspectival view of the past which seeks to overcome the "two-Spain" dichotomy that has dominated cultural and political discourse since the nineteenth century. The novels clearly identify with democratic values, but there is no romanticisation of anti-Francoist combatants, and a certain amount of sympathy is even shown towards some of those who supported or fought for the Francoist side. Placed within their historical and literary contexts, the novels suggest how Spanish cultural discourse might move forwards towards a more mature reflection upon the past.

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Chapter 1: Introduction[1]

It has been seventy-four years since General Francisco Franco won his brutal victory in the Spanish Civil War, and almost forty since he was laid to rest in the monumental tomb he erected to glorify the "martyrs" to his cause—yet controversy surrounding the conflict, the nature of his regime and the subsequent transition to democracy has never been more heated. These debates have escaped the confines of academia to resound in every area of the public sphere, the great popular interest being evident in the seemingly unstoppable wave of war-related documentaries, novels, films, and television programmes which have been produced since the mid-1990s. One might be tempted to conclude that events as conflictual as a civil war and a near-forty-year dictatorship are impossible to talk about without discord, and that it is best to let the ghosts of the past rest in peace. Many people have indeed done so—but for numerous others, it is necessary to have an open and frank discussion about what happened in order to bring about a more genuine and restful sleep. That a large number of novelists take the latter view is evidenced by the fact that over 150 novels taking the war as a theme have been published since the mid-1990s. They vary considerably in literary quality, and many simply seek to satisfy the market demand, failing to interrogate the past in a meaningful way. Nevertheless, the best among them do engage actively and critically with the current debates, at times offering new insights and perspectives. This is the case of the four works that will be the focus of this thesis: *El día de mañana* (2011) by Ignacio Martínez de Pisón, *Riña de gatos* (2010) by Eduardo Mendoza, *La noche de los tiempos* (2009) by Antonio Muñoz Molina, and *La larga marcha* (1996) by Rafael Chirbes. Drawing upon the novelistic and linguistic theories of Mikhail Bakhtin, this thesis will examine how discourses about the Spanish Civil War and Francoist dictatorship are inscribed, challenged and subverted in the novels. It will also analyse how content and form indicate particular philosophical

[1] The latest (7th Edition) MLA style has been used in this thesis throughout, with the exception of spelling, which is in British English, the justification of the text and the spacing between lines. Ellipses are reproduced as they are in the original text, while added ellipses will be indicated through the use of square brackets [...] for maximum clarity.

approaches to the interpretation of history, and ask how effective these are in stimulating critical dialogue between reader and text, and between past and present.

In the following section of this introductory chapter, we will see how conceptions of history and literature, and of the relationship between the two, have evolved from the nineteenth century to the present, highlighting the main theoretical and formal implications for our present study. In the second section, it willl be argued that a Bakhtinian approach is highly suitable for the study of novels with a high historical and political content, and the relevant concepts which are to be drawn upon in the thesis will be outlined. Following this, there will be a brief review of the main approaches which are currently being taken by academics to the study of novels about the war.

1.1 The Modern Dialogue Between "History" and "Literature"

Texts with a high historical content pose particular problems for the critic. Firstly, decisions must be made about the epistemological and ontological status of history, which has consequences for how its relationship to fiction is conceived. Traditional Realist novels adopting a mimetic approach, for example, are said to take for granted the existence of an independent, material reality that can be directly referred to through language, and maintain a separation between fiction and historical "truth."[2] Postmodern novels, on the other hand, often depart from the basis that there is no external reality which can be objectively apprehended, and that all knowledge is mediated through language and discourse. These texts often blur the lines between history and fiction, laying bear the discursive and rhetorical practices used by both fictional and historical texts to construct their worlds and create an "illusion" of

[2] The multiple meanings which have been assigned to the term "realism" can cause some confusion, and as David Lodge succinctly states: "It is used sometimes in a neutrally descriptive sense and sometimes as an evaluative term, the particular instances to which it is applied will vary from one period to another and from one person to another; and it is not exclusively aesthetic in application. Quite apart from the technical meaning of realism in philosophy, there is an ordinary use of 'realism/realistic' to denote a recognition of facts, which, though sometimes applied to art, is by no means exclusive to it" (*Modes* 22-23). See also J.P Stern's *On Realism* (1973) and Damian Grant's *Realism* (1970) for a discussion of the various uses of the term. This thesis will follow René Welleck's in his use of the capital "R" to distinguish the Realist movement in literature which was at its height in the late nineteenth century, and a small "r" to denote the "eternal realism," the fundamental epistemological problem of the relation of art to reality (224).

reality. Unfortunately, the theoretical (and political) leanings of individual critics have often lead to the valorisation of one type of text over the other, the merits of the rejected form becoming obscured as a result. In this thesis it will be argued instead that mimetic and anti-mimetic forms of literature should not be placed into a hierarchy, and that each has its own particular strategies for stimulating reflection upon our world.

It is generally accepted that the modern novel came into being in England around the end of the eighteenth century with the fictions of Henry Fielding, Samuel Richardson, Daniel Defoe and others (see Ian Watt *The Rise of the Novel* 1957 for the classic account of this). Closely linked to it is the development of what is commonly called the "classical historical novel," which originated with the early nineteenth century works of Sir Walter Scott at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[3] According to the great scholar of the genre, George Lukács, what was new in Scott was "the specifically historical, that is, the derivation of the individuality of characters from the historical peculiarity of their age" (19). His novels (and the modern novel in general) were made possible by the change in worldview brought about by the Enlightenment, which had seen the replacement of the medieval conception of a unified, universal and unchanging world, complete as God had made it, with the belief that individual experience was the ultimate arbiter of reality, and a conception of history as progress towards the full development of rational civilisation on Earth. The upheavals of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars served to strengthen this view, engendering a new national consciousness among the peoples of Europe, and provoking further interest in the past as nationalisms struggled to build a unified identity legitimated by historical development (see Lukács 18-30, Watt 11-33 for detailed summaries of these changes and their manifestation in novelistic fiction).

For the Romantics of the first half of the nineteenth century, history and literature were two sides of the same coin, the former interesting largely because of its exotic

[3] In an interesting study of the earlier origins of the historical novel, Richard Maxwell has argued that Scott drew his influences from French writers of historical fiction in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, specifically the Abée Prevost and Lafayette (Maxwell 2-5).

properties and difference from the present (cf. Evans 16; Collingwood 87).[4] Dramatic techniques common to fictional narrative were frequently used in the elaboration of their histories, which did not always aspire to a completely rigorous account of the facts and often had a distinctly nationalist purpose (*The History of England* (1849) by the Whig politician, Lord Thomas Macaulay being a prime example). Around the middle of the century, however, there was a reaffirmation and consolidation of history's autonomy from literature, a notion which had initially been established in classical thought by Aristotle.[5] At the same time, the Hegelian view of historical progress as dialectical and contradictory was displaced by the belief that history moved forward in a smooth line, a sequence of events where one stage replaced another, as happened in the evolution of nature (see Lukács 206 and Collingwood 99 for accounts of this philosophical change). For the first time, history and nature were perceived to be related, and it was proposed that the same scientific methods which were applied to the study of the natural sciences could be used in the study of past events and human actions in time. Richard Evans writes that it was the German historian, Leopold von Ranke, who led the way in developing a methodology which would privilege neutral reporting of past events—whose ultimate truth was discoverable through impartial investigation and rigorous source criticism. While Ranke admitted that intuition was required to reveal the interconnectedness of events, the facts themselves were held to have an independent, verifiable reality, and could be used to determine causal patterns and general principles (16). This new "positivist" outlook also influenced literary writers, the aspiration to provide minute description reaching its culmination in the naturalism of authors such as Emile Zola.

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[4] Romanticism has a wide range of meanings and associations, and is used differently by critics and literary historians. There is no space here to enter the many debates regarding its temporal scope and defining characteristics, but a generally accepted distinguishing mark of literary Romanticism is the exhaltation of individual will and sensibility, heightened through the relation with the natural world, which provided a model of freedom from social and political restraint (see M.H. Abrams *The Mirror and the Lamp* (1953) for a classic account).

[5] In his *Poetics* Aristotle famously said that the difference between poetry and history is that "one history relates actual events, the other the kinds of things that might occur. Consequently, poetry, is more philosophical and more elevated than history, since poetry relates more of the universal, while history relates particulars" (59).

Scott's novels were also indebted to the narrative innovations of the late eighteenth century, which have been succinctly laid out by Ian Watt.[6] Firstly, the new conception of history led to the preference for stories about people who were located in a historically concrete time and place over the timeless, universal tales of classical literature. The new narratives unfolded over a detailed timeframe that could be approximated to real life, and a clear causal connection was shown between past experience and present events, with the hero evolving psychologically throughout the story. Characters in novels were either invented by the writer or modelled on figures from the historiographical record, unlike in previous fiction, when the use of mythological plots or universal tales gave rise to characters who were also mythological, or else representative of universal human archetypes and named accordingly. In contrast, names were bestowed upon characters in novels in a way that suggested they were to be regarded as "particular individuals in the contemporary social environment," although they might still be suggestive of type or character in a subtle way (Watt 19-25). These types were nevertheless historically and socially rooted, a fusion of the universal and the particular (cf. Lukács 34 and Welleck 242-50). In the case of the classical historical novel, particularly of a more romantic type, there was often a clear moral dualism, with characters divided into "good" and "bad." Lukács' comments about the typical hero of a Scott novel can also be applied to many exemplars of the genre they initiated:

> [He] is always a more or less mediocre, average English gentleman. He generally possesses a certain, though never outstanding, degree of practical intelligence, a certain moral fortitude and decency which even rises to the capacity for self-sacrifice, but which never grows into a sweeping human passion, is never enraptured devotion to a great cause. (55)

[6] Scott might also be said to provide a link between the Romantic and Realist literary movements of the nineteenth century, because, although he wrote at the height of the Romantic period and betrays many romantic sensibilities in his work, his use of intricate historical detail was emulated by the Realist writers who came after him. Thus, although many critics refer to him as a Romantic (cf. Mata 23; Spang 91), several commentators have also highlighted his influence on the fathers of French social realism, such as Honoré de Balzac (cf. Maxwell 101; Lukács 96) or have placed him within the Realist tradition along with Tolsoty (cf. Fernández Prieto "La historia" 171).

Whereas classicism and earlier literature favoured a highly stylised prose, language in the nineteenth century was considered a medium for referring to objects in the real world, leading to a preference for a more simple, direct style that absorbed the reader into the created illusion (Watt 28). Direct authorial commentary and intervention was largely eschewed in favour of dramatic, impersonal and objective rendering of the story "from above" by an omniscient, third person narrator. Kurt Spang has also highlighted that in the historical novel, omniscience was sometimes limited by narrators who expressed doubt about certain events or whose statements contradicted those of the fictitious editor (or implied author) of the text. Sometimes, recourse might be made to eye-witnesses or another external authority to corroborate the omniscient narrator's statements (97). Such use of an omniscient narrator and the distancing of the moment and place of enunciation invite a deterministic reading of history, an effect which might be heightened through the use of foreshadowing, thus leading the reader to expect a foregone conclusion.[7]

As Ana Luengo points out, the classical historical novel often had an explicitly didactic function, and has been considered as a complement to historiographic discourse, entering into discussion with the narrative of past events. While it sometimes takes a subversive position, it may also support the dominant historical discourse and be put towards nationalist ends (*La encrucijada* 41). More often, however, it has been attacked for not treating history with sufficient seriousness—Ranke was allegedly converted to history after discovering that Scott's *Quentin Durward* was riddled with inaccuracies (Evans 16)—and for using it as scenery in which the author's imagination could run free.[8] Yet it has also run into trouble with critics for the opposite problem, for concentrating so much on historical detail that the artistry is compromised (cf. Lukács 46), and Ortega y Gasset famously dismissed the possibility of successfully combining the two in his essay "Ideas sobre la novela" (1925). However, the failings of some members should not be taken as an indictment of the entire family, and, as

[7] It is important to note that the moment of enunciation is different to the moment of the novel's writing. The former, in Spang's words is "ficticio y depende exclusivamente de la situación que invente el autor para colocar a su narrador y dejarle anunciar el relato" (98) while the second merely relates to the historical moment in which the real author's position produced their manuscript.

[8] Another prominent historian who has been dismissive of historical literature is E.H. Carr in *What is history?* (1963).

Wayne Booth has written, realist novels in general have also been criticised for not being "true to life," on the one hand, or "all too human" on the other ("Rhetoric" 38). This raises the question of whether there is much to separate the classical historical novel from the Realist novel as a whole, as both aspire to represent external reality in a concrete time and place. Lukács did not think so, arguing that Balzacian realism was a continuation in the stage of development of the historical novel (96, 290). Usually, however, the genre is distinguished by identifying how much time has passed between its writing/publication and the events which it recounts, and a time span of fifty–sixty years is generally accepted (cf. Mata 19). Kurt Spang is a little more inclusive, saying that "lo importante parece ser que el novelista no haya vivido personalmente la época y los acontecimientos que evoca en la narración" (83), but admitting exceptions such as Valle Inclán's series *La guerra carlista* (1908-1910), which narrates events that happened four years after the author's birth. In the Spanish tradition another subgenre, the *episodio nacional* (the name given to the series of works written by Benito Perez-Galós on the Spanish nineteenth century) is sometimes used to distinguish "aquellas obreas que [...] novelan acontecimientos históricos vividos—o que pudieron llegar a ser vividos—por el autor [...]" (Mata 19).[9] Madeleine de Gogorza has claimed that the only difference between the *episodio* and the historical novel is in their content, but as Celia Fernández points out, there are also differences in form. For example, in the *episodio* it is less likely for the narrator to provide historical summary, as readers would be expected to know the relevant details about the period, unlike, say, in a novel dealing with ancient Rome, where some background information might need to be supplied. All in all, she says, the treatment of a period which is closer to the moment of writing makes the *episodios* more akin to the Realist novel, while the historical novel, with its preoccupation with a distant past, is Romantic. In this, Fernández's understanding of the *episodio nacional* appears similar to Umberto Eco's conception of the historical novel, which may contain no real historical characters and narrate only fictional events, but brings a past age to life vividly in a way which could never be emulated by a historical text (176).

[9] Yet even here there is confusion, and Madeleine de Gogorza has called Ramón Sender's *Mr. Wit* (1934) an *episodio nacional* rather than a historical novel, even though it relates events that occurred fifty-nine years earlier (2).

Eco distinguishes it from two other types of historical fiction: the romance, which uses historical features in order to spin out elaborate fantasies, such as in the gothic novel or the works of J.R.R. Tolkien; and the "swashbuckling novel," (which we will call the "historical adventure novel") which is exemplified by the novels of Alexandre Dumas. This latter type, he says, is generally peopled with a mixture of fictional and real historical figures whose actions can be corroborated by the historical record. While the past is real and recognisable, however, the characters often display feelings that could easily be attributed to people of other periods, and play out universal themes such as those of love or revenge. Celia Fernández's category of the "romance histórico" appears to incorporate Eco's categories of both the romance and the historical adventure novel (*Historia y novela* 168). Ultimately, for these two writers it would seem that the "historical novel" and/or "episodio nacional" are also fundamentally the same as the mimetic (if not necessarily the Realist) novel.[10]

In this thesis, the term "classical historical novel" will be used to describe a mimetic narrative following a typical, nineteenth century structure, and which is concerned with events that happened before the author's birth. It will nevertheless be distinguished from the romance or historical adventure novel on the basis of its commitment to realistic and detailed depiction of the historical past, although we may discern more Romantic or Realist tendencies on an individual basis. The *episodio nacional* will be used to refer to Spanish novels whose content and form are similar to those of Galdós' works, narrating events that take place within the author's lifetime or close to it, and which may or may not contain real historical characters. Of course, as Carlos Mata has said, some novels are so tightly linked to the fabric of their time that they are later perceived to be historical (20), and the Spanish social realist novels of the 1940s and 1950s (to be discussed in Chapter 2) provide a perfect example. The terms "historical novel" and "historical fiction" will be used synonymously to designate the family of novels which are to a greater or lesser extent concerned with the representation of the past, incorporating all the sub-categories which we have

[10] Indeed, it frequently happens with so-called "genre fiction" that the best proponents are claimed for Literature, while more popular or conventional exemplars are left with the generic label and dismissed as inferior.

mentioned above, as well as the modernist and postmodernist variants which will be discussed below.

A backlash began to form against the traditional novel and the new "scientific" history towards the end of the nineteenth century, with far-reaching consequences that continue to be relevant for discussions about the meaning of literature and history today. The German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche was among the first to mount an attack against positivism, contending that "[h]istory, so far as it serves life, serves an unhistorical power, and thus will never become a pure science like mathematics"and warning that "by excess of history life becomes maimed and degenerate, and is followed by the degeneration of history as well" (*Use and Abuse* 12). Beneditto Croce , an Italian, also argued that present-day concerns influenced judgments about which documents and facts about the past were important and that history was always written from the perspective of the present (cf. Evans 31; Collingwood 191-204). From then on, there was a growing acceptance that it was both impossible and undesirable to attempt to gather all the facts about the past, as well as a recognition that what constituted a fact itself depended upon the choices of a historian, and could never be independently and objectively determined in the same way as a fact about the natural world.[11] The disaster of World War I also shattered the nineteenth century faith in progress, and Walter Benjamin's statement in the midst of the second terrible war that "there is no document of civilisation that is not also a document of barbarism" ("Theses" 256) perfectly encapsulates modernist horror at the ugly face of human history. In the same essay, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," Benjamin argues that technological progress has not been matched by progress in society and that

[11] Among the most influential thinkers in this mode are R.G. Collingwood, Michael Oakeshott, and E.H. Carr, all of them British. Collingwood in *The Idea of History* (1946) says, for example, that while history belongs generically to the sciences, the historical narrative is the product of an imaginative re-enactment of past events in the mind of the historian, much as happens in the production of a fictional text. However, where the historian's picture differs from that of the artist is that it must be localised in time and space, be consistent with itself, and be sustained upon historical evidence, whereas the artist's world need only be coherent (245-246). Meanwhile, Carr in *What is History* (1961) takes a middle position between positivism and Collingwood's idealism, rejecting the positivst claim that there are objective facts in history which can be ascertained empirically, but arguing that Collingwood goes too far in emphasising the multiplicity of possible interpretations because this denies the possibility of any objectivity. He also lays a strong emphasis on causation in history and strongly defends its autonomy from literature, which, he says, is "a collection of stories and legends about the past without meaning or significance" (126).

history must be read "against the grain," (255) in order to uncover what has been buried by the victors and challenge tradition and received knowledge. He rejects wholesale the positivist or "historicist," method, which, he says, tends to empathise with the victors, contending that the task of the historian is not to pile up facts about a dead past, nor, as Ranke said, to apprehend it "as it really was" (255). For Benjamin, history is not a stable entity which can be grasped by the present or used to interpret it, as historicism would imply; rather, it is a dialectic encounter between past and present, and can only be seen in a momentary flash when historical continuity is arrested. As some commentators have remarked, the idea of image is central to Benjamin's notion of modernity, and is at the core of his avante-guarde notions of a materialist history (cf. Schwartz 1738; Ferris 5-14). Indeed, he conceives of the work of the historian as akin to that of a montage, where a series of disparate, fragmentary images are placed together to create a whole picture which can be easily re-dismantled into its constituent parts; the best example of this method was the mammoth—and unfinished—*Arcades Project* (1927-40) on the history of nineteenth-century Paris. As Vanessa Schwartz says, Benjamin should be viewed as an important waypost on the road to postmodernism first carved out by Nietzsche, while his understanding of the historical process foreshadows Foucault's conceptualisation of history as discontinuous (1739-41). We will see later how Benjamin's philosophy of history is central to one of the novels to be discussed in this thesis, *La larga marcha* by Rafael Chirbes, but will also have relevance for Mendoza's *Riña de gatos* and Muñoz Molina's *La noche de los tiempos.*

These changes in the conception of time, space and "progress" were also evident in fiction, giving rise to literary modernism and what Kurt Spang calls the "anti-illusionist" historical novel. Spang points out a number of key ways in which it differs from the classical form (which he calls "illusionist"): firstly, pseudo-objective narration is abandoned in favour of a subjective or unreliable narrator who highlights the contingency of historical interpretation, and who often presents a view "from below"

(or to take Miguel de Unamuno's term, writes the "intrahistory" of a period).[12] These changes were accompanied by a de-individualisation and de-particularisation of history, and it is collectives rather than single individuals who are understood to change the world. Dichotomies between good and bad are also rejected, making characters seem more human. Events are often presented as heterogeneous and discontinuous in order to break the referential illusion, with the narrated (hi)story becoming a type of puzzle where the pieces need to be put together by the reader. In addition, linearity in the narration is frequently avoided through the use of authorial commentary, metahistorical reflection, and changes in narrative voice/perspective, while language might be used in an incongruous or anachronic manner, and words from foreign languages or colloquialisms from people of the lower classes introduced. The narrative may also be peppered with incongruencies and irresolvable contradictions and end inconclusively, preventing a deterministic or teleological reading of history (Spang 90-93; see also Fernández Prieto "La historia" 171-3). A strong emphasis on internal focalisation, which taken to its extreme becomes the "stream of consciousness" effect, also creates an intensely psychological "inside" view of history which contrasts with the previous focus on the external re-creation of historical space and place. This, says Lodge, is in effect a prioritising of a mimetic over the diegetic—to the point that the latter almost completely disappears—whereas Realism had sought a balance between the two elements (*After Bakhtin* 31-37). As Wayne Booth points out, however, it is never possible to completely remove all presence of the author from the work because, ultimately, the work is still a product of the author's choices and imagination (20).

As Spang reminds us, no historical novel correponds exactly to the illusionist/anti-illusionist (or classical/modernist) categories, and authors use techniques associated with both periods. Thus, for him, novels belonging to the "anti-illusionist" category also include Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, Galdós' *Episodios Nacionales*, and Manzoni's *The Bethrothed* because they tell the "intrahistory" of the period. However, most

[12] The attitude of the author/narrator might also be that of a distanced, impassive observer, such as in Bertold Brecht's *The Business Affairs of Mr. Julius Caesar* (1939), depersonalised, such as in Valle-Inclán's *La guerra carlista* (1908-10), or almost completely absent such as in *The Ides of March* (1948), an epistolary novel by Thornton Wilder (Spang 91).

commentators would agree that they are examples of the classical historical novel due to their predominant use of Realist narrative techniques, such as a focus on external historical description and the use of an omniscient third person narrator. In this thesis, the modernist historical novel will be used to distinguish works which rely heavily upon modernist innovations such as a subjective narrator, extensive internal focalisation, or fractured narratives.

In the 1960s and 1970s, structuralist and post-structuralist theorists began to radically question Cartesian assumptions about the subject and how reality is apprehended, arguing that all knowledge is mediated through language, which imposes an illusory form on what is little more than a random chaos. For historiography, one of the most important thinkers was Michel Foucault, who developed a genealogical method of doing history based on the principles first outlined by Nietzsche. In Foucault conception, "a genealogy of values, morality, asceticism, and knowledge will never confuse itself with a quest for their 'origins,' will never neglect as inaccessible the vicissitudes of history. On the contrary, it will cultivate the details and accidents that accompany every beginning" (*Language* 144). The genealogist will therefore look to history in order to bring to the surface the discontinuities and heterogeneities of what had been presented as unified, unchanging truth, and seek out the strategies of domination which have given birth to received meaning and value (147). The three modalities of history identified by Nietzsche (monumentalism, antiquarianism and critical history) are metamorphosised in Foucauldian genealogy so that "the veneration of monuments becomes parody; the respect for ancient continuities becomes systematic dissociation; the critique of the injustices of the past by a truth held by men in the present becomes the destruction of the man who maintains knowledge by the injustice proper to the will to knowledge" (164). This inverted genealogy implies a use of history that severs its connection to memory, its metaphysical and anthropological model, and constructs a counter memory—a transformation of history into a totally different form of time (163). Counter memory is directed against history as a commemorative exercise, breaking up the artificial line of historical continuity by drawing out those voices which have been marginalised or silenced along the way; it requires a historical practice of reading backwards from the

present, each moment appreciated for its uniqueness rather than as the confirmation of a general trend (160; see also Hutton 112).

In the 1970s, the historian Hayden White drew upon the philosophies Foucault, as well as Nietzsche, Croce, Vico, and others to launch a fresh challenge to ontological distinctions between history and literature, giving rise to what became known as the "linguistic turn" in the philosophy of history. In his pioneering work on nineteenth-century historiography, *Metahistory* (1973),[13] White claimed that history was a discourse rather than a science, and that the content of this discourse could impart a different meaning when its form was changed, although the same information might be extracted. Historical narratives emplot events into a story, which take the form of a traditional literary story-type such as tragedy, romance, comedy, farce and so on. The difference between literature and history lies in their primary referents, which in the case of the first, are imaginary, and in that of the second, are real. In a later work, he wrote that "the two kinds of discourse are more similar than different since both operate language in such a way that any clear distinction between their discursive form and their interpretative content remains impossible" (*Figural Realism* 6). In *Historical Discourse and Literary Writing* (2006), White admits, however, that "historical discourse refers to objects and events in the real world" but since "these objects and events are no longer perceivable, they have to be constructed as possible objects of a possible perception rather than treated as real objects of real perceptions" (30).[14] What brings literature into conflict with writers of historical

[13] White's work should be seen in the context of French and American structuralism and post-structuralism, whose emphasis on the signifying power of language also blurred the line between fictional and historical discourse, as well as the work of historical "narrativists" such as Arthur Danto, W.B. Gallie, and Louis Mink, who contended that the meaning of the historical work, as of any text, is discovered not in its referentiality but in its textuality, and who emphasised the narrative aspects of history. Gallie in his essay "Narrative and Historical Understanding" says, for example, that "history" is a "narrative of past human actions" which is "followable or intelligibile in the same general way that all stories are," but which must "rest upon evidence, and will usually "succeed in making its subject-matter more intelligible to its readers [...] by showing its interconnections with other relevant historical evidences and results" (49). (See also Lionel Gossman "Between Literature and History" for an exploration of the "linguistic turn" in historical theory).

[14] White backtracked somewhat in his later writings, the example of Auschwitz causing him to concede that "the facts of the matter set limits on the *kinds* of stories that can be *properly* (in the sense of both veraciously and appropriately) told about them only if we believe that the events themselves possess a 'story' kind of form and a 'plot' kind of meaning" ("Historical Emplotment" 39). White said that he had

discourse is its "claim to manifest, express, or represent reality, to summon up and interrogate the real world in all its complexity and opacity" (32). His tropological theory of language seems to deny history any claim to the neutral representation of empirical facts, unsurprisingly sparking furious controversy and some sharp rebuttals, particularly from historians (see Evans *In Defence of History* (1997) for a lucid account of these debates and for his own reply). Lionel Gossmann has warned that

> the current tend to conflate 'historical' and 'fictional' narrative and the new emphasis on the 'poetics' of history may be promoting a facile and irresponsile relativism which will leave many who espouse it defenseless before the most dangerous myths and ideologies, incapable of justifying any stand. ("Between Literature" 303)

However, the state of current historiography in America and Europe would seem to indicate that such a fall into relativism has not occurred (at least, not outside the realms of abstract theorising), and that serious readers (both academic and non-academic) still expect historians to provide rigorous accounts which are sustained by demonstrable evidence. As the narrativist historian Frank Ankersmit says, the linguistic turn is not an attack on truth or a license for relativism, but rather stresses that historical truth must "have its origins in the compulsions of language no less than in those of experience" (37).[15] When all is said and done, while White may have sometimes overstated his case about the "fictionality" of history, he injected a fresh and much-needed perspective on the practice of history, and continues to have lasting influence on the way the relationship between literature and history is conceived.

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been more concerned to highlight the way in which historians used literary methods in their work rather than to blur completely the line between the two.

[15] Ankersmit takes a middle position between empiricism and Derridean deconstructionism, stressing that narrativists have sought to supplement traditional work done by historians, not replace it (53). He differentiates between description and representation, arguing that though both descriptions and representations stand in a relationship to reality, a description will be said to refer to reality (by means of its subject term), whereas a representation (as a whole) will be said to be about reality. Whereas "reference" is fixed by an object in reality denoted by the subject-term of the description, "being about" is essentially unstable and unfixed because it is differently defined by the descriptions constrained by the text of each representation. "Being about" gives us the "logical space within which historical thinking and historical discussion are possible," but an exclusive focus on reference leads to the ejection of historical understanding by science. The discussion of what set of descriptions (as embodied in representation) would represent a chunk of reality is then exchanged for a discussion of what predicates are true of reality (41).

Postmodernist discourses about the nature of language and representation have also been manifested in fiction, giving rise to a new genre of "historiographic metafiction" (although we should emphasise that such fiction did not arise from theory, but is merely another way of expressing the same concerns). The label was first applied by Linda Hutcheon to novels such as Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* (1980) or E.L. Doctorow's *Ragtime* (1975), "which are both intensely self-reflexive and yet paradoxically also lay claim to historical events and personages" (*Poetics* 5), subverting traditional modes of representation through the use of parody, contradiction, self-reflexivity, unstable, fragmented narratives and unreliable narrators. There also tends to be a privileging of the marginal and a focus on the plurality of cultures and perspectives. These features arose from the postmodern contestation of the allegedly "totalising" master narratives of liberal humanism and the latter's imposition of "false" unity or coherence upon reality, history and the subject. There has been a debate about whether postmodernism should be seen as opposed to modernism, or as growing out of it, but Hutcheon is right in saying that it both incorporates and challenges it. As she says, modernists such as Joyce or Eliot were just as skeptical as postmodernists about the possibility of finding stable, universal values, but while they nevertheless sought consolation in metastructures of art or myth, for postmodernists there can be no such consolation; consensus is impossible, and all knowledge is provisional (6-7). Neverthless, if the self-conscious formalism of modernism led to the isolation of art from its social context, then postmodernism's even more self-reflexive parodic formalism reveals that art, a form of discourse, is intimately connected to the political and the social (35).

The new discourses on language and the nature of representation led some critics to villify realist novels on account of their alleged epistemological naïvety and their unthinking reproduction of (bourgeois) dominant discourses. Structuralists such as Roland Barthes, for example, argue that realism creates a mythic discourse which drains language of its historical origins, hides its ideological underpinnings, and presents itself as natural and eternal (116-19). From an Althusserian viewpoint, Catherine Belsey has made a similar charge, claiming that realism's unthinking reproduction of dominant ideology naturalises it, eternalising the historically derived

and installing one version of reality as reality itself. Belsey argues that, while realism might appear to dramatise the political and ideological conflicts present in the social world, it is always eventually impelled to resolve contradiction and present a unified view. This is done through a "hierarchy of discourses" which are ultimately subjected to the author's controlling voice and privileged viewpoint, the effect being enforced by the use of the third person narrator (70). The "innocent," uncritical reader is unwittingly drawn into sympathy with the presented view, becoming, in Barthesian terms, a reader of myth. As Raymond Tallis points out, this argument smacks of academic elitisism, for Belsey seems to institute a hierarchy of readers by implying that clever, educated people such as herself are able to see the contradictions, while others will not be (54-57). It is also highly debatable whether realism as a method must necessarily resolve all contradictions by the end of the novel.

Frederic Jameson, who also departs from an Althusserian basis, has not been so positive towards postmodernist art forms, arguing that they are too closely associated with the economic system of late capitalism (see Hutcheon *Poetics* 50 for a discussion of Jameson in this context). According to Jameson, the literary should be subjected to symptomatic analysis in order to reveal the specific ways in which it denies or represses History, and to subject the formerly repressed History to rational scrutiny (see Dowling 78).[16] For Dominick LaCapra, such "symptomatic readings" ignore the presence of counter-currents and trends that emerge on the streets or in artistic texts and which resist homogenising forces (*History, Politics* 3). Also, as Linda Hutcheon has argued, although postmodern novels are not ideological in a way that seeks to persuade readers of the correctness of a point of view, their self-reflexive strategies, along with their overt use of irony and parody, do provide a means of critiquing

[16] William Dowling writes that Jameson sees ideology not as false consciousness but as ideological closure. Ideology under this view is approximate of some truth about the totality that, given limits always posed by the historical process, stands in for a deeper truth it exists to deny. Every ideology viewed in this context becomes for Jameson a "strategy of containment," a means of denying the contradictions that exist on the social surface (53-4). Thus, the master code of any interpretive method is the ideology it works to perpetuate (107). Jameson borrows from Bakhtin in saying that one can view Anglicanism, for example, as a dialogical discourse by viewing it as a response to a repressed oppositional voice. Historically speaking we "hear'" only one voice because a hegemonic ideology suppresses or marginalises all antagonistic class voices, and yet hegemonic discourse remains locked into a dialogue with the discourse it has suppressed (130).

normative social discourses. Novels take a political stand merely by encouraging readers to question the way in which reality is constructed, even if no concrete proposals are made for an alternative social or political order. The criticisims levelled by postmodernists against realism because of its links with liberal humanism are also ideologically inspired (*Poetics* 180), especially where humanism is taken by them as being the exclusive property of the capitalist bourgeoisie. However, in contrast to realism, Hutcheon says, postmodernist texts do draw attention to their own ideological underpinnings through their self-reflexive strategies (184). Yet, we must also ask whether individual texts truly draw attention to their own discursive practices, or whether their focus is only on the traditional realist methods which they have rejected. We will see in Chapter 2 the case of a novel by Isaac Rosa, *El vano ayer* (2004), which purports to lay bare the rhetorical practices typically used by novelists of the Spanish Civil War, but does so in a highly rhetorical manner which is ultimately aimed at putting forth the author's own ideological, and entirely unquestioned, position.

Despite the sometimes confrontational nature of the debate about the relative value of mimetic and postmodernist narratives, and about their ability to challenge hegemonic discourses, they should not be viewed as diametrically opposed, nor placed into a hierarchical relation with one other. After all, as Hutcheon says, historiographic metafiction "inscribes and only then subverts its mimetic engagement with the world. It does not reject it [...]; nor does it merely accept it [...]. But it does change irrevocably any simple notions of realism or reference by directly confronting the discourse of art with the disourse of history" (*Poetics* 20). In addition, as Lodge argues, "the classic realist text was never as homogenous or as consistent as the [archetypal] model requires; nor do postmodern novelists divide as neatly as [has been implied] into complacent neorealist sheep and dynamic antirealist goats" (*After Bakhtin* 26). Realism, despite the attempts of postmodern theorists to knock it off its pedestal, remains one of the favoured narrative modes among authors and reading public alike, and has enjoyed a considerable revival after the experimentalism of the 1960s and 1970s. Indeed, many realist narratives have incorporated postmodernist innovations, just as postmodernism did with modernism, a process of selection that is

natural to a genre which, as Mikhail Bakhtin has observed, is in a continuous state of renewal and development. Indeed, the all-inclusive understanding of the novel which Bakhtin propounds makes his theories ideal for the investigation of literary texts of all types, whether mimetic or anti-mimetic, classically Realist or radically postmodern; in addition, as we will see in the next section, his linguistic theories and manner of perceiving the connections between fiction and its socio-historical context provide a way of side-step the now-stale humanist/(post-)structuralist debate.

1.2 Bakhtin, Dialogism and Chronotope

Mikhail Bakhtin was a Russian philosopher, semiotician and literary critic who was active in Russian debate on aesthetics and literature in the 1920s.[17] As he was a victim of Stalinist repression, many of his works were not published or discovered until the 1960s, and were brought to the attention of the Francophone world in the 1970s by structuralist scholars, Julia Kristeva and Tztezan Todorov. From there Bakhtin's ideas gained increasing influence among Anglo-American academics working in diverse fields such as literary theory, cultural studies, applied linguistics and sociology, although he has been especially popular among those working on postmodern textual forms.

Central to Bakhtin's philosophy of language, and consequently his literary criticism, is the concept of dialogism, which describes how different social languages interact with one another, as well as the way in which meaning is derived from language. Carol Emerson has argued in the preface to *Problems for Dostoevsky's Poetics* that, for Bakhtin, the utterance is the fundamental unit of communication, although it should not be confused with the sentence, which is a unit of language ("Preface" xxxiv). It contains two parts: a given meaning—which is the basis of the language—and an enunciative context—the situation in which the utterance is produced and received by

[17] There has been controversy surrounding the authorship of a number of works, which were signed under the names of other members of the Bakhtin Circle—Volosinov and Medvedev. The disputed works, which include *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, also raise questions about whether Bakhtin should be considered Marxist or not (Vice 8).

a listener, who need not be an actual person, but may instead be an implied representative of a social group. What is more, no expression is ever completely individual, and because it takes place in this social network, it always forms part of a dialogue. This dialogue may occur between different speakers, but, says Bakhtin, it must also be

> understood against the background of other concrete utterances on the same theme, a background made up of contradictory opinions, points of view and value judgments—that is, precisely that background that, as we see, complicates the path of any word toward its object. (*Dialogic* 281)

Individual words are also replete with the prior meanings and intentions of others and become "one's own" only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention" (*Dialogic* 293-4). Sue Vice remarks that although there are some superficial similarities between Bakhtin's concept of language and that of the structuralist Ferdinand de Saussure, Bakhtin was critical of the latter for focusing exclusively on the formal properties of language (*langue*). What interested Bakhtin was what Saussure termed *"parole,"* individual instances of language use or utterances, which for Bakhtin are always infused with socio-ideological content.[18] For Saussure, meaning was associated with the sign in a fixed and arbitrary way—for example, there is no reason why the word "dog" should evoke the concept we associate with it—but according to Bakhtin/Volosinov, meaning is netiher fixed nor arbitrary; it is fundamentally conventional, and is the result of social development. Words take on different meanings over time as they are appropriated by different groups with different intentions. Such a struggle for meaning is associated with class struggle by Volosinov, as "differently oriented accents intersect in every ideological sign" (Vice 12). What is more, contrary to those structuralist and deconstructionist theories that deny the originality of any language use (for example, Barthes in *The Death of the Author)*, Bakhtin believes that

[18] While there is only one mention of Saussure in *The Dialogic Imagination,* Bakhtin discusses him in more detail in *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language* (Vice 11).

> [t]he utterance is never the simple reflection or the expression of something that pre-exists it, is given and ready. It always creates something that had not been before, that is absolutely new and is nonreiterative, and that, moreover, always has a relation to values (truth, the good, the beautiful etc.) But this thing comes into being only from a given thing (language; the observed real fact; the felt emotion; the speaking subject him/herself what was already in his or her conception of the world, etc.) (qtd. in Todorov *Mikhail Bakhtin* 50)

This means that the study of the "given" of purely linguistic analysis is not enough, and that it is far easier than the study of the *created* itself (*Mikhail Bakhtin* 50). Again, Bakhtin is attacking purely Formalist practices which analyse only the text, without taking into account its wider relations with the socio-historical world.

According to Bakhtin, the ongoing battle for meaning means that a single national language is always "internally stratified" or made up of different social languages and discourses called heteroglossia. Such stratification, he says, is accomplished through the varying intentional appropriation of the language by different social and professional classes, generations, racial groups, and so forth; and further expresses the socio-ideological contradictions between past and present, and between differing epochs of the past. Heteroglossia also reflects the continuous struggle between centripetal (centralising) and centrifugal (decentralising) impulses in a language (*Dialogic* 68), with dominant or prestige languages being always exposed to challenge and subversion from other socio-linguistic groups. Heteroglossia in the novel might also be expressed, in David Danow's terms, as the "opposition between a conceivable dominant literary language and mutually contending extraliterary languages that are striving to move from the realm of everyday oral discourse to that of literature" (51-2). The different languages enter the novel through what Bakhtin calls "the speaking person," which may not necessarily be a character, but may refer to impersonal parodied stylisations, inserted genres, posited authors, or folk tales (*skaz)* (*Dialogic*

335).[19] Each speaker's language, he says, represents a distinctive belief-system or ideology, but it is artistically represented in the novel by means of authorial discourse, so that language in the novel is always double-voiced or internally dialogised, being infused with the speaker's direct intentions and the indirect intentions of the author. There is no formal differentiation between these utterances, styles, languages and belief systems, and the diversity of voices and languages takes place within the limits of a single syntactic whole, often within the limits of a sentence (305). The author's relationship to the different social languages of his text will be made up of varying distances depending on the belief system they express. Even where the author's voice initially appears unitary and consistent, when there is no overt parodisation, for example, speech diversity and language stratification still serve as the basis of style (315).

Another crucial element to Bakhtin's conception of dialogism is the carnivalesque. Bakhtin wrote about carnival in *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* and *The Dialogic Imagination,* but his fullest exploration of it was perhaps in his book on the grotesque realism of Rabelais. For Bakhtin, the carnivalesque is the most supreme instance of dialogic language. Comic, parodic and subversive, it "brings together, unifies, weds, and combines the sacred with the profane, the lofty with the low, the great with the insignificant, the wise with the stupid" (*Problems* 123). Its origins, he says, lie in the festivals which took place during church holidays during the Middle Ages, when the usual moral and hierarchical strictures were relaxed. Carnival gradually fell into decline after the Renaissance, with carnivalised literature replacing it as a source of the carnivalesque (although the traces of carnival can still be found in theatre, spectacle, circus and farce) (*Problems* 129-31). Intimately linked to the carnivalesque is the Medieval literary genre of "grotesque realism," exemplified for Bakhtin by Rabelais. Grotesque imagery and word-linkages in Rabelais, he remarks, "are aimed primarily at destroying the established hierarchy of values, at bringing down the high and raising up the low, at destroying every nook and cranny of the habitual picture of

[19] Emerson, in a note to her translation of *Dostoevsky's Poetics* says that there is no precise English equivalent to *skaz,* which "refers to a mode of narration that imitates the oral speech of an individualised narrator" (*Problems* 8).

the world" (*Dialogic* 177), which, of course, Bakhtin sees as the function of the carnivalesque in general.

The carnivalesque is fundamental to what Bakhtin termed the "polyphonic novel," and which he saw as the supreme instance of dialogism. In *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics,* he explains that in the polyphonic novel,

> [a] character's word about himself and his world is just as fully weighted as the author's word usually is; it is not subordinated to the character's objectified image as merely one of his characteristics, nor does it serve as a mouthpiece for the author's voice. It possesses extraordinary independence in the structure of the work; it sounds, as it were, *alongside* the author's word and in a special way combines both with it and with the full and equally valid voices of other characters. (*Problems* 7)

This type of work, typified for Bakhtin by his literary hero, Dostoevsky, contrasts with the traditional Realist novel, where the omniscient narrator provides all information about the characters and makes judgements about them which are communciated to the reader. In the polyphonic novel, in contrast, narratorial intrusion is minimal and the reader must rely on what the characters say about themselves in order to form a picture of them. This, of course, is a narrative style typical of the modernist novel, and supreme examples of polyphony can be found in the works of a Joyce or a Faulkner. As Graham Pechey points out, polyphony also offers us a position from which Western humanism and universalism can be problematised and seen in the light of what it excludes or represses. It is the poetics of a politics that in Western Europe found fleeting expression in the insurgent stage of the "bourgeois revolution" rather than the poetics (like Realism) of an established "bourgeois" order (28). Finally, it is important to note that while dialogism exists in polyphony, a novel can contain dialogic discourse without being polyphonic, as all language is fundamentally dialogic.

Bakhtin identifies three manners of representing "the image of a language" in the novel, all of which may be employed in order to subvert discourse, create comedy and set up a critical distance between the author and the represented languages. These devices may be used in all types of novels, but are particularly evident in carnivalised

and polyphonic literature. The first is "hybridisation," a mixture of two social languages—that of the author and that of the character—within the limits of a single utterance. Hybridisations are especially common in "free indirect discourse" or "free indirect syle," and can be used to add ironic commentary to the character's words and thoughts. The second is "stylisation" or pastiche, where, again, two linguistic consciousnesses are present— that of the author and that of the person whose language is being stylised. In order to function correctly, stylisation must be consistent and contemporary acccents must not be allowed to contaminate it, unless this is done deliberately, in which case it is called "variation." A further example is parodic stylisation (or parody), where the intentions of the represented discourse conflict with those of the representing discourse. Finally, the third discourse level is that of dialogue itself, the dialogue of the characters being full of the type of dialogic confrontations discussed above:

> A dialogue of languages is a dialogue of social forces perceived not only in their static co-existence, but also as a dialogue of different times, epochs and days, a dialogue that is forever dying, living, being born: co-existence and becoming are here fused into an indissoluble concrete unity that is contradictory, multi-speeched and heterogeneous. (*Dialogic* 365)

At times, Bakhtin seemingly contradicts his statements that language is always double-voiced when he opposes dialogic with monologic discourse. This is most apparent in his writings on Tolstoy, whom he accused of being "monolithically monologic" (*Problems* 56). In Tolstoy's world, says Bakhtin, "the hero's discourse is confined in the fixed framework of the author's discourse about him [...]. A second autonomous voice (alongside the author's voice) does not appear [...]; for that reason there is no problem of linking voices, and no problem of a special positioning for the author's point of view" (*Problems* 56). Yet, in *The Dialogic Imagination* Bakhtin specifically discusses internal dialogisation in Tolstoy's style in the context of a discussion on the word's interaction with the belief-system of the listener (283). In the first place, as Caryl Emerson argues, monologue must not be understood in Bakhtin in its everyday sense—it can be dialogised, but is different to properly dialogic discourse because it

tries to close off the possibility of dialogue, asserting a unitary truth which refuses to assimilate or accept the truths of other discourses. This unity "is false because it is only an apparent oneness; in fact, monologism demarcates, abstracts, excludes, and it is only from within this closed and lopped-off system that everything can be seen as one" ("Tolstoy" 69). Thus, in *The Dialogic Imagination* Bakhtin associates monologism with "authoritative discourse," a type of discourse whose

> authority was already acknowledged in the past. It is a prior discourse. It is therefore not a question of choosing it from among other possible discourses that are its equal. It is given (it sounds) in lofty spheres, not those of familiar contact. Its language is a special (as it were, a hieratic) language. It can be profaned. It is akin to taboo, i.e., a name that must not be taken in vain. (*Dialogic 342)*

Examples includes religious or scientific dogma, which, according to Bakhtin, cannot be artistically represented without depriving them of their authority and turning them into an object or relic. For this reason, he says, the presence of authoritative discourse in the novel is insignificant, and images of "official-authoritative" truth, or virtue, usually fail. A similar contradiction about the differences between Tolstoy and Dostoevsky is also apparent in Julia Kristeva's interpretation of Bakhtin. She says that for Bakhtin

> narrative is a prohibition, a *monologism*, a subordination of the code to 1, to God. [...] all 'realist narrative' obeying 0-1 logic is dogmatic. The realist novel, which Bakhtin calls monological [...] tends to evolve within this space [...].The only discourse integrally to achieve the 0-2 poetic logic is that of carnival. By adopting dream logic, it transgresses rules of linguistic code and social morality as well. (70)

This seems to imply that Realist novels cannot be transgressive, but it was precisely on account of their allegedly subversive properties and choice of "low subjects" that the Realist novels of Balzac or Flaubert were initially denigrated by the upholders of neoclassical form. In fact, Kristeva later includes Balzac in a list along with Rabelais, Swift, Cervantes and others as examples of authors of polyphonic novels, but makes no reference to his status as one of the great fathers of Realism (79). Nor does his

inclusion prevent her from later stating that "not only the so-called 'traditional novel' of the nineteenth century, but also any novel with any ideological thesis whatsoever, tends towards an epic, thus constituting a deviation in the very structure of the novel; this is why Tolstoy's monologism is epic and Dostoevski's [sic] dialogism is novelistic" (87). It seems odd to say that Realist novels are deviations in the structure of the novel, even though it is Realism, more than any other mode, with which the novel genre has been associated. One of the most interesting parts of her analysis, however, is her description of the novel's "ambivalent space," which she says can be seen as regulated by two formative spaces, monological (each following sequence is determined by the preceding one) and dialogical (transfinite sequences that are next-larger to the preceding causal series). Dialogue appears most clearly in the structure of carnivalesque language, where symbolic relationships and analogy take precedence over substance-causality connections (72). It also indicates that what is truly at issue in the Tolstoy/Dostoevesky debate is that in Tolstoyan Realism, the monologic dominates so that the ambivalent space is more restricted (while his language is still fundamentally dialogic), whereas in Dostoevsky's carnivalised polyphonic style, this ambivalent space is more expansive, allowing the reader greater freedom in the construction of meaning.

The final, crucially important insight which Bakhtin brought to the understanding of the novel, and to genre in particular, is that of "chronotope." A neologism which he coined, chronotope refers to the set of time/space relations that exist in both the text and the "real" world at any given moment. The relationships between the text and the real world may also be understood chronotopically, and the chronotopes of art and life are always in dialogue with one another, affecting the way in which meaning is produced at different points in time (*Dialogic* 254). There is, therefore, no determining point in space/time from which the text can be definitively interpreted.[20] The chronotopes of the work are drawn from the chronotopes of the real world, but

[20] This, says Michael Holquist, can be contrasted with the chronotopical conceptions of other theories. In vulgar Marxism, for example, the time/space of the author is determining; in reader reception theory, the time/space of a text's reader is determining; and in early formalism, the analysis derived in the time/space of a formalist critic is taken to be a universal pattern not dependent on the contingent factors of its reception (141).

Bakhtin cautions against falling into a naïve realism, and insists on the categorical separation of the exterior world and the world represented in the work. Similarly, "we must not confuse the author-creator of a work with the author as human being" nor "confuse the listener of multiple or varied periods, recreating and renewing the text, with the passive reader or listener of one's own time (which leads to dogmatism in interpretation and evaluation)" (*Dialogic* 253). Chronotope is also responsible for the organisation of narrative and plot in the novel, and different combinations of chronotopes set one novel apart generically from another (84). What is more, he says, our understanding of space and time in the text depends upon our own particular conceptions of these, which will have been formed by the culture within which we have been raised (257). Chronotope thus serves as a useful concept for understanding the interaction between the text and its socio-historical context, and between the text and its historical referents. It reminds us that interpretation is ever changing, older discourses becoming assimilated and synthesised to create new understandings over time, like an endless feedback loop with increasing resonances. Finally, chronotope casts a fresh light upon genre: we can examine how novels blend different chronotopes in a manner that promotes evolution, creating a constant tension between the unifying forces of convention and the disruptive, subversive forces of innovation.

In this thesis, the term "structural chronotope" will be used to refer to those chronotopes which govern the overall organisation of space and time in the novel. For example, a historical novel is always governed by a structural chronotope of "historical time," (which refers to real historical events), although the way in which historical time is made manifest will depend on how it is combined with other structural chronotopes, as well as with chronotopes of other orders. Another chronotope which has particular structural importance is what we will call a "narrative chronotope." Such chronotopes can be made to correspond to the different diegetic levels of Genettian narratology. For example, a heterodiegetic narrator is harboured in one of the novel's narrative chronotopes, which refers implicitly or explictly to the time and place of narration. The story told by the heterodiegetic narrator is framed by at least one other narrative chronotope, with the two chronotopes being in dialogue with one

another to create the novel's overall structure. Thus, in the structural chronotopes of historical time and biographical time, we generally find a heterodiegetic narrator who speaks from a point in space/time distanced to that of the represented events. The narrator inhabits one narrative chronotope (which corresponds to the extradiegetic level in Genette), while the represented events are contained in another (corresponding to the intradiegetic level). The narrative chronotopes can themselves be further broken down or aligned with other minor chrontopes (or generic motifs), all of them also blending and combining with one another to provide variations on the overall chronotopical structure, and therefore to genre. If the narrative is fragmented across different spatial and temporal locations, then each of these may also have their own corresponding narrative chronotope (as we will find in the case of *La noche de los tiempos*). Most novels will contain at least two narrative chronotopes, although it is possible for there to be only one in the case of a homodiegetic narrator who narrates events in which he or she is directly involved, as they occur, and in the present tense. As soon as a homodiegetic narrator speaks of past events, however, two narrative chronotopes emerge.

Bakhtin's ideas have a number of implications for the way in which the relationship between history, politics and literature can be understood and analysed. Firstly, as Lodge says, Bakhtin's insight that language is essentially social or dialogic

> lets us off the hook of deconstructionist scepticism about the possibility of meaning: instead of having desperately to defend the possibility of a fixed or stable meaning in isolated utterance, we can cheerfully accept that meaning exists in the process of intersubjective communication, since no utterance ever is truly isolated. Methodologically, it means that we cannot explain *parole* simply by reference to *langue:* an utterance can only be understood in context, a context that is partly non-verbal and involves the status of and relations between speaker, addressee and the object of reference (*After Bakhtin* 58).

Since novels are made up of heteroglossia, they also have a unique ability to represent the full spectrum of discourses that abound in the the social sphere at the time of writing. What is more, multiple points of view are not necessarily under the final

overriding control of the author, because, especially in the polyphonic novel, the latter's intentions are only tangentially refracted through the language of the "speaking person." The presence of heterolossia and the availability of stylistic devices such as hybridisation, irony and parody also provide novels with the means of questioning and subverting dominant discoures and stale conventions. Even those novels which appear to unthinkingly reproduce dominant discourse, using clichéd language and tired plots, may contain the germs of linguistic and discursive evolution. The novel, as the etymology of its name suggests, is a genre which is in a continual state of becoming, opening up new spaces for creative expression because it is never afraid to parody its own forms.

Bakhtin's perspective also restores the agency and importance of the author, and implies that the author's intentions and discursive context must be taken into account in the deciphering of meaning in the novel. Author and reader are equal partners in a dialogue which leads to the construction of meaning—but this meaning is always contingent and temporary, as the reader's interpetation will always be tempered by their particular position in space and time, as well as by their experiential background. Finally, according to a Bakhtinian view, an ontological separation between history and literature must be maintained, as their chronotopes belong to different orders. At the same time, the chronotopes of the one do inform those of the other, although the perception we have of each will vary at different historical moments and according to the particular chronotopical understandings embedded in specific cultures and language systems (see Peeren "Through the Lens of the Chronotope" for an interesting discussion of this in the context of exile). There is also a dialogue between past and present, and the record of the past is constantly being moulded according to present concerns, affecting which topics are chosen for study, the manner of their narrativisation, and the relevance they are shown to have for the present. This means that it is impossible to say that there is a fundamental historical "truth" which can be objectively and definitively ascertained, although we do not need to adopt a radical, relativist view which accepts the equal validity of all discourses about the past. In the following section, we will overview the current approaches to the study of Spanish

Civil War novels in order to suggest why a Bakhtinian perspective is, at this stage, a particularly fruitful one.

1.3 Current Approaches to the Study of Spanish Civil War Novels

Literary representations of the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath have received relatively little scholarly attention, especially considering that there are over 1,300 works in existence in which the war is present as a main or secondary theme. Most edited volumes or book-length studies do not look beyond works produced in the 1980s, although increased attention is now being devoted to later novels in journals and at conferences. Investigations treating recently published novels have predominantly relied upon concepts drawn from "memory studies" and psychoanalytic trauma theory, approaches which have been popularised in cultural and historical studies in America and Europe over the past two decades. One of these is Carmen Moreno-Nuño's *La huellas de la guerra civil* (2006), which analyses novels produced between the 1980s and mid-1990s. Moreno-Nuño combines theories on myth by Roland Barthes and Claude Lévi-Strauss with psychoanalytic trauma theory to argue that the war was predominantly represented as myth in the 1980s, gradually shifting to its representation as trauma in the 1990s. The popularity of the Transition explains why myth dominated during the early years of the democracy, she says, while representations of it as a trauma had an oppositional rather than hegemonic character (45). Cristina Moreiras Menor also uses trauma theory to examine novels produced during the same period in *Cultura herida* (2002). However, unlike Moreno-Nuño, Moreiras Menor largely focuses on "light" texts such as Almudena Grandes' *Las edades de Lulu* (1989), (although she does also examine more obviously political works by Manuel Vázquez-Montalbán and Juan Goytisolo). Her contention is that even the most apparently depoliticised and dehistoricised films and texts bear traces of the traumatic wound left by the civil war and "articularán un deseo de (re)construcción de la escena reprimida o un deseo de construcción de una escena sustitutoria" (30). Continuing with the metaphor of psychological illness, Ofelia Ferrán argues that there is a schizophrenic attitude towards the remembrance of the Civil War in Spain "which

can only be understood if we recognise that memory and forgetting are interrelated in complex ways, often working together instead of representing opposing forces" (24). She analyses what she calls "meta-memory texts," whose self-reflexivity and self-conscious exploration of the relationship between memory and representation make them "particularly appropriate models for how to develop a much-needed culture of memory in Spain" and serve as a model for a culture of "counter memory" in the Foucauldian sense (15).

Other studies have avoided trauma theory to focus on "collective memory" formation, a concept which was first introduced by French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs in 1925, and which has formed the basis for contemporary "memory studies." Halbwachs argued that individual memory is always shaped by the individual's social group and its governing beliefs and traditions, although "the memory of the same fact can be placed within many frameworks, which results from distinct collective memories" (52). One notable Spanish work in this vein is that of Ana Luengo, who combines a structuralist approach with key concepts from memory studies to analyse six novels published between the mid-1990s and early millennium (*La encrucijada* 2004). Luengo argues that the novels are what Piere Nora called *lieux de memoires,* or "sites of memory," where "memory crystallizes and secretes itself [...] where a sense of historical continuity persists" (7). As *lieux de memoires,* she argues, they therefore contribute to the formation of collective memory about the war. Luengo also adopts Winter and Sivan's elaboration of the three subject positions that are relevant to the creation and transmission of collective memory, or in their terms, "collective remembrance." The first of these positions is held by *homo psychologicus*, the person who has private direct memory of an event (who may be a narrator and/or character, for example), while the second is held by *homo sociologicus,* the person who relies on constructed social memory (frequently the implied author or a homodiegetic narrator who undertakes an investigation into the past). The third is occupied by *homo agens,* the acting subject who joins together private and social memory to produce texts, films, museums and other forms of commemoration which shape collective

remembrance (the real life author) (cf. Winter and Sivan 9-10).[21] Finally, there are also two important collections containing essays that also use a trauma/memory approach. These are *Lugares de memoria de la Guerra Civil y el franquismo*, edited by Ulrich Winter (*Lugares* 2006) and, under the direction of Joan Ramon Resina, *Dis-Remembering the Dictatorship* (2002).

While the memory studies approach has sometimes provided a fruitful avenue of investigation, it has a number of limitations. Some of these have arisen due to its very popularity, and because its various concepts are now being employed with such frequency that they are losing their initial power. As Wulf Kansteiner has pointed out, the term "memory" itself is problematic, and has acquired such a wide range of different meanings among authors that sometimes it barely seems useful at all (181). In addition, he says,

> Memory studies presuppose a rarely acknowledged but not particularly surprising desire for cultural homogeneity, consistency, and predictability. Often we simply assume that people who have some knowledge and perhaps even vested interest in past events like the Korean War or the Holocaust have substantially similar perceptions of the event in question and thus form a stable interpretive community. (193)

In Spain, there is quite clearly more than one memory about the past, even within the traditionally opposed left-right groupings, and it is doubtful whether these can ever be completely reconciled, or indeed, whether such an outcome is desirable. The attempt to construct a unitary memory was already made during the Francoist dictatorship, and it is no less repressive to enforce another, no matter how noble the intentions. As Fiona Schoten has remarked, the situation has now grown even more complicated in Spain because the duty to remember has been incorporated into official memory narratives (23). At the same time, there has been a debasing of memory, and the term "historical memory" has become little more than a marketing cliché in Spain (and

[21] Although she gives an account of the socio-historical context in Spain, Luengo's structuralist framework prevents her from fully engaging with historiographical debates. She disapprovingly points to instances where the novels have merely "repeated" old mythic interepretations of the war, without deeper analysis of why these interpretations appear in the novels, or in what way they might be subverted.

other countries) to sell cultural production related to the war. It is for such reasons that it is always necessary to ask questions about the purpose and use of remembering. As Todorov rightly warns us, appeals that call upon a duty to remember may be nothing more than an instigation to defend only one "particular selection of facts that allow its protagonists to maintain their status as heroes, victims, or teachers of moral lessons, against any other selection that might give them less gratifying roles" (*Hope* 175). The cycle of selective memory is being repeated in Spain today, where, as Jo Labanyi has pointed out, there has been a battle among certain authors to prove which side of the civil war has a greater claim to victimhood, creating a virtual memory war that has not assisted in reconciliation but has merely refreshed the old divisions ("Historias de víctimas" 90). This "memory war" will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

Kansteiner has also thrown doubt on whether concepts of trauma and repression illuminate the process of collective memory formation, arguing that even where there is "so-called delayed collective memory [...], the delayed onset of public debates about the meaning of negative pasts has more to do with political interest and opportunities than the persistence of trauma or with any 'leakage' in the collective unconscious" (187). This, as will be seen in the following chapter, is the case with Spain, with the Socialist Party [PSOE] only deciding to champion the cause of "historical memory" after a significant civic movement had been created, and likely because it provided an opportunity to score points against its right-wing rivals. It is also rather questionable whether it is appropriate to transpose concepts of repression and the unconscious from the individual psyche to the collective. One of the greatest resulting dangers, as Dominick LaCapra has argued, is the creation of a "wound culture" whereby everyone, regardless of their subject position or of whether they have directly experienced the event, is in some way a victim of it. This can happen when the traumatic event loses historical specificity (for example, the direct experience of Francoist repression) to become abstracted into a generalised cultural trauma (where all Spaniards become vicarious victims, even those who did not oppose the regime or were born later) (*Writing History* 46-81). Thus, Cristina Moreiras Menor seems to inappropriately generalise historical losses when she refers to the presence

of a "cultura herida" in Spain (16). As Barbara Zecchi has said, Moreieras Menor's choice of works, along with the lack of reference to politically committed writers or to nostalgic representations of Francoism, signals a desire to "desresponsabilizar del panorama cultural a todos, haciendo de todos víctimas y de nadie verdugo" (399).

One other problem with trauma theory is the suggestion that through successful narrativisation of the traumatic event, it is finally possible to arrive at some ultimate historical truth which, once recovered, can be neatly closed off. This leads us back to crude positivism and is not helpful for analysing the way in which discourses about the past are shaped and reshaped. As Fiona Schouten remarks, the use of a psychological discourse of trauma also bears normative implications (3). What is more, it eerily echoes the repeated claims that Spain was sick and in need of a cure during the 1930s; this discourse existed on both sides of the civil war divide, but was intensified in the postwar period by the victorious Francoists, who used it to justify the brutal repression and dismiss those with left-wing ideals as "psychopaths." Schouten also argues that the wound/sickness discourse has become linked to an ethical imperative to remember, one which is evident not just in the general public sphere, but also in academic studies, pointing to the example of Ana Luengo, who criticises novels that do not represent the past in a sufficiently moral way (10).[22] Another example might be that of Ofelia Ferrán, who argues that it is up to the meta-memory texts of the twenty-first century to ensure that "noises" of history, the "moans or cries of rage and terror are not silenced once more" (279). According to Sebastiaan Faber, this need to remember ethically, to affiliate oneself consciously with the Republican tradition and its defenders, is the reason why a discourse of remembering has become so prominent in recent times ("Nueva novela" 105). While it is certainly important that the past is made fully accessible, that the voices of victims are sounded alongside those of the victors, historians and non-historians alike must nevertheless beware of falling into the trap of judging history. This, in the words of Nietzsche, is "an attempt to gain a past *a posteriori* from which we might spring, as against that from which we

[22] See Luengo *La encrucijada* 273-4 for the relevant section.

do spring—always a dangerous attempt, as it is difficult to find a limit to the denial of the past, and the second natures are generally weaker than the first" (21).[23]

Moreno-Nuño is alive to the various pitfalls of trauma theory, and for the most part avoids them, but her reference to a "second generation of trauma" in her discussion of *El jinete polaco* (1991) by Antonio Muñoz Molina nevertheless gives the impression that trauma is a hereditary disease. More appropriate is the concept of "postmemory" developed by Marianne Hirsch, to which Moreno-Nuño also makes reference. Hirsch (who takes Nora's *lieux de memoires* as starting place) says that postmemory "characterises the experience of those who grow up dominated by narratives that preceded their birth, whose own belated stories are evacuated by the stories of the previous generation shaped by traumatic events that can be neither understood nor recreated" (22). It is distinguished from memory by generational distance and from history by deep personal connection. Objects such as photographs (the focus of Hirsch's study) or literary texts provide a medium for linking "remembrance, memory and postmemory" between one generation and the next (23). It must be born in mind, however, that the type of interest and connection felt by the children and grandchildren will be of a very different order to those of their forebears. For later generations, there can be sympathy and curiosity, but there can never be full understanding. What is more, such curiosity will not be felt by all descendants, and only a small minority will be driven to undertake more than very superficial investigations or use the past as a subject for artistic exploration.

Despite the dominance of memory studies, other approaches do exist. In *La Guerra persistente* (2006), Antonio Gómez López-Quiñones (while still making reference to historical memory) gives a more classical reading in his panoramic survey of cinematic and literary production between the mid-1990s and early-2000s, providing a useful categorisation of a number of thematic and formal trends. These will be detailed in the second section of the following chapter, where the most recent wave of novelistic

[23] Historian Santos Juliá has been sharply critical of such practices in Spain, defending the objective pursuit of historical facts against what he sees as an overly subjective approach that is undertaken by certain historians and public figures ("Guerra"). The argument between those like him who defend the Transition, and the "recuperacionistas" will be examined more closely in the following chapter.

production is discussed in some detail. Another rather interesting approach is that of Fiona Schouten in her PhD thesis, *A Diffuse Murmur of History* (2009) (although again there are some references to memory). She writes from a post-structuralist perspective, and in her study of works produced during the 1990s and 2000s, asks "how the texts incorporate memory narratives from Spanish society and how this incorporation affects the works' positions in relation to extra-literary memory processes" (11). Most scholars on collective memory, she says, focus strongly on concordant readings of texts, their capability to convey a clear message, present a take on social debates and be readable to their readers. In this way a work may be called "responsible" or "irresponsible" at a glance (as done by Ana Luengo, for example). Schouten, however, sets out to form a hypothesis on how Spanish literature has been active in the reawakening of critical memory in Spanish society (45). She begins with Paul Ricoeur's argument that novelistic plots are made "concordant" by the implied author, but contain forces such as emotions of fear, pity or surprise that interrupt or disrupt this concordance. The reader's job is to read concordantly, with discordance being a necessary evil that helps create interest without disrupting the overall plot. Schouten, however, prefers to follow Derrida and others who argue that reading discordantly is an ethical responsibility. She contends that to read concordantly as Ricoeur suggests is to leave all ethical responsibility in the hands of the author and that in the Spanish context such a reading does not do justice to the conflictive reception context of novels, where memory debates often remain unresolved (Schouten 34-6). One area which Schouten examines is genre: combining the Bakhtinian concept of chronotope with Ruth Amossy's elaboration of stereotype as "a recurrent pattern, a prefabricated structure of any kind whatsoever" (Amossy 690), she argues that genre is a specific stereotype which generates powerful expectations and provides a means of creating concordance in a novel. However, it may do the opposite if the conventions are only partially invoked or are parodied. Schouten goes on to analyse a number of novels which only partially call up or parody the conventions of the *Bildungsroman*, asking whether their heightened complexity leads to a more intricate intertwining of normative discourses (49-85). Her ultimate conclusion is that these novels, like the other nostalgic, autobiographical and gothic works she studies, contain forces which contradict each other, undermining the

apparent ideology of the work or inviting an opposite perspective to an advocated memory narrative (186). Unsurprisingly for a post-structuralist, she is more concerned with form and its effects on the construction of an ethical system than with the specific content of the "memory narratives" and their relationship to their socio-historical context, leaving the novels somewhat detached from history.

Bakhtinian chronotope has also appeared in a recent paper on fourth-wave Spanish Civil War novels by Hans Lauge Hansen, who identifies a chronotope of the "present-past" in what he terms novels of "affiliative post-memory."[24] These are works that represent the memory of traumatic experiences by succeeding generations, who have become affiliated through texts in circulation such as diaries, oral testimonies or photos. They include novels such as Javier Cercas' *Soldados de Salamina* (2001), which contain a composite chronotope that relates to the two temporal zones of past and present.[25] Novels with this chronotope oblige the reader "to engage in a critical revision of his or her own ideological horizon of historical expectations through a dialogical relation between the two parts" ("Autoreflection" 102). This horizon of expectations is governed by the schematic narrative template (a concept which Hansen borrows from James Wertsch) of the two Spains eternally at war, which these novels attempt to deconstruct, often through the means of multi-perspectivism.[26] This plural view, he says, acknowledges the suffering of victims while at the same time refusing to portray the victim as being noble and free of guilt, avoiding the danger signalled by Todorov above (105; see also Hansen "Multiperspectivism"). As we will see, this viewpoint is adopted in different ways by the four novels to be investigated in this thesis. Hansen is also influenced by Jan Assmann's concept of cultural memory,

[24] Hansen adopts the term "affiliative postmemory" from Sebastiaan Faber, who argues that, in order for the wounds to heal, not only must bodies be exhumed, but untold stories must be told and read. Ethical choices guide the act of writing or reading, and the acts of buying and reading books can be seen as acts of affiliative compromise with one part of the country's polarized memory culture (see Hansen "Autoreflection" 98-99; Faber "Literatura" 103-06)

[25] We could call this chronotope of the "present-past" a structural chronotope which, while it contains the same two narrative chronotopes as classic historical time (that of the narrator and that of the narrated events), is distinguished from the latter in that the narrator is homodiegetic rather than heterodiegetic, his physical and temporal location being therefore explicit rather than implicit.

[26] According to Wertsch (who is influenced by Bakhtin) cultures unconsciously tend to apply a certain schematic narrative template to the recollection of important historical events over time ("Autoreflection" 103).

which itself builds upon Halbwach's ideas about collective memory. Assmann agrees that collective memory should be distinguished from history, but while Halbwachs argued that tradition should also be distinguished from collective memory because it is organised, and thus a distortion, Assmann believes that the boundaries between the two concepts are too flexible to create rigid distinctions. He thus adopts collective memory as a general heading, and then distinguishes between 'communicative' and 'cultural memory'. The former refers to the way in which a person's consciousness and memory are formulated through social interaction with others, as language and the ability to communicate cannot be developed in isolation. Cultural memory is the "handing down of meaning" (7). Here, three forms of memory merge together: 1) mimetic memory, or the learning of behaviour through imitation, which incorporates customs, manners and rituals; 2) "the memory of things," which refers to the way in which objects embody our past and provide a link between it and the present; 3) communicative memory. Cultural memory thus refers to various processes by which groups form traditions and political identity, to how a consciousness of a collective past is transmitted from generation to generation. Cultural memory can also be understood as remembered history, where history takes on the status of myth or a foundation story about origins. This is what gives it lasting, normative and formative power (7-38). Bakhtin's ideas about the social interplay of language and ideology can provide an additional insight into how cultural memory is formed, and this investigation could be said to broadly contribute to the study of Spanish cultural (or collective) memory. Nevertheless, the terminology associated with the field will be largely avoided here due to an uneasiness with the overuse of "memory" as a tag, as well as with the normative associations of the historical memory project in Spain, as discussed above. Of course, as Bakhtin points out, all language is ideology, and this thesis will be no exception, perhaps, if anything, betraying a bias towards Bakhtin's own preference for balanced dialogue.

Other Bakhtinian concepts have also been occasionally used by critics working on the Spanish Civil War: Mélanie Valle Collado's dissertation "Juegos metaliterarios en *El vano ayer* de Isaac Rosa," makes brief use of the Bakhtinian concept of parody; while Maryse Bertrand de Muñoz has drawn upon Bakhtin to look at the subversion of

language in some political novels of the war in a 1995 paper ("Subversión"). Robert Spires did the same in his chapter on Juan Goytisolo's *Juan sin tierra* (1975) in *Post-Totalitarian Spanish Fiction* (1996), while David Herzberger has used chronotope to emphasise the deeply historical aspects of 1950s Spanish social realist texts. This thesis will, however, represent a first comprehensive use of Bakhtinian theory in the field, while also amplifying the study of recent novels.

1.4 Aims and Methodology

The works forming the subject of our analysis all belong to a new wave of fiction about the civil war and dictatorship, and pairs of novels were selected in order to compare two different periods in Spanish history. The first two, Eduardo Mendoza's *Riña de gatos* (2010) and Antonio Muñoz Molina's *La noche de los tiempos* (2009), treat the period immediately preceding and following the outbreak of the civil war, while the second pair, Rafael Chirbes' *La larga marcha* (1996) and Ignacio Martínez de Pisón's *El día de mañana* (2011) span between them the length of the Francoist dictatorship and the early years of the Transition. While there is a distance of fifteen years between Chirbes' novel and the most recently published novel, *El día de mañana*, there is a great similarity between the two in terms of their political perspective and narrative strategy, making them suitable for comparison. All the novels were critically acclaimed and have won multiple prizes, although Chirbes is (quite undeservedly) less well-known than the others.

This thesis will employ Bakhtin's concepts of heteroglossia and dialogism to investigate how the novels inscribe, challenge and subvert past and present discourses about the civil war and dictatorship, ultimately challenging the long-imposed narrative pattern of the "Two Spains" eternally at war. This will involve an extensive comparison between the novels' portrayal of particular aspects of Spanish history and recent historiography in order to determine to what extent they either accord with or depart from the representations of professional historians. In addition, the underlying philosophy of history of the texts will be elucidated through an examination of their chronotopes and narratorial style, and it will be argued that each of them, in a

different way, opens up an ambivalent, dialogic space which encourages the reader to reflect actively upon the interpretation of the past. At the end of chapters four and six, the pairs of novels will be compared and contrasted with one another in order to further evaluate their contribution to the understanding of Spanish history. They will also be placed in the context of other novels of the current wave to determine how far they are representative of recent trends and whether they signal any new departures. As the investigation is concerned with the relationship of the novels to historiography and other civil war novels, only limited reference will be made to other works by the authors and how the novel fits into their oeuvre.

1.5 Outline of Chapters

In order to place the novels within their socio-historical and literary contexts, the second chapter will contain an overview of debates surrounding the memory of the war and dictatorship in Spain since the mid-1990s, and outline the main trends which have been evident in literary fiction since the beginning of the war, with a particular focus on more recent texts. The third and fourth chapters will analyse *Riña de gatos* and *La noche de los tiempos* respectively, while the following two will treat *La larga marcha* and *El día de mañana*. At the end of chapters four and six, there will be a comparison of how each pair of novels treats their specific historical periods.

Chapter 2: Social, Historical and Literary Contexts

For many years, the transition to democracy in Spain was hailed in national and international circles as an unqualified success; built upon a collective decision to draw a line under the divisive past and face the future with brash postmodern confidence, it became a worldwide model for other countries in similar situations. However, over the past twenty years a series of challenges have been mounted to this view, with a significant sector of the Spanish public seeking to "recuperate historical memory" about the Civil War and Francoist dictatorship, a memory which they claim was deliberately silenced during the Transition. According to the *recuperacionistas*, the victims of the dictatorship were made to "forget" the past in order to participate in the processes of the Transition, thus reinforcing the continued hegemony of the Francoist ruling class. The Amnesty Law of 1977, which absolved all those who had committed politically-related crimes before Franco's death irrespective of political affiliation, is blamed for laying "la primera piedra en el posterior silencio sobre la guerra" (Moreno-Nuño 42). This challenge has been accompanied by a concerted effort to vindicate the memory of those who died in the defence of the Second Republic, along with a tendency to identify that vanquished regime, rather than the Transition, as the true root of the current Spanish democracy. The digging up of mass graves by civil society groups such as the Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica (ARMH) has drawn significant media attention to this political programme, and partly as a result of this increasing pressure, the Socialist (PSOE) government passed the "Law of Historical Memory" in 2007. While it provided a measure of recognition for the Republican victims, it was criticised for not condemning Francoism outright, and was rejected wholesale by the Right. Populist right-wing writers have also rehashed old Francoist justifications for the military uprising in response to the wave of pro-Republican sympathy, further contributing to the polarisation of attitudes about the war and dictatorship. At the same time, there has been a marked increase in the number of novels which take the war and dictatorship as a main theme, the generalised interest in the past feeding a "memory

boom" which is driven as much by commercial and political interests as by a genuine desire to re-explore its meaning for the present day. The first section of this chapter will outline the main arguments which have been made about the meaning and interpretation of the war and dictatorship over the past twenty years, to be followed by overview of the way in which the civil war has been represented in literature since 1936, with a more detailed exploration of the main themes and trends visible in the literature of the most recent wave of production.

2.1 The Concern with "Historical Memory"

Questioning of the Transition's idealised status first happened during the late 1980s and early 1990s, when democracy was already consolidated, the PSOE having been in power for close to a decade. One of the most notable early attacks was made by journalist Gregorio Morán in his book *El precio de la transición* (1991). He is very critical of a number of the Transition's processes, and claims that the Amnesty Law of 1977 was a moral victory for the Francoists, who received absolution for their past in exchange for "allowing" the opposition to enter politics. As a consequence, continuity with the Second Republic and its ideals were "sacrificed" in favour of a postmodern present that eschewed the ideological commitment and master narratives of the past. The book, although incisive and well-documented, is a journalistic product rather than an academic study, unlike Paloma Aguilar's pioneering *Memoria y olvido de la guerra civil española* (1996), which draws upon political theory, sociology and history to present an analysis of how the memory of the war shaped politicians' attitudes as they negotiated the creation of the new democracy. The study has been extremely influential and, according to Jo Labanyi, is responsible for institutionalising the now-clichéd concept of the "pacto de olvido" ("Memory and Modernity" 93). Aguilar Fernández examines the output of the Francoist cinema (the No-Do), school textbooks, war commemorations and monuments in order to see how collective memory of the war was molded during this time, and how this memory affected the way in which the Transition was conducted. Drawing her understanding of historical memory from the work of Maurice Halbwachs and Pierre Nora, she argues that the

past is a reflection of current concerns and is open to manipulation by present-day forces, but that the number of alternative interpretations is limited by concrete historical events. Historical memory is not one that encompasses all events which have been registered by memory but rather "aquel que tenga una relevancia inmediate y algún tipo de influencia sobre el presente" (45). Thus, it is not simply the memory of the war which explains the consensus of the Transition, but

> la función que cumple su evocación en cada contexto, en su interrelación con el presente, en las enseñanzas que del pasado se extraen en cada momento, donde hemos de buscar cómo el presente modela la interpretación del pasado y como éste gravita sobre el presente, cumpliendo, según el tipo de valores y aprendizajes que simbolice, una función u otra. (Aguilar Fernández 57)

During the first twenty years, she says, the Civil War was primarily represented as a heroic and necessary crusade against an illegitimate regime which was about to surrender sovereignty to the USSR, having failed to maintain law and order, defend Spain's interests, or preserve its Catholic tradition and sacred unity as a country (82). The military uprising was thus an inevitable and necessary prelude to the Francoist peace, whose legitimacy was derived from this foundational act (83). In the 1960s, legitimacy was increasingly based upon the regime's claim to effective administration of the country, which had led to improved economic conditions and over twenty years of peace (85-6). At the same time, the war came to be represented as a collective madness, a tragic event that was the inevitable result of the radicalism of Second Republic politics. This view of the war as a collective madness endured throughout the transition years and is still prominent today. According to Aguilar, it may have achieved such dominance because a tragedy of such magnitude was difficult to comprehend according to rational logic. It made everyone responsible and yet no one, because insanity involves a certain level of absolution from crime (86).[27] The regime's

[27] For Morán, the interpretation of the war as a madness is in line with a postmodernism that celebrates the Transition as the end of radical ideas and the triumph of the immediate and the present-day (Morán 16). It is a view he decries because it obscures any reference to what he believes to be the war's genuine character as the first European war of democracy against totalitarianism. This is an oversimplistic characterisation of the war that glosses over the existence of undemocratic, anti-liberal elements on the Republican side, an issue which will be further explored in Chapters 2 and 3.

success in inculcating "un miedo feroz, obsesivo y omnipresente a la repetición de la Guerra Civil" (57) led to an overriding emphasis on peace and consensus by all involved in the Transition. Those who raised opposition to the new form of government or questioned the manner in which the process was being carried out were labelled "revanchistas" and marginalised from the process. Negotiation, peace and consensus were instituted to such an extent that at crucial moments they came to be recognised as ends in themselves, independently of what was agreed (212). The negative view of the Second Republic also persisted during these years, and as a result, the institutions of the new consitutional monarchy were specifically designed in opposition to those of the doomed democracy.[28]

The arguments of Morán and Aguilar found wider resonance in the public sphere when the exhumation of Republican bodies by organisations such as the ARMH drew media attention to the subject of "historical memory" at the turn of the millenium, making clichés out of phrases such as "pacto de olvido" or "pacto de silencio."[29] Nevertheless, the negative view does not appear to be shared by the majority of ordinary Spaniards: a Metroscopia poll in 2010 found that 80% still see the Transition as a source of pride, with 88% lamenting the loss of political unity of that time (Lamo de Espinosa 48). Many renowned historians (especially from the older generation), such as Santos Juliá ("Guerra" 48-50; "Sociedad" 42), Charles Powell (629), Paul Preston and Gabriel Jackson (see Rosa "Jackson and Preston") continue to insist that the compromises of the Transition were necessary, even if it was not perfect. Pere Ysàs also reminds us that the Transition was conducted from within the frameworks of the regime, and largely through the collaboration of its insiders (27), so it is not entirely correct to say that Francoism was "forgotten" and a silence about it was imposed during that time. His position is supported by Carme Molinero ("Treinta años" 10-11), who also points out that it was the anti-Francoist sectors who pushed for the Amnesty Law, while the more recalcitrant Francoists resisted it fiercely (see "La

[28] For a more detailed account of the changing views on the Transition, see Carmen Moreno-Nuño's introductory chapter in *Las huellas de la guerra civil* (2006).

[29] According to Ofelia Ferrán, the first debate in a Spanish newspaper (although she does not name which) on whether to forget or remember the past first took place in 1999, spawning an increase in articles on the subject (27).

renuncia" 46 for this second argument). This gives lie to the accusation that the law's main purpose/outcome was to provide absolution for Francoist crimes.[30] Jo Labanyi suggests that the notion of a pact has gained such currency because it enabled the Transition to be seen as a break with the past, masking conveniently for both Left and Right the fact that it was effected by politicians from within the Francoist political apparatus. This was crucial because it allowed the Transition to be cast as a leap forward into modernity, which was understood in primarily cultural terms, as economic modernity had already arrived during the 1960s ("Memory and Modernity" 94). It is a valid point, but the idea of the pact should also be seen in the context of conceptual frameworks provided by the "memory studies" approach and its employment of psychoanalytical trauma theory in the analysis of post-memory societies. As we have seen in Chapter 1, trauma theory departs from the assumption that traumatic events such as a civil war are deliberately repressed by society in the same way that an individual represses a personal traumatic memory, necessitating later narrativisation in order to be "cured." This legitimates the discourse that the memory of the past must be "recuperated" through narration, creating a sense of ethical duty or moral obligation. This sense of ethical duty underlies Sebastiaan Faber's defence of the "recuperacionistas" against accusations made by Santos Juliá that they are ingenuous and that they confuse fallible memory and its present-day political concerns with historical objectivity.[31] Following Pablo Sánchez León, Faber argues that the current memory boom responds to a felt need for a different type of history to that which is practised by academic historians, "una historia vivida por personas concretas, por víctimas y testigos con quienes nos podemos identificar, *afiliar*" ("Nueva novela" 105). His hope is that the present-day interest in the stories of the victims can act as a recompense for the years of forced silence and as homage to their fight and their survival. Faber and Juliá both make valid points. On the one hand, as Juliá points out, there is a tendency among some of those who have engaged in the

[30] Sartorius and Sabio in their recent, lengthy study of the Transition and its dynamics, also insist upon the fact that the Transition came from within Francoism, and that studies which accuse left-wing politicians of betrayal frequently ignore the particular context within which events took place (24).

[31] A rather robust debate took place between Faber and Juliá on this issue in the pages of the Colorado Review of Hispanic Studies in 2009. See Faber "Spain's Past" for his initial reponse to Juliá's attacks on the historical memory movement, and then Juliá & Faber "Debate" for a further extension of the discussion.

memory boom to romanticise the past and create new myths to replace the old. Nevertheless, the voices of those who bore witness can legitimately and usefully be incorporated into the wider conversation about how to deal with the legacy of this difficult past. The most important thing is to maintain an overall discursive balance between the objective account of the historian and the subjective narrative of the witness, and do not claim that one type of discourse can tell us all that there is to know. It is here that literature can play an important role, as it is able to combine the various elements of objective historical narrative, first-person testimony and imaginative fictional re-creation to present its own unique viewpoint on the past. The best novels may also instigate the reader to ask how and why the past is represented in different discursive contexts and texts, and to become more aware of both ideological, ontological and epistemological issues surrounding the writing of history.

The focus on the memory of the dictatorship has brought with it a challenge to the widely held assumption that, at the end of its life at least, the dictatorship was only benignly authoritarian. The longevity of the regime and its success in sustaining its legitimacy among the Spanish people through economic modernisation probably helped propagate this view, as well as its ability to forestall the kind of widespread opposition which would have forced it show its repressive nature to the world (the international outcry over the "Burgos trial" of 1970 would be a rare exception, as we will see in Chapters 5 and 6). The view of a moderate dictatorship is roundly attacked by Gregorio Morán, who contends that "la imagen de un sistema corrupto, paternalista y autoritario, pero no violento, es lo que ha permitido que cualquier parentesco con el fascismo totalitario sea rechazado hoy como un exceso verbalista" (134). Meanwhile, Vicente Navarro, himself a victim of Francoist repression, insists that it was the most brutal and repressive twentieth-century dictatorship in Western Europe, executing, imprisoning and torturing far more than Pinochet's widely condemned regime in Chile (*Bienestar insuficiente* 185). Sartorius and Alfaya also claim that it had totalitarian characteristics, basing their arguments on a particular interpretation of the difference between totalitarian and non-totalitarian dictatorships, which, they say,

> radica en que mientras la dictadura (por así decirlo) a secas se limita—y no es poco—a eliminar las libertades democráticas durante un período de tiempo con vocación limitada, la dictadura totalitaria no se conforma con eliminar libertades, sino que organiza socialmente la *no-libertad* de manera absoluta desde el Estado y pretende crear un orden nuevo con vocación de permanencia. (15)

This was the case in Spain, they say, and Franco was not a patriot who saved the country from communist hordes in order to make her great, but had the unique objective of maintaining himself in power. Stanley Payne, on the contrary, argues that Franco was not interested in power for its own sake, and did have a genuine political ideology, although it was never written or developed in a formal manner (*Franco* 652). He also rejects arguments that the Francoist state was totalitarian because there was never the type of total control exerted over social, cultural and religious institutions that characterised the most extreme Stalinist dictatorships and the Nazi regime in its final phase (*Régimen* 656). Instead, he distinguishes between two or three distinct phases in the dictatorship's life, with a movement towards increased liberalisation as time progressed. The first period, lasting from 1936 to 1945, can be labelled as semi-fascist, while the second phase, from 1945 to 1957, is the decade of "corporativismo nacional católico," and the third phase, which stretched from 1957 until the end, was a technocracy or type of bureacratic-authoritarianism (*Régimen* 652). The Spanish historian Javier Tusell largely agrees with him, writing that "en España se engendró no un sistema totalitario, sino una dictadura de concentración personal del poder" (19). Even in the early phase, he says, it was more similar to semi-fascist states such as Vichy France or some eastern European dictatorships than it was to Hitler's Germany. The trappings of fascism were mostly abandoned after the Axis powers lost the war in order to accommodate better to the new world system. Tusell's characterisation is apt, and the move by some to label the repression against the Republicans a genocide or "holocaust," as Paul Preston does in *El Holocausto Español* (2010)) is somewhat exaggerated. Nevertheless, it seems quite conclusive at this stage that there was a deliberate policy of extermination and terror on the part of the Francoists, one which was carried out both during and after the war. The popularity of the many recent films, documentaries, witness testimonies and novels on Francoist crimes suggests that the drive to inform Spaniards about the cruelty of the regime is having some

effect; although the example of the more nostalgic TV series *Cuéntame Como Pasó,* set during the late Francoist period and also enormously successful, could be used to suggest the opposite.

A heated debate which took place in the pages of *El País* 2010 is illustrative of the positions taken by academics and non-academics alike on the subject of how and why the Second Republic should be remembered, whether or not Francoist crimes against the losers should be prosecuted, and how to remember the dead of both sides. The discussion was instigated after the publication of an article by Socialist politician and writer, Joaquín Leguina on 24 April 2010, where he contended that the Amnesty Law had not been about forgetting, but about moving on, and that arguments that international human rights treaties supercede it do not hold up to light. Both sides in the conflict practiced "ethnic cleansing," he says, and there were anti-democratic elements on the Republican as well as the Francoist side. Rather than insisting that the Republican dead be honoured in the same way as the Nationalist dead and thus sowing division, pardon should be extended "y hacer que todos los muertos—todos—sean también de todos". The article sparked an impassioned rebuttal by author Almudena Grandes ("La condición miserable"), one of the most vocal "recuperacionistas" and author of a number of novels related to the Civil War, and a more measured one from Javier Cercas ("La puñetera verdad"), who wrote the highly-acclaimed civil war novel, *Soldados de Salamina* (2001). Both of them insisted that Republican violence in the rearguard was of a different intensity and quality than that exercised by the Francoists, and could therefore not be equated. Leguina replied that they had misunderstood his position, and that he had not suggested they be treated as exactly the same, and he was broadly supported by historian Santos Juliá ("Duelo por la República Española"), who reiterated his repeatedly made argument that the past was not deliberately forgotten during the Transition, but that a decision was made not to allow it to affect the future (see also Juliá "Guerra"). Journalist Jorge Reverte and academics Gregorio Marañon and Jordi Gracia also produced articles in support of Leguina, although with qualifications. For his part, the journalist and former anti-Francoist activist, Javier Pradera, wrote that the argument that the Amnesty Law was a pact of silence placed on the weakened left could only be

> tomado seriamente en algún debate entre las dos ramas más frikis del revisionismo histórico sobre la Guerra Civil: la escuela de historiografía policial acaudillada hoy—nunca mejor dicho—por Pío Moa y la cuadra de publicistas que niegan el carácter democrático del sistema político actual y lo consideran franquismo disfrazado.

Leguina's equation of the Transition's more radical critics with right-wing revisionists such as Pío Moa is highly polemical, and indicates the level of polarisation that has occurred.

Revisionist perspectives such as that of Moa were instigated by the re-evaluation of the Transition and the public work of the ARMH. Moa, a former Communist activist, is perhaps the most prominent purveyor of the neo-Francoist interpretation of the civil war in books such as *1936: El asalto final a la República* (2003) and *Los mitos de la guerra civil* (2005). Another well-known figure is César Vidal, who wrote *Checas de Madrid* (2004), which focuses on rearguard Republican violence in the capital. They make two central arguments: the first is the old Francoist one that the civil war was provoked by the Republic and originated in the uprising of 1934; the second, that there has been a cover-up of Republican crimes by left-wing historians. While Moa and Vidal have had significant popular success, they are not professional historians and have been roundly castigated for their lack of rigour by academics (cf. Labanyi "Historias de víctimas 90; Alberto Reig Tapia *Memoria de la Guerra Civil* (2000); and, especially, *Revisionismo y política* (2008)). The continued wrangling between Right and Left about how the war should be interpreted has led to a kind of "memory" war which threatens to "turn into a competition to establish which political side has the greater claim to victimhood" (Labanyi "Historias de víctimas" 96) without bringing any meaningful resolution.

This "war" is nowhere clearer than in the debates—in the media and in the Cortes—surrounding the passing of the "Law of Historical Memory" on 28 October, 2007. As well as providing for financial reparation to the victims of the war and

dictatorship, the law stipulated the removal of statues and other monuments erected in memory of Francoism, required local authorities to assist in the exhumation of the graves (though not financially) and gave rights of access to public and private archives. It was promulgated by the PSOE after much lobbying by groups such as the ARMH, but did not satisfy many on the left as it failed to condemn the dictatorship outright, while supporters of the PP unanimously opposed it on the grounds that it merely served to reopen old wounds. The PSOE's support for the project of "recuperating historical memory" has been construed as a somewhat cynical ploy to score points against the PP and associate it with the Francoist regime, to be contrasted with its complete lack of interest in honouring the Republican dead before the explosion of popular interest at the turn of the millenium. While political calculation no doubt had a part to play, the decision not to instrumentalise the civil war in politics until the defeat of the PSOE in 1992 was also due to the perceived need to sweep dangerous old divisions under the carpet. The maturation of the democracy and a consequent lack of fear that talking about the past will lead to another war has meant that such considerations no longer hold sway. Another indication of continued polarisation over the memory of the war and the dictatorship has been the debate surrounding the lawsuit brought against Judge Julio Baltasar Garzón in 2010 for opening an investigation into the victims of Francoist repression. Accused of having overstepped his authority in opening the investigation, he was eventually acquitted in 2012. He was, however, found guilty of illegally ordering wiretaps between clients and their lawyers in a corruption case which implicated the PP, and suspended for eleven years. The severity of the sentence prompted an international outcry and seemed to confirm suspicions among his supporters that there was an official desire to silence him on account of his ability to discomfit those in power.

All in all, these divisions would indicate that the mythical "two Spains"—the one liberal, progressive and secular, the other authoritarian, conservative and Catholic—are still alive and well. This dichotomy has been propagated among Spanish writers and thinkers since the mid-nineteenth century, the radical intensification of the divisions between them in 1936 having often been cited as evidence that the Civil

War was in some sense inevitable.[32] It also provided a justification for the military rebellion, with the Francoists claiming that it had been necessary in order to forestall an imminent Communist revolution. The dismantling, or at least qualifying, of this representation of political divisions in 1936 has thus been central to the vindication of the Second Republic and those who defended it. Already in 1977, the assumption that Spain was divided into two opposing blocs was attacked by Raymond Carr, who said that analysis of the 1936 electoral lists suggested the existence of a hidden "centre" vote that was camouflaged by the system. However, he was cautious about whether the system itself to blame for the creation of the blocs, arguing that the rhetoric of both sides also gave a perception of increased antagonism (47). Casanova and Gil Andres, meanwhile, report that recent studies have shown that conflicts in 1936 were fewer in number and less serious in nature than they had been in 1931-33 (158), contradicting the standard view that violence worsened under the Popular Front government. It was the experience of the brutally supressed 1934 uprising and the defeat of the right in the 1936 elections, they say, which made class divisions appear more intense, as well as the increasingly violent and divisive rhetoric of some politicians. Attacks against well-known figures and armed confrontations between militants of Left and Right also contributed to the appearance of generalised chaos. Similarly, Javier Cervera writes of wartime Madrid that, while there was an evident division into opposing blocs in the 1936 elections, most people voted for the most moderate parties within these blocs (34).[33]

Many commentators have begun to refer to these moderates as the "Third Spain,"[34] a term which was was coined in 1937 by the first President of the Republic, Niceto

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[32] For a history of this trope, see Juliá's *Historias de las dos Españas* (2004) or Vicente Cacho's article "La imagen de las dos Españas" (1986) for a shorter summary.

[33] Interestingly also, a 2010 Metroscopia poll found that 45% of respondents were unable to say firmly whether their families fought for either one side or the other. 8% said that their families belonged to no side, 11% said to both and 26% said they did not know (Lamo de Espinosa 56). We should not assume that the families of all the "don't knows" were moderates, as they may have opted to black out any mention of the war or of the political convictions that they might have had. However, these figures do seem to indicate that a substantial number of Spaniards were either ambivalent or uninterested in the reasons for which the war was being fought.

[34] See for example, Paul Preston's *Las tres españas del 36* (1998) and Enrique Moradiellos' *Los mitos de la guerra civil* (2004) for historical accounts, and the 3rd edition of Andres Trapliello's classic *Las armas y*

Alcalá Zamora. In an article published in *L'Ere Nouvelle* in Paris, he defined it as "constitucional y parlamentaria, cordialmente igualitaria, emanada de la justicia social, católica en su mayoría, pero sin formar un partido confesional" (qtd. in Giustiniani 7). However, the exact make-up of this group remains somewhat debated, and it is sometimes understood as referring exclusively to those who went into exile in 1936, either because they did not want to take part in the war, or because they felt their lives were threatened by one or the other side, if not both (cf. Giustiniani 1; Romero Samper 306). As a result of efforts made by Salvador de Madariaga and other 1936 exiles to organise a negotiated peace between the two sides through international mediation, "el término de tercera España pasa de designar una realidad (un grupo de exiliados del mismo exilio, antes de que éste se produzca de forma masiva) a designar un proyecto, una utopía" (Romero Samper 306).[35] For other commentators, the condition of exile is irrelevant, and the Third Spain is understood to incorporate all those who supported democracy against radical extremism, whatever their age, class or ideology. Enrique Moradiellos, for example, assigns each of the "three Spains" to those who stood for Reaction, Revolution, and Reform, a triadic model which was typical in European countries after World War I. Contrary to what is often sustained, he says, the Third Spain did not automatically disappear when the war broke out: the reactionaries regrouped under the banner of the insurgents, but the reformists and revolutionaries joined together under the Republican banner (*Mitos* 53-67).[36] José-Carlos Mainer denies that a Third Spain existed at all, contending that there was a variety of positions within both sides. Even among the winners, many were conscious that they had traded in certain values in exchange for the protection of other interests, the Catalan middle class for example relinquishing their Catalinismo "en pago de que les dejaran ser burgueses tranquilamente" ("Guerra civil"). Angel Loureiro, for his part, dismisses the category as another simplification, a variation of the two-Spain myth which obscures the plurality and contingencies of history (32). He makes a valid point, and the term will therefore be largely avoided in this thesis.

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las letras (2010) for a more literary point of view. Santos Juliá also makes reference to the Third Spain in his introduction to the edited volume, *Víctimas de la guerra civil* (2006).

[35] Santos Juliá also seems to identify the Third Spain with this project of peacemaking ("Guerra" 45).

[36] See also Preston *Las tres españas* (229-31) and Trapiello *Las armas y las letras* (21).

Finally, the Third Spain has also been associated with the spirit that animated the Transition, proceeding from "las nuevas clases sociales surgidas al calor del desarrollo económico y social, y la de las minorías creativas que, porque conocían no sólo el pasado, sino el presente, podían construir un verdadera proyecto de futuro, tendiendo puentes hacia las otras dos" (Romero Samper 308).[37] This conception, according to Eve Giustiniani, implies a dialectic synthesis of the two Spains, a somewhat utopian solution to the eternal "caínismo" which had been incarnated in the civil war (2). Santos Juliá has also heralded the end of the "two-Spain" dichotomy as a master trope in the discussion of the country as a problem (see the conclusion to *Historias de las dos españas*), but as Sebastiaan Faber has argued ("Spain's Past" 169), and as our discussion above has shown, the continued polarisation in the debate about how the war should be remembered indicates that it still plays a powerful role in politics. Meanwhile, John Hooper has also contended that the "two Spains" survived the *años de desarrollo* intact, the boom years having merely made "both of them wealthier and therefore more content and more tolerant" (25). This, he says, can be seen in the fact that the distribution of votes between right and left in 1936 and 1977 was almost the same, and in the consolidation since then of a two-party system.

To conclude, the reasons for a changed attitude to the memory of the war are manifold, and reflect a convergence of a number of factors. One of these is generational: many of those actively engaged with the "recuperation of historical memory" were born or raised during the democracy or in the late Francoist period, and have not been inculcated with the same fears as their parents and grandparents. The passing of time and consolidation of democracy has also greatly reduced worries about a return to violent conflict. The strong need felt by many to revisit the questions of the civil war and the dictatorship and their legacies indicates that despite the desire not to allow the past to affect the future during the Transition, there is still an unresolved tension in the Spanish political and cultural body. There is an evident lack of satisfaction among many on the left that the dictatorship has never been publicly

[37] Others who equate the Transition with the return of the Third Spain are historian Paul Preston (*Tres Españas* 26), and right-wing publisher, Javier Ruiz Portella (28).

denounced, looking to international examples in South America or Europe, where former dictatorships were called publicly to account. The popularity of right-wing revisionist interpretations such as those of Pío Moa is indicative of the continuing divisiveness of the war, and raises questions as to whether it is ever possible to reach agreement on a common interpretation which is acceptable to all. This is nevertheless a live aspiration among writers, artists, historians, activists and other interested parties; those who are most dedicated to this reconciliatory task are opposed to the radical revisionist view of the Transition, arguing that it is just as naïve to idealise the Second Republic's democracy as it was to idealise the processes of the Transition. As will be seen in the following chapters, the four novels to be examined in this thesis all adopt a more reconciliatory view, and attempt to dismantle the "two-Spain" dichotomy by refusing to idealise one or the other side.

2.2 Literary Representations of the Civil War and Dictatorship Since 1936

A new wave of cultural production related to the war has coincided with this renewed interest in its history, and it has been estimated that it is present as a theme in over 150 novels published since the mid-1990s (Moreno-Nuño 78). This intensification of production is due to a number of factos. Firstly, the civil society projects to unearth mass graves and seek reparation for the victims of the war and postwar has created a sense of ethical obligation to remember and honour those who fought against Franco, an obligation which many of the new novels purport to fulfil. Writers also feel a need to engage with current debates about how and why the past should be remembered, interrogating the epistemological bases from which it is narrativised and made present. At the same time, the rise in interest in the past has also fuelled a market demand which has been supplied by opportunistic authors and editors. The new novels exhibit both older and newer ways of representing and interpreting the war, with many also choosing to focus on the dictatorship and the Transition as a theme.

The year 1996 is proposed here as a suitable marking off point for this new wave, although with periodisation being sometimes a somewhat arbitrary affair, this date is

open to debate. Thus, we might also have picked the early part of the decade, for as Carme Moreno-Nuño has observed of literary texts, there is during that time a shift from a representation of the civil war as myth to one as a trauma that haunts the collective psyche, Muñoz Molina's *El Jinete Polaco* (1991), being a significant example. Other scholars have preferred 2000, whether on account of its being the year in which the ARMH was founded, bringing "the recuperation of historical memory" to the fore of public debate, or because there is a dramatic rise in the number of "historical memory" novels being published from that point on (cf. Hansen "Autoreflection 99; Faber "Nueva Novela"). We could also have selected 2002, the year of publication of Cercas' *Soldados de Salamina,* whose unexpected best-selling success catapulted the theme of the memory of the war to the forefront of cultural consciousness. Nevertheless, 1996 is preferred here for a number of reasons. Firstly, as Ulrich Winter has written, while the metafictional 'memory novels' of the late 1980s and early 1990s, such as Muñoz Molina's *Beatus Ille* (1998), *Beltenebros* (1999) or *El jinete polaco* (1991), suggest that the past is impossible to recuperate on account of memory's unreliability and subjectiveness, (thus implicitly legitimising the pact of the Transition, whether consciously or not), novels published from the mid-1990s, perhaps in reaction to the PP's evasive and polarising politics about the Francoist past, manifest a rather different attitude (*"De la memoria"* 253). Memory becomes deconstructive, and "[l]a irrecuperabilidad de una memoria española se debe ahora a la irreducible pluralidad de memorias, de una memoria dividida o polifónica," with Manuel Rivas' *El lápiz del carpintero* (1998) being emblematic of such a perspective (254). In tune with the metaphor of the wave, we could also argue that novels published from the mid-1990s form part of its rising swell, including among them not only the work of Rivas, but also novels such as Chirbes' *La larga marcha* (1996)—identified by Winter as characteristic of a new turn towards postmodern realism in literary representations of the war (256)—or Rosa Montero's *La hija del caníbal* (1997)—which, like many of the new wave presents a romanticised view of the Second Republic through the narrated memories of an old anarchist in the present day. The wave reaches its crest in 2002 with the publication of Cercas' *Soldados de Salamina,* the ensuing novelistic production riding thick and fast on the fast-moving breakwater that follows. Finally, 1996 is also a crucial year because it marks the

publication of Paloma Aguilar Fernández's influential pioneering study of the collective memory of the Civil War. In order to better place the most recent wave of production within its literary-historical context, there will now be a brief overview of the main characteristics of novels of the first three periods. This will be followed by a more detailed look at trends and tendencies the most recent novels.

The three previous periods of novelistic production which have been distinguished by scholars begin in 1936, 1953 and 1967 (cf. G. Thomas; Bertrand de Muñoz *Guerra y novela; Bibliografía II*). These dates were selected due to the publication of pioneering works which marked a substantial shift both in the treatment of the war and the formal techniques used to represent it, coinciding also with changes in the socio-historical context in Spain. Unsurprisingly, the first wave of novels tended to be very biased towards one side or the other, and reflecting the reading preferences of their authors, they often drew upon the conventions of the popular novel and the *folletín.* This, coupled with the fact that the writers were often unskilled amateurs, meant that the narratives are generally of low literary quality. Enemies and friends are depicted according to the simplistic moral dualism of popular novels, and the villains are "caricatures, or dilute versions of their own side who are clearly misguided and who eventally realise the error of their ways" (Thomas *Novel* 38).

The beginning of the second wave of Civil War novels was marked by the publication in 1953 of José María Gironella's, *Los cipreses creen in dios,* the first installment of a monumental trilogy which attempts to objectively describe the war, its antecedents and immediate aftermath. While the scale of his effort is to be commended, critics have agreed that the artistic results are uneven, with the historical data increasingly overwhelming the fictional as the trilogy progresses (G. Thomas 171; de Nora 102). While it may not have been an artistic success, it was very much a commercial one, both in Spain and abroad. It was also the first attempt to provide a properly impartial view of the war, and includes Republican as well as Nationalist perspectives. However, Gironella's conservative, Catholic leanings frequently shine through, and the most sympathetic characters are the Catholic Carmen Alvear and her young seminarian son, César, the latter being martyred by the Republicans upon the outbreak of the war.

After the publication of Gironella's trilogy, there is evidence of a more questioning, analytical approach among Falangist writers, and it exerted an influence on later novelists like Fernández de la Reguera, E. Romero, L. de Diego, and J. Cepas (G. Thomas 138). Of course, due to the repressive nature of the Franco regime, Republican writers were unable to publish works written from their perspective, while even Nationalist writers had to beware of the censor. As a result, many dissidents did not express their discontent with the regime directly, opting intead for a social realist style which sought to expose the misery and poverty of the Spanish lower classes. The narratives were exclusively focused on depicting the present, creating a sense of stasis and eternity, of historical time as repetition and sameness, but which nevertheless contains the past by implication. By focusing on the collective and the quotidian in contrast to the epic, heroic narratives of official Francoist discourse, they ironically exposed the latter as mythical constructions (cf. Herzberger "Social Realism"; "Narrating the past" 34-6). Meanwhile, those in exile were writing about the war in an open way, the best exemplars among them being the works of Max Aub and Ramón Sender. Despite moves towards a more objective depiction of the war, however, many novels continued to exhibit the propagandistic and revanchist tendencies of the first wave.

The third phase in the production of war-related novels began in 1967 with the publication of Lera's *Las últimas banderas,* which also won the Planeta prize of that year. Thanks to the relaxation of censorship in 1966, this was the first time in Franco's Spain that a Republican ex-combatant was allowed to publish his account of events, although there would be few others until the time of Franco's death. Juan Benet's *Volverás a Región*, published in the same year, also exhibited a new experimentalism in style, and initiated a new tendency towards a mythified representation of the war, which was stripped it of its specific political and social elements (Bertrand de Muñoz "Novela histórica" 30). Experimentalism had been initiated with Luis Martin-Santos' *Tiempo de silencio* (1962), whose stylistic innovations (which bore the mark of modernists such as Joyce and Proust) marked a clear break with the now-stale conventions of a social realism which appeared to have failed in its tranformative

intentions (Navajas "Spanish Novel" 24).[38] Most writers still wrote from their personal experiences, but there now appeared a new generation who had been born just after the war or had been very young during it. Perhaps due to the abandonment of censorship, 1969 would see the publication of more war novels than any other year since 1936 (G. Thomas 208). Increased distance to the event meant that the revanchist tendencies of earlier novels are no longer evident, being replaced by a profound pessimism regarding the outcome of the conflict, no matter who might have won. For example, Lera, like Carlos Rojas in *Azaña,* suggests that the war was avoidable, and blame is placed on the Republican resistance rather than the military plotters (G. Thomas 216). A deep feeling of the war's madness and futility is also expressed in many novels, such as Juan Goytisolo's *Duelo en el Paraíso* (1959). This feeling was felt on both sides of the political line, and there was no longer any uncritical admiration and idealisation of the Nationalist cause and Francoist regime (Bertrand de Muñoz "Spanish Novel"). Many novels were marked by a preoccupation with recollection and the act of remembering, representing "a deep reflection, a meditation on facts, and an anguishing search for underlying roots of authenticity and identity" (Bertrand de Muñoz "Spanish Novel"). Such "novels of memory" are exemplified by Juan Goytisolo's *Señas de Identidad* (1966) and Carmen Martin Gaite's *El cuarto de atrás* (1978). They often displayed postmodern, metafictive features and were highly self-reflexive, inserting elements of fantasy and casting doubt on the nature of memory, although others preferred a more traditional realistic narrative (Sobejano 185; Herzberger "Narrating the past"). Finally, a humorous treatment of war emerged for the first time with the publication of *Los responsables* (1969) by Fernando Ahumada Zabal and *El miliciano Borrás* (1971) by Perpiñá Castelló (Bertrand de Muñoz "Spanish Novel" 223). That a comic approach could be taken was also a sign of temporal distance and cooled passions.

[38] Barry Jordan, however, argues that the impact of *Tiempo de silencio* has been exaggerated and that the novel was largely ignored at the time of its publication, becoming noticed only after the *novella social* had begun to break up, and being used to confirm the demise of the trend. What is more, the novel was initially touted as proposing a reinvigoration the movement, both stylistically and in terms of critical outlook, by challenging the movement's adherence to a narrative objectivism and anti-aestheticism which were responsible for an oversimplified, mechanically Marxist view of reality. In contrast, Martín Santos proposed a notion of dialectic realism better able to capture the contradictions of social reality, and thus, in a sense, more objective and more authentically Marxist (178).

In general, Thomas concludes, writers' interpretations of the events of 1936-39 had become radically depoliticised by the last decade of the Franco era. Although they continued to be viewed as a dreadful tragedy, the focus of attention had moved from socio-economic and political interpretations to an exploration of the mysterious and irrational forces of the human psyche (216). Thomas suggests that such an "irrationalist" approach is a deformation of history, and wonders whether innovative writers, in refusing to capture the tragic nature of the conflict, failed in their moral responsibility to confront Spaniards with the realities of their past at a time of political transition (218). For Sobejano, however, the novels of memory constituted the high point of Spain's literary production in the 1970s, inheriting the legacy of the social realist "testimonial novel," and seeking to recover the inner lives of people who had just recently experienced the closure of a protracted past (191). As Bertrand de Muñoz and others have remarked, from the 1980s onwards, there was largely a return to more conventional story-telling techniques, and even those writers taking a more playful, postmodern approach seemed to prefer a treatment which was largely mimetic in character. Social realism, perceived as provinicial, continued to be rejected in favour of more universal themes, with a consequent mythification and de-politicisation of the conflict (cf. Fernandez Prieto 42; Moreno-Nuño 38; Bertrand de Muñoz "Novela historica" 28-33). In novels such as Juan Benet's *Herrumbrosas lanzas*, Cela's *Mazurca para dos muertos,* and Muñoz Molina's *Beatus Ille,* says Bertrand de Muñoz, the fight between two politically opposed groups is not the primordial one, and what confronts us instead is the Cain myth: "La guerra civil, que se ha extendido a todo el país, se concetra en una lucha íntima, personal—casi siempre en el mundo rural, en pueblos pequeños—, y este microcosmos es fiel reflejo de macrocosmos" ("Novela histórica" 33).

Towards the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, there was a shift in the way some novels represented the war—from being primarily mythical to taking on the characteristics of a traumatic past which haunted the present (Moreno-Nuño 2006). Ofelia Ferrán refers to these as "meta-memory texts," works in which the narrative representation of remembering explicitly foregrounds a series of theoretical issues

related to the nature and function of memory itself.[39] The palimpsest which "serves as a metaphor for memory itself, a process that may evoke different times, or layers, of the past," plays an important role in these texts, further underscoring the intimate relation between memory and writing (61). There are also recurring images of ruins or fragmentary objects rescued from the past, reflecting the necessarily disjointed nature of what is found beneath dominant versions of history. The ruins are often imaged as palimpsests, with various layers of history being reflected in their structure. Such novels suggest that previously repressed aspects of the past can only be effectively recovered in similarly fragmentary narratives that reject totalising closure and wholeness. A good example of one is Antonio Muñoz Molina's *El jinete polaco* (1991), where the protagonist Manuel, who is a son of poor peasants from the fictional town of Mágina, remains tormented by the traumatic memories of his parents. When he neets Nadia, the daughter of a Republican officer who was exiled to the US after the war, they start to share and piece together each other's postmemories with the aid of a series of old photographs. As Ferrán says, the novel "is not just an exploration of memory itself, but, just as importantly, of the dynamics of memory transmission over several generations" (Ferrán 231).

Since the mid-1990s, the mimesis of individual memory processes which is conducted by the meta-memory novels has been largely replaced by a mimesis of the way in which the past is investigated, interpreted and delivered for cultural consumption. There is also an increased interest in the dictatorship as a subject of representation. This is partly because these novels are all written by authors who were born from the late 1940s onwards, those who had not experienced the war or repression directly, and many of whom had not experienced the dictatorship either. Realist narratives dominate, sometimes approaching the hyperreal and blurring the boundaries between fiction and history completely. Nevertheless, there are also a number of novels which are highly self-conscious in their interrogation of the past and the way in which it is narrativised, falling into the categories of historiographic metafiction and autofiction. Hans Lauge Hansen has suggested that novels written since 2000, which

[39] She goes as far back as the 1960s in her identification of these texts, including works by Jorge Semprún, Juan Benet, Maria Teresa León, Montserrat Roig and Antonio Muñoz Molina.

he terms "affiliative postmemory novels," fall into three different modes, mimetic, reconstructive and challenging, each corresponding "covertly or overtly, to different ways of conceiving the relation between past, present and future" ("Autoreflection" 99).

The first type of novel, says Hansen, tends to portray the Republic as a type of lost paradise, containing echoes of the more Manichean portrayals of earlier texts. Antonio Gómez López-Quiñones has also grouped together novels and films which manifest this tendency (including, for example, Dulce Chacón's *La voz dormida* (2002), and *La lengua de las mariposas* (2000), a film adaptation of a short story by Manuel Rivas), and has identified a number of common tropes employed by them. The first is the use of a rural framework, where emotional bonds in the community are strengthened by political bonds and vice versa, creating a nostalgic, sentimental view of a pre-industrial, pre-modern world. The Republican family expands to include those who have no blood relation with one another, but who become strongly allied as a result of their sense of shared objectives, interests and difficulties. Child protagonists are common because they represent innocence and enable the theme of a humanist education to be introduced, the child becoming a depositary of the political and moral legacy of the Republic (200-01). In addition, there is frequently a dissident protagonist (often characterised as a coward or traitor) for whom their involvement in the Republican side is a source of psychological tension, providing a contrast that highlights the centrality and normality of a communitarian experience. The war is granted both a synchronic and diachronic coherence, and there is an assumption that at any determinate moment, as well as throughout the length of the period, the ideals and political content of the Second Republic were basically unitary and consistent. The characters also define their own trajectory in relation to the defence of the democratic regime, making them predictable, as they continuously reiterate the same opinions and positions (265-78). Gómez López-Quiñones points out that such novels do not deny or ignore the destructivenesss of the war, but that it is portrayed as a dialectic counterpart of a moment which was full of possibilities and orientated towards a politically promising future (197). As to the reason for the recent proliferation of such novels, he speculates that the postmodern discrediting of master

narratives such as Marxism, as well as the loss of faith in liberal humanist ideals, has created nostalgia for a violent past that was nevertheless characterised by deep ethical and political commitment. Hansen also suggests that this idealisation of the Republic implies that many of these novels reject the Transition and the current period as false and pseudo-democratic, finding a better model in the Republic of the 1930s. While neither the present nor the future is treated in them, there is an implication that a return to the primordial home and a more genuinely democratic socio-political organisation will correct the flaws of the Transition. It is a kind of literary discourse which could be characterized as "restorative nostalgia" in the terms of Svetlana Boym.[40] Or, to turn to Dominick LaCapra, these novels convert the historical loss of the Republic into a transhistorical absence at the origins, a conflation of absence and loss which creates restorative nostalgia and leads to an interminable, unsatisfiable mourning (*Writing History* 46). This characterisation of the political aspirations underlying such novels is borne out in the example of Almudena Grandes, who has recently set herself the task of writing a series of "episodios nacionales" in the Galdosian style (using the mimetic chronotope of the "pure past" that this implies) which will chronicle the anti-Francoist resistance up to the Transition. Two have already been published: *Inés y la alegría* (2011), which tells the story of the invasion of the Valle de Arán in 1944 by the *maquis*, and *El lector de Julio Verne* (2012), which recounts the childhood of the son of a civil guard in 1947 Jaén. While accepting that the Transition was an important landmark, Grandes has been among those who are most critical of the "pact of forgetting" upon which democracy was supposedly constructed. She sees the true roots of Spanish democracy as lying in the Second Republic, and argues that to idealise it is not nostalgia but has to do with "el presente y el futuro," a future which should be republican once more, and therefore truly democratic ("Interview"). However, while those novels which belong to her "episodios de una guerra interminable" fall neatly into Hansen's description of the mimetic mode, her first novel about the civil war, *El corazón helado* (2007), does not (and this

[40] According to Boym, restorative nostalgia is tied to absolute truth and tradition, desiring and attempting a transhistorical reconstruction of the lost home. It has two plot types—that of the conspiracy and that of the return to origins. The conspiratorial world view reflects a nostalgia for transcendental cosmology and a simple premodern conception of good and evil, with inevitable scapegoating of the mythical enemy (Boym 453-55).

is true of a number of other novels too).[41] In structure, it resembles more what Hansen calls "reconstructive novels," which often contain a hybrid chronotope of the "present-past". It also uses a common trope of these novels, that of an investigation into the past by a member of the postmemory generation. The protagonist, Álvaro Carrillon, begins his journey of discovery when he is told by a mysterious young woman called Raquel that she had an affair with the 83-year-old man before his death. While he knew that his father had had connections with the Francoist regime, he will uncover much deeper and darker secrets which bind him to Raquel's Republican ancestors, exiled in France after the war. The growing love story of Álvaro and Raquel is punctuated with flashbacks to the stories of both his father and Raquel's grandfather, which span the time of the Second Republic right up to the present day. It is precisely the use of the double temporal chronotope that enables Grandes to suggest that the Republic was more genuinely democratic, and that the present day needs to recuperate its ideals in order to overcome its deficiencies. Current-day cynicism is denounced, and idealism is valued to such a point that even Julio's Falangist friend, Euginio, receives a sympathetic treatment because of his strong ethical code and eventual rejection of the corrupt dictatorship. Álvaro is angry and disgusted when he discovers that his father, Julio, stole the property of Raquel's Republican grandparents, taking advantage of Francoist laws that "legalised" such expropriations. Instead, he affiliates himself with the Republican ideals of his grandmother (herself rejected by Julio), his anger at his parents' silence about the past standing for a denunciation of the "pact of forgetting" of the Transition. Thus, he thinks,

> Mi padre contó siempre con esa ventaja, la ingravidez de España, la excepción a la ley de causa y el efecto, el país donde nadie ve nunca una manzana que se cae de un arból, porque todas las manzanas están ya en el suelo desde el principio y eso es lo mas practico, lo mas sabio, lo más cómodo, lo mejor para todos [...]" (396).

[41] Another novel which does not fit exactly into Hansen's model, by romanticising the Republican struggle in metafictional rather than mimetic mode, is Rosa Montero's *La hija del caníbal* (1997). The story of the past, in this case the adventures of a former anarchist, is narrated during the present day by its protagonist to members of two succeeding generations, Lucía (who is in her forties) and Adrián (who is twenty-one). The novel is dominated by nostalgia for politically committed violence, which is contrasted to modern day violence, portrayed as egoistic and self-centred.

The image of the apples on the ground refers to the "pact of forgetting," and is one that is repeated time and again in the novel, the result being a rather mythified, sentimental sanctification of "historical memory." In addition, Álvaro and Raquel's union is possible only because both of them tell the truth about their family history, suggesting that only once the Spanish people have publicly acknolwedged the crimes that were committed in the past will it be possible to overcome old divisions and create a better, more just, democratic polity.

Particularly from the late-1990s onwards, we begin to see a group of novels in which war and memory are presented as epistemological problems: there is direct engagement with the processes of historical memory and a foregrounding of how, why, when and by whom the past is constructed and interpreted (Gómez López-Quiñones 35). Hansen has called these novels "reconstructive," and argues that they

> often depict two temporal diegetic planes: the story of the past and also the story of the present as the vantage point from which the story of the past is being told. In these novels, the past is conceived of as the result of a transgenerational memory process; the world of the past is consequently represented as a reconstruction, as a result of the investigation of this past in the present. ("Autoreflection" 100)

This doubling of past and present he calls the chronotope of the "present-past," which we have already discussed in Chapter 1, section 4. Gómez López-Quiñones points out that these novels organise the twentieth century not in a linear, consecutive fashion, but in a concentric or spiral one. They seek a suitable space for memories about the war, and want to not only narrate the events, but also to legitimate their narrations through explanations about methods and sources. For the protagonists, the recuperation of memory and history is assumed as an ethical responsibility (see also Faber "Literatura"), but the history of the war is not used as a caution against repeating past mistakes, and every historical moment is treated as unique and unrepeatable. The past is other, sometimes strange and separated from the present, but the protagonists look back to a time of sacrifice and strong political commitment

as a source of inspiration which can be used to revitalise the present (95-103). The novels Gómez López-Quiñones includes in this category are Antonio Soler's *El nombre que ahora digo* (1999), Julio Manuel de la Rosa's *Las guerras de Etruria* (2004), Cercas' *Soldados de Salamina* (2002), Manuel Rivas' *El lápiz del carpintero* (1998), Manuel de Lope's *La sangre ajena* (2000) and Julián Marías' *Tu rostro mañana* (2002). Hansen, meanwhile, gives as examples Antonio Muñoz Molina's *La noche de los tiempos*, and Javier Cercas' *Soldados de Salamina* and *La anatomia de un instante* (2009). He contends that most of the "reconstructive" novels see the war as a catastrophe and accept that the Transition was a necessary political compromise, not a "pact of oblivion." Furthermore, works in this mode recognise the need to conduct a critical revision of the past in order to overcome the present-day political and ideological polarisation and see the flaws and virtues on each side in order to facilitate the process of reconciliation ("Autoreflection" 101). However, as seen with the case of *El corazón helado* above, the implication for the present day cannot always be neatly ascribed according to the mode in which the novel is written. As with any categorisation, the boundaries cannot be too rigid, and we should rather distinguish between the narrative mode and the ethico-political stances adopted in relation to past, present and future.

Hansen also distinguishes a third mode among novels written since 2000, what he calls the "challenging" mode. Like the reconstructive mode, there are also

> two temporal planes of the past and the present, but the past is never conceived of as a coherent world parallel in time to the present, from whose vantage point it is being recounted. Here the discourse is predominantly auto-referential, ironical, inconclusive and fragmentary, corresponding to what Svetlana Boym would characterize as reflective nostalgia. The challenging mode is developed by a politically re-engaged literary discourse, which agrees with the mimetic mode in critiquing the deficiencies of the transition period, but disagrees with that mode's presentation of the historical past as the contemporary alternative ("Autoreflection" 101).

Novels in this mode are postmodernist, and examples include two by Isaac Rosa, *El vano ayer* (2004) and *Otra maldita novela sobre la guerra civil* (2007), which attack

clichéd representations of the dictatorship and civil war; and two by Benjamin Prado, *Mala gente que camina* and *Operación gladio* (2006, 2011). In these novels, the future implies a break with the Transition, considered to have been the continuation of the types of social relationships that characterised Spain under Franco's regime. Such postmodernist styles of writing have been hailed by some critics as the most suited to interrogating the representation of the past (see Chapter 1). However, while postmodernist novels might call other modes of representation into question, they are not necessarily less ideological, as the case of *El vano ayer* shows. Set in 1960s Madrid, the plot is constructed around the mysterious dismissal of fictional university professor, Julio Denis, and the simultaneous disappearance of left-wing student leader, Andrés Sánchez. The author frequently addresses the reader directly on the subject of novelistic creation and the ways in which myths about the past have been constructed, and is highly dismissive of other methods of representation. This includes the use of comedy or *esperpento* because

> se construye así una digerible impresión de régimen bananero frente a la realidad de una dictadura que aplicó, con detalle y hasta el último dia, técnicas refinadas de tortura, censura, represión mental, manipulación cultural y creación de espumas psicológicos de los que todavía hoy no nos hemos desprendido por completo. (32)

He draws upon a combination of parody and pastiche in order to attack clichéd forms of representation and to force the reader to confront the full horror of the torture inflicted on the regime's opponents, arguing that "hablar de torturas con generalidades es como decir nada, cuando se dice que en el franquismo se torturaba hay que describir cómo se torturaba, formas, métodos, intensidad, porque lo contrario es desatender el sufrimiento real" (156).[42] However, while Rosa ostensibly exhorts his reader to question received representations of the past, he forcefully imposes his own negative appraisal of the Transition instead. He denounces rhetoric,

[42] This reminds us of the debates which emerged from Holocaust Studies about the most adequate ways of representing traumatic events. One line of argument warns that graphic depictions of torture may lead to it becoming fetishised or aestheticized, while for others the experience is simply unwritable and no representation of it can ever do its victims justice. Hayden White, for his part, suggested that a postmodernist style is the only one adequate to representing the particular horrors of the twentieth century (*Figural Realism* 81)

but his authorial discourse is itself highly rhetorical and does not allow space for the "other's word," which is destroyed through ridicule. The following quotation is long, but is worth reproducing in full in order to appreciate the effect:

> [N]o es suficiente con una información general, no sirven disparos escuchados tras una tapia, noticias de prensa, párrafos de manual de historia; tampoco podemos admitir un relato ambidiestro, un discurso que evoque falsos argumentos conciliadores, *las dos españas que hielan el corazón del españolito, el horror fue mutuo, en las guerras siempre hay excesos, grupos de incontrolados, odios ancestrales, cuentas pendientes que se saldan en la confusión, no hubo vencedores, todos perdimos, nunca más, Caín era español*: ya está bien de palabrería que parece inocente y está cargada de intención, ya está bien de repetir la versión de los vencedores. El horror no es equiparable por su muy distinta magnitud y por su carácter—espontáneo y reprobado por las autoridades, en el bando republicano—planificado y celebrado por los generales, en el bando nacional [...]. (249).

The discourse in this quotation is strongly double-voiced, the section in italics echoing various common (and mythified) interpretations of the civil war. Nevertheless, the author's discourse dominates, and the stream of voices culminates in a final, emphatic denunciation of these opposing views. As Melanie Valle-Collado concludes, "por más que se haya esforzado en no seguir los caminos 'habituales', *El vano ayer* pinta un retrato maniqueo del franquismo, al enfatizar el 'dolor' de los unos (los perdedores de la guerra civil) y la 'culpa' de los otros (los vencedores)" (6). By setting himself up as a truth-giver, Rosa silences other views and imitates the old monologism of the past rather than opening up a space for democratic discussion. His satire is ultimately destructive rather than productive, and is akin to nineteenth century bourgeois satire, a serious form which according to Bakhtin was "actually not laughter but rhetoric" (*Rabelais* 51). This is in contrast to ambivalent, carnivalesque ridicule in the Rabelaisian mode, to which the esperpento tradition belongs, and which Bakhtin prefers for its dialogical properties.

Chapter Conclusions

As we have seen, the civil war and dictatorship continue to provide inspiration for many writers, many of whom have found new ways of approaching the discussion of the past. Their political and ethical aims are diverse, reflecting the debates being conducted in the public sphere. At the same time, many of the new tropes, such as that of the detective investigation, have already become worn through overuse, making them fair game for parody. The four novels which will be examined in the following chapters bear traces of these discourses and trends, but they also formulate their own individual responses and suggest other alternatives for representing and understanding the past, and how it might help inform the future.

Chapter 3: Eduardo Mendoza, *Riña de gatos* (2010)

The first of our four novels, Eduardo Mendoza's, *Riña de gatos,* is set in the turbulent Madrid of March 1936. It is a moral fable with a humorous twist, and exploits the conventions of popular genres in order to provide a fresh perspective on the political rivalries which bitterly divided the Second Republic.[43] The main character is Anthony Whitelands, an English art expert who has been invited to Spain in order to evaluate the painting of a wealthy Duke so that it can be sold to finance his family's evacuation to England. Whitelands is the stereotypical, reserved English gentleman. Apolitical to the point of naivety, and with an almost pedantic fascination for Velázquez, he forms a sharp contrast to the politicised, passionate, and wily Spaniards who seek to manipulate him for their own ends. The novel ridicules the political radicalism that existed at the time, and challenges simplistic characterisations of the civil war as having been an ideological battle between Communists and Falangist/Fascists, placing it within its wider European context.

The first section of this chapter will outline how parody, comedy and art criticism are used in the novel in order to subvert hegemonic discourses about the past and stimulate a dialogue between history and fiction.[44] In the second section, the role of Anthony as a political sounding board will be elucidated, and the novel's treatment of Falangist leader José Antonio Primo de Rivera and the military plotters examined. There will also be an analysis of how the conventions of the spy thriller are used to place the Spanish conflict within its wider European context and to criticise British

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[43] *Riña de gatos* won the Planeta prize in 2010, and is the first of the Catalan writer's novels to treat the Spanish Civil War, as well as the first to be set exclusively in Madrid. His novels, which all make use of parody and pastiche, have generally been divided into more complex, historically dense works such as *La verdad sobre el caso Savolta* (1975) (his first) or *La ciudad de los prodigios* (1986), and shorter, lighter novels such as *El año del diluvio* (1992) and *Sin noticias de gurb* (1991).

[44] Parody should not, however, be viewed as inherently anti-authority, and preserves that which it seeks to destroy by containing the conventions of the imitated object within it. As Linda Hutcheon has said, it can be a "conservative force in both retaining and mocking other aesthetic forms, but is also capable of transformative power in creating new syntheses" (*Parody* 20). Simon Dentith makes a similar point in his study on parody (27).

obstructionism towards the Republic. Due to the complexity of the chronotopical and narrative structures of this novel and their importance to the novel's dissection of historical discourse, greater weight will be given to these than to the specific political and historical content, unlike in the remaining chapters.

3.1 The Ironic Dismantling of History

In its chronotopical structure and treatment of historical discourse, *Riña* bears many similarities to Mendoza's first novel, *La verdad sobre el caso Savolta* (1975), and Eduardo Ruiz's analysis of that novel could easily be applied to it:

> La novela histórica [...[se convierte [...] en una parodia siempre envuelta en una sutil ironía que impide la identificación con la materia tratada. La historia novelística se muestra así como espejo del presente. Es evidente que el motivo de esta reconstrucción pseudohistórica no es otro que cuestionar y transgredir la realidad, ponerla en entredicho, dudar incluso de ella y tratar de pasar la historia que recogen los libros por el tamiz de la intrahistoria, teniendo siempre como aliada el humor y la ironía. (147)[45]

In as much as it is a mirror of the present, *Riña* echoes contemporary debates about the origins of the civil war, and questions common interpretations—not only those coming from a Francoist and neo-Francoist perspective, but also from the Left or pro-Republican side. The present is suggested through the use of the chronotopes of the classical historical novel, where the narrator is assumed to have historical knowledge and therefore to be speaking at a time after the events have occured. Sometimes the characters also speak with a present perspective, and appear to have more historical

[45] Parody and extra-textual references are common to all of Mendoza's works to a greater or lesser extent; as Ana Spitzmesser has written of them, "La alusión literaria posee un alto nivel de auto-consciencia, como si el escritor reconociera y se burlara, como veremos, de las dificultades inherentes al problema de recrear o escribir historia, complaciéndose incluso en minimizar y hasta ignorar tales obstáculos. De ahí el uso de fuentes extra literarias, como el cine, para resaltar los efectos benignos o malignos de los personajes, sobre todo femeninos" (35).

knowledge than someone at the time would have possessed.[46] In addition, as Agnes Heller has argued, the comic also demands a present perspective: not only is the comic experience always a present one (it can only be related as a memory, not re-created in telling), but satires, parodies, palimpsest mock genres, paraphrases, figures and ideas of the past all happen in the present. This, she says, is why the comic drama and novel, and eventually also the comic picture, are said to follow a moralistic or political purpose (13-14), and this, as we will see, is clearly the case of *Riña de gatos.* The combined chronotopes of comedy and the historical novel also create a constant tension between two ways of understanding history in *Riña*. On the one hand, the conventions of the historical novel, with its linear, causal structure, invite a deterministic reading of the events portrayed, plotting the civil war as an inevitable tragedy. However, Mendoza's ambivalent, carnivalesque laughter problematises such a reading, disrupting mythical constructions and causing the reader to revise their expectations and beliefs regarding the origins of the war. We will now turn to an examination of the way in which *Riña* conducts its comic parody in order to produce the effects we have described above.

The Parody of Popular Genres

Riña not only parodies the classical historical novel, but is also, in Bakhtinian terms, a parodied hybridisation of the chronotopes of the spy thriller and the *folletín*, combined with elements of farce, *esperpento* and the picaresque. There has been considerable debate about the relationship between postmodern parody and history, with some critics affirming that postmodernism is effectively ahistorical. However, as we saw in Chapter One, the opposite is true, and with *Riña de gatos*, Mendoza provides a prime example of how postmodern parody inscribes and then disrupts discourses about the past in order to stimulate a deeper reflection upon its meanings

[46] An example of this occurs when the policeman Marranón tells Anthony that José Antonio receives a monthly stipend from Mussolini (224) and that there is contact between him and the German and Italian fascist parties. The existence of the stipend has been established by historians, but it was not known by such an expert historian as Stanley Payne when he wrote his 1961 study of the Falange, suggesting that it was not common knowledge. Of course, it is quite possible that the police of the time were aware of Mussolini's financial support but did not leave a written record of it. According to Paul Preston, it was Angel Viñas who first revealed the existence of the stipend in his 1974 book, *La Alemaña nazi y el 18 julio* (*Tres Españas* 132).

for the present.[47] The defintion of parody itself also remains rather contested, as does its literary value, and it has been understood as having both reactionary and subversive potential. Bakhtin, for example, writes in *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* that in parody, as in stylisation,

> the author [...] speaks in someone else's discourse, but in contrast to stylisation, parody introduces into that discourse a semantic intention that is directly opposed to the original one. The second voice, once having made its home in the other's discourse, clashes hostilely with its primordial host and forces him to serve directly opposing aims. [...] In parody, therefore, there cannot be that fusion of voices possible in stylisation or in the narration of a narrator [...]. (*Problems* 193)

He returns to the theme in *The Dialogic Imagination,* where he argues that parody has a comic, ridiculing function, but is also (somewhat paradoxically) productive and can be a force for renewal. In order for this to be so, the destruction of the represented language must not be "gross and superficial" in the manner of rhetorical parody. It must be a stylisation, recreating the parodied language as an authentic whole with its own "internal logic" (364). Parody is productive in being able to provide another gaze on the language object, introducing the "permanent corrective of laughter, of a critique on the one-sided seriousness of the lofty direct word [...]" (364). The comic element has also been emphasised by Margaret Rose, who defines parody as "the comic refunctioning of preformed linguistic or artistic material" (Rose 52). However, she disagrees with Bakhtin about the conflictual nature of the relationship between parody and its object, arguing that it can be playful and even respectful of it. She is right, but as Linda Hutcheon argues, parody, at least postmodern parody, need not always have a comic function.[48] In Hutcheon's view, parody is a structural relation between two texts, or a form of textual dialogism, a "repetition with critical distance,

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[47] The historical nature of Mendoza's novels has also been affirmed by Miguel Herráez in *La estrategia de la postmodernidad en Eduardo Mendoza* (1998) and José Maria Giménez Micó in *Eduardo Mendoza y las novelas de la Transición* (2000).

[48] In Spanish literature, Isaac Rosa's *El vano ayer* proves this point. It parodies novels and other literary forms about the Civil War and, in particular, the Francoist dictatorship. There is a strong ridiculing function, but Rosa's parody is completely serious, and there is a marked polemic against more ludic or comic treatments of Francoism, as well as against popular literary forms which have used the war and dictatorship to provide the background for their stories of mystery and intrigue.

which marks difference rather than similarity" (6), and this is the definition which will be used in this thesis. Simon Dentith implies that Hutcheon overlooks parody's polemical aspects, and argues that even if it is not so with respect to the imitated object, it will always at least be so with an object external to the text, with the "outside" world (18). But Hutcheon does agree that parody can be "used to satirise the reception or even the creation of certain kinds of art" (16). Nevertheless, she distinguishes satire from parody by saying that the latter's "target" text is always another work of art, or, more generally, another form of coded discourse," while satire "is both moral and social in its focus and ameliorative in its intention," thus having the outside world as a direct target (16). In *Riña de gatos*, the parody has both a comic and a serious function, and as David Knutson has remarked in general of Mendoza, has a playful rather than denigrating attitude towards the popular genres whose conventions they exploit (158-9). *Riña* is also plainly satirical—directly of 1936 Madrid—and indirectly of contemporary discourses about the period and of the society which has been founded upon them. *Riña* employs two important structural chronotopes for its parody—the first is that of adventure time (which will be described below), and the second, related one is that of historical time (see section 1.2). We will see that the chronotope of adventure time has the function not only of binding the parody together, but also of adding to the critique of historical myth when it is juxtaposed with real historical time, while its own conventions are themselves subjected to parody and ridicule.

As Knutson has observed of *La verdad sobre el caso Savolta,* the presence of many different influences in a work complicates the critic's task of identification and classification (14), and in the case of *Riña,* it has exasperated and confused some readers.[49] There is more unity than might appear on the surface, however. In the first place, the *folletín,* or serialised novel of the nineteenth century, was a mode for transmitting historical novels and later adventure formats such as the detective story

[49] Comments and reviews posted by readers on online blogs and forums have been very mixed. Many of those posting negative reviews appeared to be confused by the multiplicity of genres or were otherwise unable to appreciate the parodies. This, of course, is a well-known drawback to parody, which can only be understood by the "initiated," those with sufficient education and experience to be able to identify the parodied genres/discourses.

or spy thriller. The type of historical works found in the *folletín* were sometimes akin to the classical historical novel, and contained footnote references, historical tracts, newspapers excerpts and other documents or reports to give historical authenticity. Nonetheless, most were closer in format to the romance or the historical adventure novel, where the main interest was action and melodrama rather than the realistic recreation of an era (cf. Aparici and Gimeneo *xvii*; Ferreras 262-5). More importantly, the *folletín*, spy thriller and classical historical novel are also governed by what Bakhtin called "adventure time."[50] Having its origins in ancient Greek romances, this time is externally "empty," with the start and end point seeing no change in the age or psychology of the heroes despite the many adventures they may have experienced. On the "inside," adventure time is "made up of many short segments that correspond to each such adventure. Within each sequence, minutes, hours and days all add up, as they would in the 'real' world" (*Dialogic* 91). Time linkers such as "suddenly" and "at just that moment" are crucially present because they introduce an element of chance, which has its own logic of "*random contingency [sovpadenie]*, which is to say chance *simultaneity* [meetings] and *chance rupture* [nonmeetings], that is, a logic of random disjunctions as well" (91). Bakhtin also noted that in a second type of Greek novel adventure time was combined with "everyday time." This second chronotope is at heart a chronotope of the road, and, as Bakhtin says, is to be commonly found in picaresque fiction. In such novels, the hero is not part of everyday life, but comes into brief contact with it during his travels, before exiting again as he continues his journey or adventure. This chronotope is therefore fragmentary, and "time is deprived of its unity and wholeness—it is chopped up into separate segments, each encompassing a single episode from everyday life. The separate episodes [...]—are rounded off and complete, but at the same time are isolated and self-sufficient" (128).

[50] Margaret Rose has also said of parody that "the unique multiplicity of codes which is to be found [...] explains the ability of the parodist to be not only both satiric and ironic, but, in some instances, to combine both 'engaged' and imaginative literature in the one work. In its most sophisticated forms, the parody, moreover, is both synthetic and analytic, and diachronic and synchronic in its analysis of the work it quotes, in that it is able to evoke a past work and its reception and link it with other analyses and audiences" (90).

Other critics have described the use of adventure time (without calling it by that name) in the *folletín* and spy thriller. Thus, Ignacio Ferreras (249) and Aparici and Gimeneo (*xxx*) have observed that a character defined in the first pages of the *folletín* will not psychologically evolve. There is little attempt to concretise space, and such description of location and custom which exists is mythified and made to serve the purposes of moral, rather than social, characterisation, so that the novels, while supposedly historical, are in fact atemporal (cf. Aparici and Gimeneo *li-lvi*). Furthermore, says Ferreras

> ante la desaparición del espacio, el novelista multiplica las referencias al tiempo, pero naturalmente también estas referencias son eso, simples referencias para orientar al autor, de ningún modo determinan la acción de la obra; de todos es sabido que los héroes de las novelas de aventuras no envejecen nunca. (249)

Since the author is unable to create a realistic world or characters, he adds, these novels are all necessarily adventure novels in the broad sense of the term, for they rely entirely on the narration of action to create interest (252). The spy thriller is, of course, related to the detective genre, although it is perhaps unfair to call it merely "una forma vulgar del policíaco," as Vittorio Brunori does (168). Brunori further lambasts the genre for lacking any psychological profundity, and for being protagonised by a character who never ages and is identified completely with the system, so that he is no more than a symbol (168-72). His characterisation is probably applicable to most cases (a famous example is, of course, James Bond), although a more profitable, nuanced analysis is prevented by his clear antipathy towards the spy thriller and other popular forms for their alleged conservativsm.[51] Patricia Waugh, on the other hand, points to a pertinent difference between the spy thriller and the

[51] The political affiliations of the popular novel and *folletín* have been the subject of some debate. Some commentators, like Brunori, see them all as essentially reaffirming the dominant system, although Aparici and Gimeneo are a little more nuanced, arguing that, although they treated problems such as the reform of prisons and the virtue of the worker, there was a complete conservatism with respect to issues such as family structure or the role of the woman in society. Even Ayguals de Izco, they say, who is one of the most socially and politically progressive authors, reaffirms the lower middle class social structure (x-xi). Ferreras, for his part, remarks that even though many of the *folletínes* manifested a vague socialism, their liberalism and anti-clericalism was confined to a few repeated clichés and never constituted a real challenge to the ruling class system, while those novels which were more radical were never very popular (273-4).

detective story which bears upon their chronotopical contexts in the real world: the spy thriller, she says, "is based not upon some faith in human reason as the detective story but much more upon fear of anomie, of disorder, of the insecurity of human life" (84). It is very much a product of the modern era, where the old faith in human progress and the power of reason and logic to conquer barbarism had been shattered by the experience of the world wars. In *Riña,* Mendoza parodies its conventions in order to place the Spanish Civil War within the context of European balance of power politics and ridicule both the conservative British elites and the Communist USSR, as will be seen in section two of this chapter.

The chronotope of adventure time is also to be found in comedy, and Heller has noted in her study of the comic novel that the characters never develop psychologically, further arguing that comic novels are always picaresque because they are "novels of adventure" (76).[52] This is too bold and too broad a statement, for it implies that "adventure" is synonymous with "picaresque," which it is not, as adventure is merely one component of the picaresque, albeit an important one. In addition, while it is true that the types of characters often found in comic novels are typical of picaresque narratives—outsiders, misfits, rogues and fools—this is not always so. Chronotopes of chaos and grotesquery are also present as a distinguishing mark of the picaresque, but are not features of all comedies, for example in the comedy of manners. Mendoza has always shown a clear affinity for the picaresque in his narratives, but as we will see later, *Riña* has more in common with the esperpento tradition, (which admittedly grew out of the picaresque), than it has with the classic narratives of an Alemán or Quevedo. Anthony, being neither orphaned, nor poor, nor a rogue, is not a picaresque protagonist, unlike the main character of Mendoza's *La ciudad de los prodigios,*

[52] Unfortunately, Heller does not further specify what she means by picaresque, nor give any examples to prove her point. She also contends that the detective novel contains picaresque traits, and argues that both the comic and detective novel are intellectual and rational rather than emotional genres, but again without giving concrete examples. She is a philosopher rather than a literary critic, and her lack of a literary background does sometimes mar her otherwise interesting study on the subject of comedy in drama and literature.

Onofre Bouvila, or the unnamed protagonist of *La cripta embrujada* and *El laberinto de las aceitunas.*[53]

The combined chronotope of adventure time and everyday life is manifested in a number of ways in *Riña.* Firstly, it begins and ends with a journey: we are introduced to Anthony while he is travelling on a train across Spain towards Madrid, and we say goodbye to him as he is about to board the return train to England. These are the threshold moments when Anthony enters and exits the "adventure." Indeed, at the station where Anthony catches the express to Madrid, he notes that the clock has stopped at "una hora inverosímil," as if hinting that he is about to step into a different temporal zone (11). Few details are given of his prior life—we know that he studied at Cambridge and is an art expert with limited professional success, that he was previously married, and that he has just ended an affair with a woman who is married to a colleague of his. Once he arrives in Madrid, time is very precisely defined, and the reader is always informed of where and when Anthony goes to bed. In addition, he is invited to spend time among the people of Madrid, both high and low, and to participate, if only temporarily, in their everyday lives and concerns. Accordingly, he takes on the role of a fool (connected in literary terms to the picaresque rogue), an "insider/outsider" figure who is free to move everywhere and who, according to Bakhtin, exposes convention and "all that is vulgar and falsely stereotyped in human relationships" (162) (this will be further discussed in section 3.2)

The action of the novel usually unfolds along a linear chronology and is narrated by an omniscient, third person narrator, also typical of adventure time. While the narration

[53] For an analysis of the latter two novels as picaresque narratives, see Oswald "An Urban Picaro in Transitional Barcelona" (2008).

is usually focalised externally through Anthony, there are sometimes rapid switches of point of view to present events which are occuring simultaneously elsewhere. These shifts become more frequent in the last third of the novel as the pace of the action heightens, but, since this is a parody, they are sometimes accompanied by self-conscious irony. One example occurs at the end of the scene where the Soviet agent, Kolia, orders Anthony's murder, his final words to Higinio Zamora Zamorano being immediately succeeded by the following: "Al mismo tiempo, lejos de allí y sin la menor sospecha de la inapelable sentencia dictada contra él por el agente de Lubianka, Anthony Whitelands hacía parar al taxi a cien metros del palacete [...]" (291). The irony here is a double-ended barb which ridicules Communist paranoia while at the same time poking fun at the stereotype of the evil Communist agent in anti-Russian and Cold War spy literature. There is also something reminiscent of Valle-Inclán's esperpentos in this cinematic technique of rapid scene-switching, giving an impression, as Diane Almeida says, of the whole as a cumulative "succession of presents" (25). This recalls also Walter Benjamin's modernist conception of history as an image that flashes up briefly in the present, and of the work of the historian as a montage, where fragments of history have been placed together into a sequence which is not entirely seamless.[54]

While ahistorical adventure time is the overriding chronotope of the popular historical romance, it is present in only minor form in the the historical novel proper, which is primarily governed by a combination of human biographical time (that of a human life from birth to death, and the associated physical and psychological changes) and historical time (the narrative of real historical events). Bakhtin emphasises that "the

[54] This disjunction and fragmentation is heightened by Mendoza's adoption of folletínesque techniques to heighten suspense and create anticipation, such as ending chapters on surprising or melodramatic events. In *Riña,* these moments of melodrama are frequently parodied through ironic commentary, exaggeration and incongruity, such as at the end of Chapter 6, when Anthony discovers that he has been robbed. His discovery is reported in an understated tone, and it is only when he is lying in his hotel room afterwards that "le asaltó la sospecha de haber sido víctima de un timo, pero como estaba derrengado, cerró los ojos y se durmió en el acto" (53). Another common technique for increasing suspense in the *folletín* was to introduce questions or mysteries which would not be resolved until several pages later (Aparici and Gimeno *x*). Similarly, in *Riña,* there is a constant stream of missives, visitors, telephone calls and meetings, both chance and organised, which maintain a level of suspense throughout the novel, causing Anthony's hotel receptionist to say drily at one point, "Pues a ver [...] si usted solo da más trabajo que todos los clientes juntos" (133).

historical time-sequence is measured by different standards of value [to individual life-sequence, or biographical time], other kinds of events take place in it, it has no interior aspect, no point of view for perceiving it from the inside out" (217).[55] *Riña* is saturated in authentic historical detail, and we can see numerous examples of the generic motifs (or chronotopes, as we prefer to call them) of the historical novel which were identified by Richard Humphrey in *The Historical Novel as Philosophy of History*.

The first is a clash between old and new, manifested in *Riña* as the opposition between the conservative forces of traditional Spain on the one side, and democratic Republican ideas and radical left-wing ideologies on the other (8).[56] The Romantic chronotope of "nature and her slow processes" (12) also manifests itself: at the beginning, winter still has its grip upon Madrid, but it will have given way to spring in the final pages, coinciding with the resolution of the novel's mysteries, the arrest of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, and the end of Anthony's adventure in Spain. Shifting seasonal weather (between winter and spring) creates a sense of passing time and historical movement, as well as reinforcing mood or signalling oncoming strife (cf. 194, 271, 280). In the following quotation, for example, which describes Madrid on the night of Anthony's arrival, the windy, wintery weather heightens the sense of imminent confrontation and creates unease:

> [a] causa del frío, el bullicio de la noche madrileña ha sido sustituido por el lúgubre ulular del implacable viento de la sierra, que arremolina las hojas secas y los papelotes esparcidos por el suelo negro, brillante de escarcha. Las fachadas de los edificios están cubiertas de carteles de propaganda electoral, rotos y sucios, y de pasquines de todas las tendencias que invariablemente llaman a la huelga, la insurrección y al enfrentamiento. (17)

[55] Bakhtin also remarks that the Realist novels of the nineteenth century tightly bound biographical, historical and everyday time together, so that they are "fused into the unitary marker of the epoch" (247). In this way, historical fiction at its greatest can provide us with both an inside and outside view of history, providing a perspective that ordinary historiography is incapable of.

[56] Falangism in itself could be said to embody this clash. While its fascist trappings place it among the new ideologies, its proponents would enthusiasticallly support the conservative-backed military uprising.

Spring arrives in full at the end of the novel (423), signalling the end of one period and the beginning of another, both in the lives of the characters (Anthony, José Antonio and Paquita, in particular), and in the fortunes of Spain, which is entering the final chaotic period of the Second Republic before the outbreak of the civil war.

Riña also displays the chronotope of historical explanation based on "long-term processes and developments" (Humphrey 15). The novel is set over a period of only ten days, the last of José Antonio's days of freedom before his imprisonment (both historically and in the novel) and eventual execution.[57] However, the incarceration of the Falangist leader is clearly placed within the larger scope of the years and months leading up to the outbreak of civil war in Spain. The reader is informed of the background of events through historical digression on the part of the narrator, or else through direct reports by characters. Such digressions were common techniques in the historical novel and the *folletín,* although in the latter form in particular, the digressions usually had a specifically moral or didactic purpose (Aparici and Gimeno xlix). Hans Lauge Hansen has also noted that the mimesis of historical/documentary discourse is a common strategy employed by a number of recent civil war novels in order to give their texts an aura of authenticity, and is frequently accompanied, as in *Riña,* by the mixing of other genres such as biography, farce, and grotesque realism ("Formas" 87). In *Riña* the digressions always correspond with the accepted historical record, and are frequently double-voiced with the perspectives of the narrator and the character in whose zone they appear. For

[57] José Antonio Primo de Rivera was imprisoned on 14 March 1936 along with other Falangist leaders for the illegal possession of arms, although the charge was merely an excuse for the recently elected Popular Front government to remove the Falangist threat. He was incarcerated in the Modelo prison in Madrid and moved to the prison of Alicante on 5 June, where he was executed on 20 November 1936, having been found guilty of conspiracy against the Republic.

instance, there are two extended narratorial digressions related to the political situation in March 1936 on pages 170-172 and 338-339. The first briefly explains Azaña's political career during the Republic and how he became its president after the 1936 elections, along with an overview of the social problems: "la agitación laboral, la reforma agraria, los enfrentamientos armados, la cuestión catalana" (170) and the attitudes of the various political forces to the Republic's attempts at reform. Despite the difficulties, Azaña believed that it was still possible to reach a solution through dialogue and negotiation, a belief that is repeated in the second digression. The narrator concurs with the president that the majority of the Spanish people also desire a peaceful resolution to the problems, the proof being in the multitudes who attended Azaña's election meetings, for whom he is "la última esperanza de acuerdo y conciliación" (338). The danger posed by the violent elements is emphasised, however, because while Azaña "cuenta con un amplio apoyo parlamentario y con la inmensa mayoría de los españoles, si bien, y esto él lo sabe, la mayoría que le respalda de poco sirve contra las pistolas, y menos contra los cañones" (338).[58] This quotation is one of the clearer examples of where Azaña's voice fuses with that of the narrator, presenting us with a double-voiced, subjective/objective account of the situation.

Sometimes, historical digression is introduced as an indirect report that is implied to have come from the voice of a character, such as when the policeman Marranón gives Anthony a profile of José Antonio Primo de Rivera. The language he uses is typical of

[58] The historical account given here is in accordance with the current, generally accepted view of pre-war political dynamics in Spain and Manuel Azaña's beliefs and position. The narrator is quite neutral in his account, and mentions animosity shown towards Azaña by forces on both the left and the right. Nevertheless, it is clear that he sympathises with the president's belief that war was not inevitable, but that it was the self-defeatist attitude of Spaniards which was impelling them towards disaster, and that the danger came from a violent minority. Therefore, there is here, as elsewhere in the novel, a challenge to the "Two-Spain" myth.

the police summary, and is short, clipped and impersonal: "El individuo en cuestión era el hijo mayor de Miguel Primo de Rivera, un general golpista, Dictador en España entre 1923 y 1930 [...] Natural de Madrid, abogado de profesión, soltero; treinta y tres años de edad en el momento actual [...]" (125-126). In the original genre of the historical novel, such digressions were sometimes intrusive and distracting from the main plot; however, Mendoza's skilful management of heteroglossia and shifts in narratorial voice means that in the case of *Riña,* they are generally well-integrated, never moving too far from the overall ironic tone of the novel.

Characteristically also of the historical novel, *Riña* contains rich description of 1936 Madrid, its people, places and customs, and especially of the political atmosphere.[59] As discussed in Chapter One, many of Scott's lesser imitators use historical setting only to inject colour and décor into stories of love and intrigue, with no real sense of historical consciousness. In *Riña,* history provides the setting for intrigue, but the intrigue is also at the service of history, and, as we will see in the second section, it provides opportunities to question received interpretations of the past.

Despite such invocations of historical time and authenticity, "History" is frequently referred to ironically in the novel (and is always written with a capital "H"), such as in the following example: "Todos los pesares que los reveses de la Historia, el desgobierno de la nación y las discordias de los hombres habían acumulado sobre la España de 1936 quedaban momentáneamente suspendidos a la hora del aperitivo por acuerdo unánime de las partes implicadas" (197). Such treatment deflates teleological theories of history contained in Marxism and Falangism and reminds us that history is but the interpretation of selected facts, and must not be treated as an eternally "true"

[59] This description cannot compare, however, with that of Muñoz Molina's *La noche de los tiempos* (2009) in terms of its extensiveness, power and realism. The aims of Mendoza and Muñoz Molina are quite different, however, as the latter's concern was specifically to paint a vivid portrait of the time, one that would capture the violence and chaos of a rapidly unravelling civil society.

and complete picture of the past.[60] This is a view which is reinforced in a scene at the end of the novel, where Anthony pieces together all the various elements of intrigue in order to arrive at the conclusion that the Falangist leader, José Antonio Primo de Rivera, is a Communist agent and a traitor to his own party (even though he had just assisted in Anthony's rescue from a Communist assassination attempt). The usually rather naïve Anthony also provides us here with a suprisingly astute analysis of the Falange, its political irrelevance, and its empty rhetoric, one which fully accords with non-biased historical studies of the period.[61] This combination of seemingly absurd speculation about José Antonio's political allegiances with real historical analysis reminds us that it is only in the light of the reader's prior historical knowledge that Anthony's conclusions appear as ridiculous as they do.

Farce and Carnival Humour

Satire and ironic distancing in *Riña* are produced not just through parody, but also through the use of farce and carnival humour. Critics have been somewhat divided about whether farce is genuinely subversive, and it has sometimes been read as an essentially conservative genre. In her analysis of *El laberinto de la aceitunas,* Antonia Ferriol says that underlying farce there is an essentially deterministic view of life which undermines human pretensions to dignity and freedom (although it is also possible to find in some instances human values such as sympathy or tenderness). The action is generated by mechanical laws in a world that lacks predictable motivations or genuine causes, making it impossible to believe anything. In this way too, farce shows the contiguity between logical reason and madness, obliging the audience to rethink its

[60] The Falange, for example, constantly turned to Spain's violent and imperial past to argue that its destiny lay in a similar future, encapsulated in the rhetorical slogan of "Unidad de destino en lo universal," the inspiration for which José Antonio derived from the writings of Ortega y Gasset. Crude Marxist theories also pointed to the inevitability of the arrival of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and slogans to this effect were much repeated in the years before the war.

[61] See, for example, Preston's *The Politics of Revenge*, Sheila Ellwood's *Spanish Fascism in the Franco Era*, Ian Gibson's *En busca de José Antonio*, and Stanley Payne's *Falange*.

concept of the normal and abnormal, of the centre and the margins (20), and thus having a potentially subversive function. Jessica Milner Davis also highlights the essentially mechanical nature of farce, and says that at its heart is the "eternal comic conflict between the forces of conventional authority and the forces of rebellion," but adds that it is governed by strict rules which are "necessary to prevent farce from over-balancing into an outright attack on the social conventions of its time" (24). Farcical jokes are not designed primarily as dramatic vehicles for satirical comment upon the way of the world, she says, but in spirit tend rather to an indulgent, perhaps ironic acceptance of the human condition. Similarly, T.G.A. Nelson argues that farce is not usually connected to satire, as the latter provokes anger or moral disgust in the viewer/reader, while farce comes closest to Baudelaire's concept of "absolute comedy," where moral evaluation is avoided altogether. Nevertheless, Nelson notes that there has been a recent development towards political farce or "farce of ideas," which returns it to the realm of satire, or what Baudelaire called "significative comedy" (23-7). In the novels *El laberinto de las aceitunas* and *El misterio de la cripta embrujada* farce is used by Mendoza to critique the society of the post-Transition period in Barcelona, although there does also seem to be an ultimate, ironic acceptance of the human condition. While this latter attitude is also sometimes present in *Riña,* political farce also contains biting satire, as we will see with the case of the conspiring military generals and the Communists in section three of this chapter.

For Bakhtin, farce is intimately connected to the medieval tradition of carnival (and is, of course, to be found in the Spanish tradition of esperpento), and carnival motifs such as eating, drinking and sex, all play a central role in *Riña*: we are informed of every single one of Anthony's meals, some of which are described in terms of their effect on his physical and psychological well-being. Food and drink facilitate meetings and dialogue, such as when Anthony is invited to stay for lunch with the Duke and subsequently meets José Antonio Primo de Rivera. Sex is stylised and introduces farcical elements into the narrative, as well as functioning as a plot-organising device; for example, when Anthony visits the prostitute Toñina, he leaves his passport with

the stranger, Higinio, and is consequently forced to go to the British Embassy to retrieve it. There, he is questioned about Pedro Teacher and the painting, furthering the intrigue of the spy thriller. The completion of his sexual act with the object of his desire, Paquita, is utterly farcical and takes on vaudevillesque tones when they are interrupted by the unexpected arrival of Toñina and her baby, causing Paquita to storm off in a rage. She will later reflect that it was like a scene from a "película comica" (394).

There is also carnivalesque levelling and inversion in the use of language, with vulgar and colloquial speech being employed by the educated classes, while a supposed worker such as Higinio Zamora Zamorano speaks in a relatively polished manner. Such inversions play an important role in the dismantling of dogmatic political discourses and in subverting hierarchical authority. As a result of the technique, language among characters does not always seem to be highly individuated, although realistic individuation does happen, especially when it is conducive to the comedy. Anthony uses anglicisms, for example, "prepóstero" to mean preposterous (53) and confuses idioms, such as on page 113 when he says "mendigar la sopa boba" instead of "andar a la sopa boba". A proper working class dialect is assigned to Higinio's friend, La Justa ("¿Pa salvaguadar qué? (114) "Esto no tié complicación [...] Usté duerme aquí" (117), although her daughter Toñina enunciates her words correctly and sometimes appears to have a wisdom beyond her years. The half-crazed old lady, Doña Agapita, then ends the debate with the exclamation, "¡Churros, aguardiente y limoná!" introducing farce through the carnivalesque theme of food and drink. Apart from providing comedy, incongruous linguistic intrusions reflect the tension between centripetal and centrifugal forces in language identified by Bakhtin. Centripetal forces create the unitary utterance, but these utterances also contain within them social and historical heteroglossia—the centrifugal forces which stratify and diversify language (Bakhtin *Dialogic* 271-2). Political rhetoric, which is usually monologic, strives to shut out heteroglossia and to sharpen divides between the different classes. Therefore, the mixing up of linguistic patterns between the different social classes challenges such divisiveness and indicates that dialogism, or dialogue, is to be preferred.

Art Criticism as Historical Reflection

Another important narrative element which is used to stimulate reflection upon the nature of history and interpretation is the pastiche of art criticism: it is used to challenge the "two-Spain" dichotomy and to debunk the myth that Spaniards have a "special" congenital propensity for internecine conflict; it reinforces the novel's dismissive attitude towards political idealism as a justification for violence; and it portrays war as a tragic folly which is a universal part of human nature. In addition, it provides an opportunity to link the novel to the carnivalised literary form of the Menippean satire. The didactic use of art in *Riña* also contains another subtle wink at the *folletín* tradition, and Romero Tobar has noted how in Ayguals de Izco's *María*, for example, the protagonist goes to the Prado museum, giving the writer an excuse to describe many of the paintings she sees and to give a history of the museum (71).[62]

Commentary on art is channelled through Anthony, who is obsessed with the Spanish master, Diego Velázquez. While numerous Velázquez paintings make an appearance in the novel, among the most prominent are those of the dwarves don Juan de Austria, Francisco Lezcano, and don Diego de Acedo ("El primo"), and of the classical writers, Mennipus and Aesop. They can be ranked together in the context of Velázquez's oeuvre, according to José López-Rey, because in all of them "the sitter's coarse carnality is vividly realised" (134)[63]. Furthermore, there is neither "irony nor

[62] Elisa Martí-López has persuasively argued that Ayguals de Izco's novels *María, la hija del jornalero* (1845-6) and *La bruja de Madrid* (1856) were clearly destined towards a middle-class, male, educated reading public, citing the dense referencing and expensive editions as evidence. This is in contrast to those critics who have said that the reading public of the *folletín* was mostly comprised of women, the working classes and the lower middle classes, who, being educated to only a basic level, would not have had very sophisticated reading habits (cf. Ferreras 27-9; Aparici and Gimeneo *x*). She also argues that the novels of Ayguals or Ceferino Tressera were not rigidily formulaic but were an aesthetic response to the historical processes transforming Spain in the nineteenth century, combining journalistic type reporting with novelistic narrative in order to provide a historical context to current events (72-7). It may well be that it is the *folletínes* of these writers which provide not just the model for Mendoza's parody in *Riña,* but also his inspiration.

[63] Brown and Garrido have noted that the humanity of these figures is in contrast to conventions of formal portraiture, where "the faces were portrayed with no hint of the expression or personality." This break with convention was probably due to the fact that the dwarves and jesters were exempt from the usual restrained codes of conduct at court in order to provide entertainment (142). Regarding the classical subjects, López-Rey has suggested that in Velázquez's day there was an understanding of the

melancholy in his likenesses of men whose role was to act out, for the pleasure of the king and his courtiers, their feelings and proclivities, even their infirmities [...]. Velázquez' [sic] approach to the clowning of dwarfs and jesters resulted indeed in a sheer—or stoic—depiction of human nature" (López-Rey 134). Mendoza has always privileged marginal figures in his novels showing in this a clear affinity with the Spanish master and his paintings (cf. Oxford and Knutson 12). The presence of the painting of the Cynic, Menippus, is also signficant, as *Riña de gatos* is descended from the ancient serio-comic genre which the painting's subject is credited with founding—Menippean satire. Bakhtin claims that this carnival genre is one of the early precursors of the novel, describing it as "dialogic, full of parodies and travesties, multi-styled, and [not fearing] elements of bilingualism," the "unfettered and fantastic plots and situations all serv[ing] one goal—to put to the test and expose ideas and ideologues" (*Dialogic* 26). Also characteristic of the genre is "a naked posing of ultimate questions on life and death, a universalism of the most extreme sort [...]" (*Problems* 134). The same description could easily be applied to *Riña,* in which translation and bilingualism are manifested through the personage of Anthony,[64] while the painting itself serves as a reflection upon the ordinariness and sordidness of human life. In the novel, we are informed that Menippus "nació esclavo y se afilió a la secta de los cínicos, ganó mucho dinero por métodos de dudosa rectitud y en Tebas perdió cuanto tenía. La leyenda refiere que ascendió al Olimpo y descendió al Hades y en los dos lugares encontró lo mismo: corrupción, engaño y vileza" (61). Anthony wonders if Velázquez painted him "como advertencia, para recordarse a sí mismo que al final del camino hacia la cumbre no nos espera la gloria, sino el desencanto" (61). The inclusion of Aesop is also telling, for it points to the status of the novel as a moral fable (an aspect which will be treated later in this section).

Despite the appearance of such low, comical subjects, art is treated with complete seriousness in *Riña,* and the sections of art criticism are closer to pastiche, (which

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world of antiquity as having been formed from human nature, hence a vivid humanity is also allowed to shine through in Menipo, Esopo and Mars (128).

[64] For example, Anthony uses anglicisms or other inappropriate words and asks more than once if his use of a Spanish idiom is correct (eg. 189, 273). Reference is also made in the text to his accent (eg. 51, 85) and his excellent command of the language (eg. 10, 51).

emphasises similarity rather than critical difference), than they are to parodic imitation.[65] Compare, for example, the following description of *Juan de Austria,* which Anthony goes to see in the Prado, with Brown and Garrido's description in their study of Velázquez. In *Riña:*

> En el retrato, el bufón, para hacer honor a su nombre, tiene a sus pies un arcabuz, un peto, un casco y unas bolas que podrían ser balas de cañón de pequeño calibre; su vestimiento es regia, empuña un bastón de mando y se cubre con un sombrero desmesuradamente grande, ligeramente torcido, rematado por un vistoso penacho. (20-21)

In Brown and Garrido:

> He stands on spindly legs and strikes a timid pose, leaning for support on the commander's baton. His face wears a quizzical expression, and the expansive bushy moustache and arched eyebrows reveal that he is a joker. The crowning touch is the outsized hat, cocked at a rakish angle and topped by a flamboyant feather. (297)

In keeping with courtly custom, the dwarf was given the nickname of an illustrious personage, in this case don Juan de Austria, commander of the victorious allied forces against the Turks at the naval Battle of Lepanto in 1571. The painting is thus a parody in itself, while its description in *Riña de gatos* is a pastiche of art criticism. There is a very slight hint of irony when we are told of the painting's sentimental effect on Anthony: "[...] al inglés se le nublan los ojos al contemplar una batalla descrita con una técnica que se adelanta a toda la pintura de su época y que utilizara Turner con el mismo fin" (21). Anthony is most likely making reference to Velázquez's depiction of a burning ship in this painting, ships being the principal artistic subject for the great nineteenth-century English painter, J.M.W. Turner. The linking of the two artists, who

[65] According to Linda Hutcheon, pastiche is a monotextual form which stresses similarity to the original text rather than difference, whereas parody is a bitextual synthesis which incorporates a target text into itself while maintaining an attitude of (usually) ironic critical distance (*Parody* 33-8). See also Rose (72-4) who says that "pastiche [...] is not only a much more recent term than parody, it can also be distinguished from the latter in describing a more neutral practice of compilation which is neither necessarily critical of its sources, nor necessarily comic." As already discussed, however, parody should not be seen as necessarily comic.

lived two centuries apart, points to a universality and timelessness of art as well as the endless repetition of human conflict, the former's chronotopical location giving it a privileged position from which to gaze upon the latter and its horrors. The ugliness and bestiality of war is also reinforced when Anthony contemplates the pair, *Francisco Lezcano* and *don Diego de Acedo,* and feels that the dwarves were "los únicos seres capacitados para comprender y compartir su tristeza ante la inminencia de una catástrofe que destruirá todo lo que encuentre a su paso, empezando por lo bello y lo noble, y que no tendrá piedad de los débiles" (260). Again, even though he speaks aloud to the paintings, there is no comedy, and his speculations terminate with a comment which invites a deterministic interpretation of Spanish history: "Para él los enanos representan al pueblo de Madrid, compañeros mudos en un viaje al abismo" (261). Anthony's fear that the coming catastrophe will lead to the destruction of "lo bello y lo noble" is one he also expresses to Paquita when he asks her to protect the Duke's artwork, particularly the alleged Velázquez, in the event of a politically-motivated attack on the Palace. This acts as a foreshadowing of the painting's destruction in a basement fire at the end of the novel (although the fire was supposedly started by Lilí, not left-wing radicals). However, it also reinforces the sense of war's barbarity and the philistine ignorance of those who conduct it.[66]

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[66] The concern with the preservation of artwork during the Civil War is one which appears in other recent novels and films: it is the subject of Juan de Arce's *Los colores de la guerra* (2002) which treats the 1939 evacuation of the Prado's paintings by the Republican government, as does Antonio Mecedero's film *La hora de los* valientes (1998). It also emerges briefly as a theme in Muñoz Molina's *La noche de los tiempos* (2009), when the main protagonist, Ignacio, is requested by poet José Bergamín to oversee the rescue of an El Greco painting from anarchist forces who have threatened to destroy it after finding it in a village church (763-5). Antonio Gómez López-Quiñones has conducted an interesting analysis of the function of art in the works of Juan de Arce and Mecedero. In them, he says, the appreciation for high art is a Republican virtue, and even the uneducated militiamen are able to spontaneously appreciate great works of Goya or Velázquez, while the Francoists are depicted as being devoid of artistic sensibility. There is also a somewhat paradoxical romanticisation of genius, of the exceptional being set apart from the ordinary people, with Velázquez and Goya figuring most prominently, while art experts are accepted as having superior knowledge which gives them the right to decide upon the paintings' destination. Velázquez and Goya and their works are ahistorically converted into supporters of the Republican cause, and the protagonist of de Arce's novel, Teresa, calls Velázquez a Republican because she believes that her lover Carlos (in reality a Francoist) plans to sell one of his paintings to buy arms for the Republic. In *La hora de los valientes,* Goya's *Dos de mayo* is linked to the Republican struggle, a dehistoricisation which ignores the ultra-conservatism of many such popular uprisings, as well as Goya's criticisms of the cultural state of the nation in his *Caprichos* (244-63). The relationship between art and the people is somewhat different in Mendoza and Muñoz Molina; while Velázquez is romanticised in *Riña de gatos,* Anthony's fears for the Prado artwork encompass potential damage that might be done by either side of a future conflict, and the most distinguished appreciator of art is a monarchist Duke, who wants to sell a supposed Velázquez to buy arms for Falangists. In *La*

There is one other Velázquez painting which plays a central role in the novel, this time in order to stimulate reflection upon the nature of historical interpretation. It is *Venus del espejo,* painted for the notorious womaniser don Gaspar Gómez de Haro, in whose collection it was inventoried in 1651 (Brown 183). Anthony believes that the Duke's supposed Velázquez is a second version of the *Venus*, done secretly for the artist's private pleasure because he had some form of romantic attachment to the model. She has remained unknown because the face was deliberately blurred by Velázquez in *Venus*, but Anthony speculates that it might have been de Haro's wife, or else one of his lovers.[67] Before seeing it though, Anthony had told the Duke and his family that Velázquez had a very ordinary, non-dramatic personal life, causing Paquita to retort "a fuerza de conocimientos adquiridos en museos y bibilotecas, se ha apoderado de Velázquez y lo ha moldeado a su imagen y semejanza" (73), a typically postmodern understanding of knowledge as discourse, and of the impossibility of ever apprehending the original object "as it was."[68] Anthony's rival, Edwin Garrigaw will also use a similiar argument to admonish him for his erroneous attribution of the painting to the Spanish master:[69]

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noche de los tiempos, it is the anarchists who threaten art because they are unable to understand it, seeing in the El Greco only its religious subject (although anarchists also burn religious paintings in *La hora* because they see it as propaganda).

[67] Brown mentions that "one contemporary description of [Don Gaspar's wife] inevitably recalls *Venus and Cupid*, although it is obvious that Velázquez took pains to avoid comparison of Venus to any real woman by blurring the features in the mirror reflection" (Brown 183).

[68] This is very similar to a comment made by Muller in his discussion of Velázquez' inspiration for *Venus del espejo.* "Surely Velázquez need not necessarily have borrowed the idea of painting a back view of a nude from some earlier painting? It might as easily have been suggested to him by the body of some live model. Some of these analyses make one wonder if the eminent scholars who expound them are not over-ready to believe that a painter always finds inspiration in the work of other artists (or in philosophical texts) and never in life [...]. They therefore attribute to [the artist] similar preoccupations to their own [...] but which are in fact the interests of thinkers and literary men, and not of painters" (199).

[69] Interestingly, though, there is a parallel between Edwin Garrigaw, the fictional curator of the National Gallery in London, and Lord Ronald Gower, patron of the National Art Collections Fund, who, in 1905, opposed the acquisition of Velázquez's *Venus del espejo* for the National Gallery on moral grounds. At the time, there was a great deal of controversy surrounding its authenticity, as its style and subject were different to the master's other paintings. Haskell hints that Gower's homosexuality might have been partially responsible for his opposition: "uno no puede por menos de preguntarse si su actitud hacia la compra de esta obra maestra de Velázquez habría sido la misma si hubiera representado un bello desnudo de hombre en vez de mujer [...]" (232). In *Riña,* Anthony also blames Garrigaw's homosexuality for his theories regarding the painting, saying in conversation to Paquita: "creo que después de pintar ese cuadro, o mientras lo pintaba, Velázquez atravesó por una tremenda crisis personal, de la que nunca logró reponerse, y que la causa real de la crisis está en el cuadro. Llevo años

> Desengáñese, Whitelands, en la apreciación de una obra de arte, el 50% se corresponde con la realidad; el otro 50% lo integran nuestros gustos, nuestros prejuicios, nuestra educación y, sobre todo, las circunstancias. Y si no estamos en presencia de la obra e interviene la memoria, el peso de la realidad se reduce a un mero 10%. La memoria es flaca, idealiza, es negligente, los recuerdos se intercambian datos entre sí [...] (265)

This is a clear message that we are not to take any "one-eyed" discourse seriously, and must always be ready to question our own assumptions and prejudices, as well as those which have been put forth in authoritative/official arenas.

One other painting plays an important role in the novel: it is Titian's *La muerte de Acteón*, a copy of which hangs in the Duke's hallway. This painting stimulates general reflection upon the interpretation of history and art, and more specifically challenges hegemonic interpretation of Spanish history as having been ruled by a violent passion peculiar to its people. It appears numerous times in the novel, indicating its importance as a metaphor for what was happening in Spain and how we should view those events in the current day. The painting, one of Titian's greatest works, depicts the story of Actaeon, who, in the Ovidian version, accidentally surprises the goddess Diana as she is about to have a bath. In a rage, she transforms him into a deer and he is torn apart by his own dogs. Another version, we are told in *Riña,* "cuenta que Acteón había querido seducir la diosa, de palabra o por la fuerza" (32). It is worth repeating the novel's description of the painting here, as both this and the stories which inspired it will have later resonance:

> Tiziano representa la escena de un modo incoherente: Diana todavía conserva su ropa y en vez de maldecir a Acteón parece como si se dispusiera a lanzarle una flecha o se la hubiera lanzado ya; la tranformación del desdichado cazado no ha hecho más que empezar: todavía conserva su cuerpo de hombre, pero le ha slido una cabeza de ciervo desproporcionadamente pequeña; esto no impide que los perros ya le ataquen con la ferocidad que habrían puesto en una pieza de caza ordinaria, aunque en rigor deberían

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discutiendo este punto con un experto inglés, un viejo profesor de Cambridge, actualmente conservador en la National Gallery. Él sostiene [...] una tesis contraria a la mía. A él no le gustan las mujeres, y quizá por este motivo [...] (191).

> haber reconocido el olor de su amo. (33)

The second time Anthony considers it, he is waiting to organise the sale of the Velázquez with the Duke, and it dampens his audacious mood (141). The Duke is unable to see him on that occasion, and when Anthony returns the following day, he is again left alone with the painting while the majordomo goes to fetch Paquita in her father's absence. This time, the Englishman wonders why a painting with such violence "hubiera ido a parar a un lugar tan prominente de la austera casa de los duques" because despite the "tópico carácter fogoso de los españoles, en la pintura española no tiene cabida la cólera y la venganza" (178). He speculates that the reason might be the prestige of the artist or the length of time which has passed since the painting's production, both justifications being for him a "perversión del arte" because "el contenido del cuadro era esencial, y la intención con que el artista lo había realizado no sólo seguía vigente al cabo de los siglos [...]" (178). These reflections contain two important messages. In the first place, there is a rejection of the oft-repeated stereotype of the Spanish people's propensity to violence and civil war, the cliché of the "two Spains." Anthony thinks that Velázquez would never have painted the scene in the way Titian did, implying that there is room for reflection and reserve in Spanish sensibilities. The second point concerns the ethical importance of art and its timeless observations on the human condition, a point which, as we have seen, also emerged during Anthony's appreciation of the various Velázquez paintings. If we transpose this message to the consideration of Mendoza's novel as a work of art, we are reminded to treat its subject matter seriously. It might be a comic novel, but like all comedy, it is intimately linked to tragedy and contains keen observations on human folly.[70] Further political and philosophical implications are teased out in the painting's later appearances in the novel. Thus, when Anthony is hiding in the Duke's Palace after his illicit sexual encounter with Paquita, it acquires personal (and somewhat melodramatic) resonance for him: "Ahora [...] la imagen del arrogante cazador condenado a una muerte cruel, destrozado por los perros, sólo por haber gozado sin

[70] The interrelationship between comedy and tragedy has been recognised since the modernist period (cf. Sypher 194; Weitz 137) and, as Cardona and Zahareas have noted, they are especially combined in the esperpento tradition (46-7), with which *Riña* has much in common. Northrop Frye, however, famously assigned them to contrasting *mythoi* in his essay on genre (162).

querer del contacto fugaz con una diosa asequible pero inmisericorde, tenía mucho en común con su propia experiencia" (306). In contrast to this association, President Manuel Azaña uses it as a metaphor for the political situation in Spain:

> Muchos piensan que estamos justamente en esta situación. La falta irreparable ya ha sido cometida, la flecha dejó atrás el arco; sólo nos queda esperar a que nuestros propios perros nos hagan pedazos. A mi me gustaría pensar de otra manera. Les diré más. Yo creo que la flecha que nos puede matar es precisamente el derrotismo de todos. Nunca en España ha habido un consenso tan amplio como hoy. (337-38)[71]

His use of art stands in direct contrast to Anthony's earlier reflection upon the seemingly inevitable catastrophe that awaited Spain when he contemplated the portraits of Lezcano and Diego de Acedo. The tension between two ways of interpreting history which we discussed above is thus made manifest again, although in a subtle manner.

Finally, the painting's hunting imagery brings us to the title of the novel itself, which has been linked by Jose Carlos Mainer to a painting by Goya called *Gatos riñendo* ("Un cuadro"). It depicts two cats hissing at each other on top of a brick wall in the centre foreground, against a huge expanse of grey sky, the nature of the fighting animals being captured with dramatic realism. The name has additional resonances, however, and as Mainer has pointed out, "gatos" is the name given to people from Madrid since the Middle Ages, while the imagery of cats and dogs, hunters and hunted, weak and powerful, provides the moral of Eduardo Mendoza's fable. A catfight conjures up images of infighting over trivial matters, and Teniente-Coronel Marranón will say to Anthony, in reference to the clashes between Falangists and their enemies, that the *señoritos* are like cats: "Los tiras de la azotea y no hay manera" (414). Azaña also considers that "los grupos extremistas de la derecha, como los tradicionalistas o los presuntos fascistas de la Falange, son cuatro gatos a los que sus amos atan corto con

[71] This description of the painting is followed by a narratorial digression which agrees with Azaña's assessment, and was discussed on page ninechange this to its page in overall thesis of this chapter.

la correa de la tacañería" (337).[72] On the other hand, José Antonio calls the general's conspiracy a dog fight, these being notoriously bloody and vicious (and more masculine in its associations, a catfight being used exclusively to describe fighting women). The cats, the weaker animals, are caught up in mutual backbiting while the dogs, the powerful ones, poise themselves to seize control. Finally, it is noteworthy that Mendoza includes no descriptions of Goya's paintings in his novel. Goya painted the horrors of war in full, and his "Desastres de guerra" are painfully arresting (the "Desastres de guerra" are also referred to in *La noche de los tiempos* by painter and poet, José Moreno Villa, after the Civil War has broken out (815)). Although Mendoza adopts some elements of the grotesque, there always remains a lightness, for it is not in his style to make horror explicit, and it is with the understatement of Velázquez that he ultimately shares the greater affinity.[73]

Character and Caricature

Riña de gatos is peopled with a variety of stylised fictional types and historical characters, and typically of comedy, none of them, not even Anthony, is drawn with great psychological depth.[74] Despite this, as Heller has observed of comedy in general, they are endowed with a complexity that results from their philosophy or philosophical significance (82). Mendoza makes use of different comic types and techniques to indicate the function of characters in the plot, the first and most important being caricature and parody. These are used, for instance, in the description of Pedro Teacher, the shady art dealer who organises Anthony's trip to Madrid (and who, tellingly, looks like a cat):

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[72] The expression "son cuatro gatos" is also a Spanish colloquialism used to designate a handful of people, and its employment by Azaña here illustrates once more the layers of subtlety in Mendoza's linguistic play.

[73] For an interesting exploration on the links between Goya and Valle-Inclán, see *Goya en el esperpento de Valle-Inclán* by Luis Lorenzo-Rivero (1998), although he perhaps over-emphasises Goya's liberalism and anti-clericalism.

[74] Following Bergson, comic characters have frequently been described as belonging to type, and/or of being inflexible and making gestures rather than actions (cf. Meredith and Bergson 152-7; Frye 176). Rigidity is not uniform in comic genres, however, and one can contrast, as Sypher does, between a figure such as don Quixote, who may make mechanical gestures but nevertheless enters the realm of human action, and a Tartuffe, a comic machine who merely gesticulates (226).

> Frisaba la cuarenta y era de corta estatura, facciones aniñadas y manos blancas y diminutas que al hablar revoloteaban sin cesar delante de su cara. Un bigote fino con las puntas ligeramente arqueadas hacia arriba y unos ojos redondos y grises le daban aspecto de gato; en su cutis se insinuaba una ligera capa de maquillaje y desprendía un perfume caro y dulzón. Llevaba monóculo, calzaba botín y polaina y vestía de un modo exquisito pero desacertado para su figura: sus prendas, de la mejor calidad, habrían dado prestancia an un hombre alto; en él resultaban un punto cómicas. (26)

Captain Coscolluela, the policeman assigned to bring Anthony in for questioning, is similarly caricatured, making himself unintentionally conspicuous by wearing a hat and sunglasses while reading a newspaper outside his hotel (119). As Ferriol says, caricatures are theatrical puppets with exaggerated features whose function is to represent in a farcical mode a social picture which questions the absurdity of the pretensions of sense, logic and truth (20-2). The dehumanised puppet is a central feature of the Spanish esperpento tradition, where, as Almedia has noted in Valle-Inclán, characters do not appear to act independently, but rather react, either in a socially prescribed manner to a given situation, or out of pure instinct. Typical esperpento characters, she adds, are born physically, mentally and spiritually into a deformed social order, expressing social determinism at its bleakest (15-16). In *Riña* the most esperpento-like figures are the working-class, fifteen-year-old prostitute Toñina and her mother La Justa. They are poor and pitiful figures without a great deal of autonomy or agency, although, as typical in Mendoza, they are nevertheless endowed with a tough endurance and common sense that enables them to survive in a brutal world. Toñina, as will be seen in 3.2, also plays a central role in the plot, and is like a deformed counterpart to the Duke's daughter Paquita, the aristocratic *femme fatale.*

Paquita and her family are drawn in a way which is reminiscent of the novel (and comedy) of manners, suitable to their status as aristocrats, and the Duchess Maruja is described, for example, as "una mujer menuda de una leve fealdad que la edad y la ausencia de afectación habían transformado en dignidad [...]. Su espontaneidad y su candor irreprimibles le hacían incurrir en frecuentes errores y cometer inocentes meteduras de pata, que eran celebradas por quienes la conocían y le profesaban el

más tierno cariño" (41). By including characters from esperpento or grotesque realism as well as from the comedy of manners, Mendoza unites two somewhat opposed comic traditions. As we noted in the previous discussion on Velázquez and Goya, it is typical of Mendoza to balance absurdity and grotesquery with a more refined sensibility. His is not bitter irony, but playful interrogation.

Another technique used by Mendoza to describe character is through ironic allusions to famous actors, and the Duke's younger daughter, Lilí, tells Anthony that he looks like the English actor Leslie Howard, while Anthony later envisages the Communist agent Kolia as the actor George Raft, known for his role in gangster movies of the 1930s and 1940s.[75] The services of art are also engaged, with working-class double agent Higinio Zamora Zamorano being likened by Anthony to Velázquez's *Menipo*. This resemblance indicates his role as a parodic figure who will be used to satirise the communist party, as will be seen in section two, and there may also be a sly hint in the similarity of his surname to that of the deposed president of the Second Republic, Alcalá Zamora, who plays a small but crucial part in the novel. Indeed, all the real historical characters, with the exception of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, play minor roles, as is typical of the classical historical novel. Their physical descriptions, political speeches, and personalities are all represented in accordance with the accepted historical record, although they are always subjected to irony, and sometimes outright ridicule. This is not to say that there has not been a certain amount of fictionalisation: while the novel spans José Antonio's last nine days of freedom in March 1936, the events in which his novelistic self participates are entirely made up. For example, while his eventual arrest on a charge of arms possession happened historically for reasons of political expedience,[76] in the novel Paquita's mother requests her old friend, Alcalá Zamora, to orchestrate the arrest in order to protect her family.[77]

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[75] The technique of drawing on famous actors for character description is also used in a more subtle fashion in Mendoza's *Una comedia ligera* (2000), as observed by Ana Spitzmesser (35).

[76] See note 60.

[77] The representation of José Antonio will be explored in greater depth in the second section of this chapter.

3.2 Interpreting the Origins of the War

Anthony Whitelands and the Ridiculing of Political Radicalism

Anthony Whitelands plays the role of the "fool"—a literary figure who, according to Bakhtin, exposes convention and "all that is vulgar and falsely stereotyped in human relationships" (*Dialogic* 162)—and his innocent and uncomprehending gaze highlights the contradictions of pre-Civil War politics. In this, he is also akin to the *pícaro* or the parvenu (a successful *pícaro)*, figures often used by Mendoza in his novels for the purposes of social criticism on account of his joint insider/outsider status and consequent ability to traverse segregated spaces (cf. Oswald 38; Bou 148). Anthony is an insider in so much as he is an expert on Spanish painting, but he is painfully naïve in many other respects. Being a conservative English gentleman of no particular professional distinction, he also resembles a hero from a Walter Scott novel, and as George Lukács noted of Scott's heroes, these qualities, coupled with a lack of political passion, places him in an ideal position to act as a mediator between the warring historical forces in which he is caught up.[78] Anthony himself will recognise this fact after he has been unwillingly drawn into yet another political intrigue, reflecting that "había ido a Madrid a tasar un cuadro y sin saber cómo se había convertido en el punto de colisión de todas las fuerzas de la Historia de España" (254).

His status as outsider is highlighted from the very beginning of the novel, often in terms of stereotypes about Spanish and British people. The following is an extract from the letter which opens the novel, which Anthony has written to terminate the affair with his lover, Catherine, while he is travelling to Madrid:

> [...] el cielo es infinito y la luz, heroica. En nuestro país andamos siempre con la cabeza baja y la vista fija en el suelo, oprimidos; aquí, donde la tierra nada ofrece, los hombres andan con la cabeza erguida, mirando el horizonte. *Es tierra de violencia, de pasión, de*

[78] Lukács writes that "the 'hero' of a Scott novel is always a more or less mediocre, average English gentleman. He generally possesses a certain, though never outstanding, degree of practical intelligence, a certain moral fortitude and decency which even rises to the capacity for self-sacrifice, but which never grows into a sweeping human passion, is never enraptured devotion to a great cause" (55).

> *grandes gestos individualistas.* No como nosotros, unidos a nuestra estrecha moral y a nuestras nimias convenciones sociales [emphases added] (8).

The section in italics echoes the stereotypical British characterisations of Spaniards which could be found in popular fiction of the time.[79] They were also common in the descriptions of the Generation of '98, and there is something Barojian in the description of the sky and the light as infinite and heroic. On the other hand, the Falangists used such language to justify violent struggle against the Republic in the name of restoring a mythical Hispanic glory (cf. Preston "Politics" 31). The letter is followed immediately by the one word query "Inglis?", addressed to Anthony by a passenger on the train. Their subsequent conversation reinforces Anthony's outsider status, as well as making his political disinterestedness clear, and when he replies in the affirmative to the question, the passenger continues: "No inglis. Yo, espanis. Usted inglis, yo espanis. España muy diferente de Inglaterra. Different. España, sol, toros, guitarras, vino. Everibodi olé. Inglaterra, no sol, no toros, no alegría. Everibodi kaput" (9).[80] Anthony replies coldly that he is aware of the difficulties of Spanish politics, but as a foreigner, does not consider himself "autorizado a inmiscuirme en los asuntos internos de su país ni a emitir opiniones al respeto" (10).[81] This will be an attitude that he maintains throughout the novel, even as he is increasingly drawn into political intrigue on account of his involvement in the sale of the Duke of Igualada's paintings.

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[79] In his study, *British Representations of the Spanish Civil War* (2006), Brian Shelmerdine writes that romanticisation of the Castillian landscape and Spanish rural life was common in British travel literature of the period, and Toledo was frequently referred to as an embodiment of the "heroic spirit of Spain" (41). Later on, in pro-Francoist British accounts (as well as in those of the Francoists themselves), peasant life was endowed with an almost mythical status (23,40). Spanish individualism was touted by pro-Republican British people as a reason why communism would never succeed there, as well as providing an explanation for the popularity of anarchism (67). However, while popular literature usually classed British people as superior in every way, Anthony describes his countrymen as being oppressed by narrow-mindedness and petty social convention in comparison to the Spaniards.

[80] The passenger's pronouncements also draw upon stereotypes, and are similar to those made by a protagonist in Arthur Behrend's *The House of the Spaniard* (1935) a popular novel which was transferred to film the following year. The plot borrows from the uprising of October 1934, but eschews historical authenticity and places the events in the context of innate Spanish revolutionary temperament and inept government. "My country Spain is not like England. In England you have plenty political parties too—communistas, sindicalistas, republicanos, separatistas—but none work for Spain. We are quite hopeless," the protagonist confides (qtd. in Shelmerdine 22).

[81] Such a refusal to become embroiled in the affairs of foreigners is again typical of British attitudes of the time, with George Orwell writing that "ordinary people, especially the huge untouchable block of the middle class and better-off working class [...] do not feel that what happens in foreign countries is any of their business" (qtd. in Shelmerdine 24).

As a result of his outsider status, political dialogue in the novel only occurs through him, the opposing sides having already shut off communication and replaced it with a violent silencing of the other. For example, when he first meets the Duke of Igualada, the latter immediately complains to him about the growing chaos in Spain. Despite his monarchist leanings, he is a relatively moderate, sympathetic figure who admits that social injustice abounds in the country and supports reform. He also exhibits a somewhat more informed understanding of the motivations for the church-burning than might be stereotypically expected from a member of the conservative right of the time: "Estos actos no son propios de comunistas ni responden a ninguna ideología, señor Whitelands. Son simple salvajismo y sed de sangre. Luego intervino el Ejército y la Guardia Civil y la represión fue terrible. *Hemos enloquecido, y no hay más que hablar"* [emphases added] (38). He goes on to say that he feels guilty about leaving the country in such a state: "es como abandonar a un ser querido en la última etapa de una enfermedad incurable" (38). The second quotation, along with the italicised sentence in the first, contains echoes of later interpretations of the Civil War. Medical metaphors were common in pre-war and post-war discourse, but are particularly reminiscent of Francoist rhetoric, which justified the military uprising and brutal post-war repression as a necessary purge of the sickness of Marxist ideas.[82] Similarly, although many contemporaries may have viewed the growing political instability of 1936 as an insanity—as we saw in Chapter 2—it was not until the 1960s that the war became widely interpreted by the public as a "collective madness."[83] What we see here, then, is a dialogue between different historical interpretations of the war as much as an analysis that might have been made at the time. At the end of his disquisition, the Duke refers to the difficulty of speaking to anyone candidly in the current political climate, making explicit Anthony's role of interlocutor: "[...]

[82] This rhetoric was supported by the psychiatrists of the regime, most notable among them, Antonio Vallejo Nájera, who said that "el sufragio universal ha demoralizado a las masas, y como en estas han de predominar necesariamente la defiencia mental y la psicopatía, al dar igual valor al voto de los selectos que al de los indeseables, predominarían los últimos en los puestos directivos, en perjuicio del porvernir de la raza" (qtd. in González Duro 49-50).

[83] In *La noche de los tiempos,* to be examined in Chapter 3, there are also numerous references to irrationality and madness, and Juan Negrín, the last Prime Minister of the Republic, will refer to wartime Madrid as being like a madhouse, where everyone is talking at cross purposes and no one has a clear idea of what they are fighting for (817).

últimamente tengo pocas ocasiones de hablar [...]. La gente tiene miedo de expresar su opinión y no digamos de revelar sus planes. Ya no hay amigos, sino correligionarios" (38). The Duke's lament about the radicalisation of society is illustrated shortly afterwards, when Anthony witnesses a confrontation between Falangists and left-wing activists in a bar. The last line of the following quotation (in italics) ironically hints that while the two groups may appear to be diametrically opposed, they are in fact identical in their attempts to silence the other: "El conflicto inicial había alcanzado ya la fase de los insultos. Los obreros gritaban: ¡Fascistas!, a lo que los otros respondían: ¡Rojos! *Ambos coincidían en calificarse recíprocamente de ¡cabrones!*" [emphases added] (53).[84] One of the bar patrons buys Anthony a drink and explains the reason for the argument, with other becoming gradually drawn in "de modo que a los pocos minutos se había formado un sonoro y sentencioso debate en el que varios parroquianos se disputaban la atención del forastero para ofrecerle su irrefutable diagnóstico sobre los males de España y su sencilla solución" (54). The tone of polemic continues to rise, with Anthony's suggestion that all could be resolved through negotiation and dialogue provoking am overwhelmingly negative reaction "porque, al no defender la postura de nadie, todos lo consideraban un aliado del contrario" (56). The ironic tone of the narrator here exposes the short-sightedness of political dogmatism in contrast to Anthony's mild reasonableness and democratic outlook. The debate now rising to even more intense levels, Higinio Zamora Zamorano leads Anthony out of the bar, ostensibly to save him from being attacked, although we will later learn that he has ulterior motives.

Higinio initially tells Anthony that he is not a member of any syndicates or political parties, although it later emerges that he is a double agent for the Communist Party and the British Embassy. Through his repeated meetings with Higinio, Anthony is

[84] In an interview with Ian Gibson on the subject of José Antonio's relationship with García Lorca, the poet Gabriel Celaya said of the separate *tertulias* they attended at La Ballena Alegre: "Nos conocíamos a todos y nos insultábamos, pero era todo como un juego porque nos decíamos: ¡Cabrones! ¡Fascistas! ¡Rojos! Esto sería el año 34. No había hostilidad" (qtd. inTrapiello 163). These were artists and intellectuals, not members of the working class, but the parallel serves as a reminder of the fraternisation that existed between proponents of different ideologies before the attempted coup forced them to choose sides or go into exile. Even José Bergamín, who would later prove himself to be a rather instransigent Stalinist, counted the Falangist Sánchez Mazas among his friends before the war.

exposed to working class misery and Marxist theory, while the former's involvement with the Communist Party also providing multiple opportunities for a satire of Stalinism. For example, in their second meeting, Higinio tells Anthony that he supports the proletariat, but is dismissive of the potential for revolution, saying that "lo primero es tomarse la cosa en serio: unidad y disciplina" (113). The Communist Party in Spain, as in in Moscow, was known for its extraordinary discipline, and it is therefore characteristic of Higinio to emphasise the need for this. Higinio and his friend La Justa subsequently begin a debate about the relative merits of a military coup, but it is soon interrupted by the old, half-crazed Doña Agapita, who cries out "¡Churros, aguardiente y limoná!" (114), the farcical carnivalesque effect frustrating monologising political rhetoric. Communism is also ridiculed in a scene where Higinio tries to persuade Anthony to take Toñina with him to England and make a decent woman of her (also a parody of the *folletín*). When Higinio mentions the imminence of revolution, Anthony asks him sarcastically, "¿Y la revolución bolchevique no se producirá si yo le pongo un piso a la Toñina?" (203) Wounded, Higinio replies that while they cannot stop the course of History, "lo que sí podemos es resolver el problema de esa pobre chica." Here, as elsewhere, the Marxist view of history as leading inevitably to the dictatorship of the proletariat is questioned, as Higinio is willing to act in an anti-Marxist way in order to ensure the comfort of his adopted daughter. Of course, while it is not known at this point in the novel, Higinio is also a British agent, and perhaps values life in Britain more than a potential communist paradise in Spain.[85]

The most interesting relationship of the novel relationship is that between Anthony and the Falangist leader, José Antonio Primo de Rivera, enabling the human side of the Falangist leader to show through and deconstructing myths which have either glorified him as a Francoist hero or villified him as a crude, totalitarian fascist.[86] At the

[85] Further examples of the ridiculing of communism will be seen later in this section, when Anthony is almost assassinated by a Soviet agent.

[86] Mendoza says in an interview that he chose to portray José Antonio because he is a very interesting figure, and because there is very little bibliography on him other than the hagiography of the era. He adds that "los historiadores coinciden en que era un memo, pero sobre él se creó la columna vertebral de un país durante 40 años, lo que dice poco de ese país" (Mendoza "Trastero"), and this is a conclusion that is repeated by a number of characters in the the novel, with the policeman Coscolluela saying for

same time, the Falange's minority status before the war is revealed, as well as Franco's distaste for the party and its leader. This characterisation corrects the frequent misperception that the military uprising was at its heart fascist, a perception which was born out of Franco's later instrumentalisation and massification of the Falange for his own political ends.[87]

The first time José Antonio appears in the novel, he is a furtive figure spied by Anthony through a window, and is having an intense conversation with the Duke's daughter Paquita. Although we do not yet know his identity, the image imbues him with romantic mystery, evoking the glorification of his memory by Francoist propagandists. A positive image is further established when Anthony first meets him face-to-face at the Duke's house the following day. He is intelligent, culturally refined, charming and handsome, aspects of the real man which have been signalled by both admirers and critics (cf. Gibson 197-204 (although he vigorously denies that José Antonio was a genuine poet or intellectual); Payne "Falange" 25). At the same time, though, his hostility to democracy and his support for violence are made clear, and he says to Anthony: "En España el experimento de la democracia liberal ha fracasado con estrépito. La Historia no nos ha preparado para este sistema, cuyos méritos no niego, siempre que sea lo que ha de ser, y no una mera excusa para el sectarismo, la demagogia y la corrupción" (79).[88] Anthony is typically non-comittal in his reply,

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example, "[...] es un memo y un irresponsable, y sus seguidores, unos fanáticos que harían lo que él les dijera sin pararse a pensar" (128).

[87] As the emminent historian, Herbert Southworth has said: "El 1 de abril de 1939, al terminar la guerra civil, cualquier observador podría haber llegado justificadamente a la conclusión de que los fascistas españoles habían conquistado efectivamente el Estado. La suposición hubiera sido errónea. La Falange se encontraba, ciertamente, cercana a la conquista del Estado, pero aún no se había obtenido la victoria" (47). He adds that Franco was obliged to turn to the fascists in order to provide an ideological basis for his regime as a result of the failure of the conservative parties in 1936. At the same time, Preston warns that the relationship between the Falange and Franco was not one of "master and servant" (*Politics* 7), while Sheelagh Ellwood argues that, contrary to present-day Falangist opinion, the Falange was no innocent bystander in the usurpation of its symbols, style and ideals by Franco. The party had been dying before February 1936, and it was only through an alliance with the military that they had a continued chance for survival (59).

[88] José Antonio frequently railed against the failure of political and economic liberalism, which had led to a corrupt political system and a type of capitalism which left the majority of people in conditions of abject misery. In a lecture given at the Círculo Mercantil of Madrid on 9 April 1935, for example, he says "liberalism has its great period, the one in which it establishes all men as equal before the law, a victory from which there can be no retrocession [...]" but "it is precisely under the thesis of supposedly indivisible national sovereignty that opinions are most divided, for as each group seeks that its own will

refusing Paquita's challenge to provide a more robust defence of his supposedly liberal English principles than a profession of loyalty to his country. Approving of Anthony's patriotic response, José Antonio continues by saying, as the historical figure did in his speeches, that there was a great difference between Britain and Spain, and that it was the former's huge empire which had enabled democracy to flourish there; countries without such empires needed to create a different political model, as Italy and Germany had done.[89] This final statement finally provokes Anthony into a stronger reaction, and when he asks in horror if José Antonio is proposing a totalitarian regime for Spain, the Marquis replies that he wants to save it from the worse totalitarianism of the Soviet Union.[90] As usual in *Riña,* the debate is not allowed to become any more serious, and the conversation turns to lighter subjects. When José Antonio leaves shortly after, his absence causes a general lull, a detail which further reinforces the magnetism of his personality.

A different, more negative image of him will emerge the following day when Anthony is questioned about the Marquis. The Englishman pretends not to know him, and taking his denial at face value, police lieutenant-colonel Marranón gives a detailed explanation of José Antonio's background and political activities. The information is not given directly in his voice, but as an indirect report, giving it an impression of factual accuracy: "El individuo en cuestión era el hijo de Miguel Primo de Rivera, un

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shall be identified with the presumptive sovereign will, the groups grow more and more obliged to define themselves, to adopt distinctive attitudes, to fight, to destroy one another and to try to win the electoral battles" (155). Similarly, economic liberalism also had "its heroic age of life" in the eighteenth century, when it brought about the industrial revolution, but the birth of its child, modern capitalism, had also caused its death (157).

[89] The importance of imperial expansion for overcoming class war is extensively laid out in a note to the 1938 edition of the book *Genio de España,* by one of the major Falangist thinkers, Ernesto Giménez Caballero: "El sentimiento de igualdad social en el ataque a otros países que son desiguales a nostoros. Esa expansión de porbres y ricos de un país, contra otras tierra, es lo que constituye la motivación íntima del Imperio" (qtd. in Gibson 28).

[90] In a speech made at Teatro Calderón in Valladolid on March 3 1935, José Antonio spoke of the barbarian invasion that was represented by Russian communism and the need to defend against it and to "save absolute truth [and] historic values", saying that one of the possibile solutions is totalitarianism. But he then added that "there is no such thing as a totalitarian state. Certain nations have found dictators of genius, who have been up to the task of subsituting themselves for the state; but that cannot be imitated, and in Spain, for the time being we shall have to wait for such a genius to appear. Germany and Italy are examples of what is called the totalitarian state, but notice how they are not only not similar, but even radically unlike each other" (144). However, in a manner typical of his confused and contradictory thinking, he wrote in "Letter to a Spanish Soldier" (early 1936) that the army must "set out in search of an integrating, totalitarian and national destiny" (251).

general golpista, Dictador en España entre 1923 y 1930" (125). The profile is finished by a return to direct speech: "'No sabemos lo que trama en la actualidad," dijo el teniente coronel a modo de conclusión, "pero ha estado haciendo llamamientos constantes a la rebelión armada ni descarta que trate de dar un golpe de estado" (126). When Anthony asks him if he genuinely thinks that José Antonio would do such a thing, Marranón tells him that he might try, but would not succeed because, "en rigor, Falange Española y de las JONS no pinta nada. Los fundadores son unos señoritos ociosos; sus seguidores, un puñado de estudiantes y en los últimos tiempos media docena de pistoleros a sueldo" (127). The colonel finishes by ordering his subordinate, Captain Coscolluela to explain how the Falange is organised. He does so, also informing us that the conspiring generals "le han dado con la puerta en las narices" when José Antonio tried to orgnaise an alliance with them (in contrast to Francoist mythologisation), and finishing his exposition with a highly impassioned denunciation of him and his party.

Anthony will have a next, unexpected encounter with José Antonio later that day when he is spying on the Duke's palace, having mysteriously been denied a meeting with its owner. He soon sees the Duke exit with an unknown individual, and when they part ways, decides to follow the stranger. However, he has only gone a few steps when he is assaulted from behind by two armed men and knocked to the ground in a comic scene: "La situación es tan absurda que siente más indignación que miedo. '¡Soy inglés!' grita con voz de falsete" (151). The man whom Anthony had been following orders the *pistoleros* to let him be, revealing himself to be none other than José Antonio. He invites Anthony to come for dinner, bringing him first to the Falangist headquarters, where he sees another, harder side to the charismatic leader: "Erguida la espalda, los ojos brillantes y las mejillas encendidas, José Antonio impartía consignas con la autoridad de quien sólo concibe la obediencia ciega" (154-55). Despite such misgivings, the Englishman will find himself enjoying the company of the Falangists, whom he realises are mostly young university students. He is introduced to the main Falangist ideologist and later Francoist minister, Rafael Sánchez Mazas, and "simpatizó con él de inmediato" (157), and when they go out for dinner afterwards,

Anthony admits to himself that José Antonio exerts a considerable charm over him, but then worries, "¿qué no sería capaz de provocar en unas masas predispuestas y en un ambiente adecuado a la exaltación y el enardecimiento?" (161). Nevertheless, he initially feels confirmed in his impression of the party as being relatively unthreatening when he attends a Falangist rally with Paquita. This changes, though, when José Antonio addresses the audience to call for civil war, and he tells Paquita that he thinks the Falangist leader is crazy. Paquita, in return, provides him with a shrewd analysis of the party and its leadership:

> Me doy perfecta cuenta de que la ideología de José Antonio es inconsistente, el partido no tiene programa ni base social, y su famosa elocuencia consiste en hablar con salero sin decir nada concreto. En cuanto a los demás, Ruiz de Alda es sólo un símbolo; Raimundo Fernández Cuesta es un notario sin capacidad política, y Rafael Sánchez Mazas es un intelectual, no un hombre de acción. Ninguno de ellos tiene la autoridad ni el sentido de la estrategia imprescindibles para dirgir un movimiento revolucionario. José Antonio posee estas cualidades, pero le repugna ejercerlas. (217)

Her words cause Anthony to revise his opinion of the Falange yet again. Having previously thought it "un movimiento sólido y sin fisuras", he now realises that "a pesar de la arrogancia y la megalomanía de sus portavoces, la Falange era un grupo pequeño y marginal, cohesionado por la labia de su fundador y por un estado permanente de peligro físico que impedía a sus miembros hacer balance frío de la situación" (218).

Another important carnivalesque element to the portrayal of José Antonio in the novel is his romantic relationship with Paquita and the love triangle that develops with Anthony. There are some similarities between the fictional two-way love story and the real one which existed between José Antonio and Pilar Azlor de Aragón, the duchess of de Luna. The latter was a member of the higher echelons of the Spanish aristocracy, but her father opposed their union, most likely because of the difference in rank. He was also a convinced monarchist who hated José Antonio's father, the dictator Miguel Primo de Rivera, for bringing disgrace upon King Alfonso XIII. Despite her father's opposition, Pilar and José Antonio continued to meet in secret, and José Antonio was

convinced that one day they would marry. However, their relationship ended after the Falange was founded, and according to Ian Gibson, Serrano Suñer once said that José Antonio ended the affair because he did not feel he had a right to be with her in the midst of the growing violence between the Falange and the left (Gibson 22). In Mendoza's novel, Paquita and José Antonio have long been in love, but her father will not let them marry and the narrator informs us ironically that José Antonio accepts the situation, "imbuido del papel que le tenía reservado la Historia y consciente de estar predestinado a una muerte heroica y prematura" (369).[91] The Director General of Security, Mallol, suggests to Anthony that Paquita is the reason for José Antonio's extreme actions (223) and her manipulation of Anthony's desire for her seems to confirm her status as a *femme fatale.* However, while she ostensibly gives herself to Anthony in exchange for keeping the Velázquez secret, it emerges that she did so in order to lose her virginity and remove José Antonio's qualms about despoiling her out of wedlock. In a further twist, Paquita discovers that she has feelings for Anthony too, but believes she has ruined her chances with both men, becoming the epitome of the fallen woman. While she agonises to her sister Lilí (who has a secret crush on Anthony), Toñina arrives to tell her that Anthony is about to be assassinated by Communists, and Paquita asks José Antonio to save him.[92] During all this, the Duke's Falangist son, Guillermo, has become involved in a shoot-out with the police and is wounded and taken to hospital. Paquita, who is convinced that her family's troubles are punishment for her own sins, promises to God that she will become a virtuous woman if Guillermo is saved. This is indeed what will happen, and in a parody of the fate of fallen women in the *folletín,* she decides to enter a convent (Mangini González *xxiii*).

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[91] The irony of the sentence is reinforced by the reader's knowledge that José Antonio would die young and be given the status of mythical hero by Francoist propagandists, representing another overlapping of the chronotopes of past and present. However, José Antonio certainly saw of himself in such terms, and in an article called "Words of Homage and Reproach Address to don José Ortega y Gassett" (*Haz*, Dec. 1935) he finishes by writing that "the times we live in are relentless. Our fate is one of war, which may cost us life and limb and in which there can be no haggling" (Primo de Rivera 220).

[92] Lilí's attraction to Anthony would also appear to be drawn from the plot structures of the classical historical novel. Margarita Almela has noted that in many novels following the Scottian tradition, the hero is loved by two women, who returns only the love of the main heroine, usually a model of virtue and beauty. Her passivitiy in love is contrasted by the stronger, more active personality of the secondary heroine, who suffers on account of her love. This element of unrequited love gave the story a poetic or sentimental character (Almela 102).

The Military Conspirators

Innumerable pages have been devoted to the analysis of the war's origins, and even today there continues to be sharp disagreement between neo-Francoist interpretations which blame the left-wing uprising of 1934 and those (a majority) who take a much more nuanced view which is focused on the military uprising of 1936. As has already been shown, the novel strips the war of any romance that might have been associated with political idealism; now, it will be seen how the self-importance of the military plotters is deflated through comedy and farce. The conspirators, Generals Mola, Franco and Quiepo de Llano, first make an appearance when they meet with the Duke of Igualada to ask him for his support. They are not initially named, but described in sufficient detail that those with some historical knowledge would be able to identify them, such as in the following description of Franco: "Es el más joven de todos y el menos marcial. Bajo, tripudo, con una calvicie incipiente, tiene la cara fláccida y la voz atiplada" (281). The exposition continues for another half a page in a neutral historiographical tone, informing us of the attitude of Azaña, his fellow soldiers, and the Falangists towards him. The arguments put for and against organising a coup are also reported indirectly from the perspective of the generals. This abstract account will be contrasted sharply by the farcical events of the following chapter, the carnivalistic levelling making short shrift of their belief that they are acting as the saviours of Spain. The scene begins with Anthony sneaking into the Duke's garden in order to try and speak to Paquita. Unknown to him, he has been followed by the police captain, Coscolluela, and when the latter orders him down from the perimeter wall, he instead jumps into the garden and hides. Coscolluela climbs up after him, but is seen by the majordomo, who is about to shoot at him before the Duke intervenes. Franco orders the policeman to get down, but the latter replies that he cannot because he has been injured in war, telling them that he was following Anthony. The scene is finally brought to a close with a comical outburst from Franco:

> ¡Escúcheme bien, capitán! Sea cual sea el cargo administrativo que esté desempeñando, usted sigue siendo un oficial. ¡Un oficial del Ejército español! ¿Me ha entendido? ¿Sí?

> Pues entonces sabrá a quién debe obedecer y a quién no, y no sólo por la autoridad inherente a nuestra graduación, sino porque una orden contraria a nuestros intereses, por ser indigna, no la debe cumplir un oficial de nuestro glorioso Ejército ¡España está en peligro, capitán! *El movimiento comunista sólo espera una orden de los soviets para desencadenar la revolución y aniquilar España.* ¡Capitán Coscolluela! Un oficial español sólo debe lealtad a España, y los aquí presentes representamos a España [emphases added] (298).

The section in italics is, of course, the common justification for the military uprising made by the Francosits, although recent historiography has convincingly concluded that Moscow did not believe Spain was ready for revolution, and instructed the Communist Party (PCE) to help stabilise the democratic Republic after the 1936 elections (cf. Hernández Sánchez 72). The novel refers to these instructions in two narratorial digressions on pages 171 and 173, making Franco's fulminations here sound even more preposterous. Meanwhile, Anthony takes the opportunity to runs and hide in the Duke's house, where he subsequently overhears Quiepo de Llano attempting to convince Mola to take leadership of the uprising because "si esperamos a que Franquito se decida, nos darán las uvas" (305). The use of a diminutive for Spain's future "Generalissimo" contributes to the mockery which has already taken place, while the colloquial phrase strips Quiepo de Llano's words of the hierarchical authority with which the military is associated.

The International Context of the War

Due to his involvement in the sale of the Duke's paintings, Anthony will become an unwitting pawn who is caught between the forces of Germany, France, Russia and Great Britain as they struggle for control of the balance of power in Europe. Over the past fifteen years there has been a growing consensus among national and international historians that the coup escalated into an all-out war only because of the intervention of Germany and Italy, and the failure of France and Britain to do so. These interpretations thus grant far more importance to the international context than in the past, when the focus was almost exclusively on the historic social and

political tensions within the country.[93] The representation of the war's origins in *Riña de gatos* hints at this interpretation by exposing the hostility of Britain towards the USSR and consequently any political maneuvers in Spain which might increase Communist influence in the that country. At the same time, there is a ridiculing of Western anti-Communist paranoia through the parody of the spy thriller and of Communist Revolutionary violence during the assassination attempt.

The spy genre developed mainly in Britain in the late nineteenth century and then later in America, its exemplars deriving their plots from the international political concerns of their moment of production. Thus, during the interwar period, many British spy novels treated European balance-of-power politics, with the "Red Menace" featuring strongly after the Bolshevik Revolution, a fear which intensified during the Cold War period. The parody of it is, therefore, a perfect vehicle for the satire of the European powers, whose constant jockeying for position lead to the tragic waste of human life that was the two world wars. The elements of the thriller are set up from the very beginning: the art dealer, Pedro Teacher, is described as a man of "oscuros antecedentes" (25) of whom Anthony had heard speak in "en términos pocos elogiosos" (25), and is rumoured to have been involved in shady art transactions. When he proposes the job to Anthony, he admits that sale of the paintings will be illegal, but reassures him that Anthony's part is not. Nevertheless, for security reasons he insists that the subject of their conversation not go beyond "estas cuatro paredes" (26). The first hint of a wider international implication to the sale of the paintings does not emerge until Anthony recovers his lost passport from the British Embassy in Madrid. The diplomat, Harry Parker, mentions that Teacher is only half-English, which could imply divided loyalties, and that there are rumours he might be dabbling in

[93] For this new interpretation, see Viñas: *República en guerra* (2012), Aróstegui: *Por qué el 18 de Julio* (2006), Juliá: "De 'guerra' contra el invasor" (2006), Bernecker: *Guerra en españa* (1996), and Preston: *The Politics of Revenge* (1995). Viñas is perhaps the most vocal spokesperson of this view, having devoted the majority of his career to the investigation of to the international context of the war. According to him, it was not "el resultado de un largo proceso con orígenes más o menos remotos. Su origen inmediato se identifica como el subproducto de la coincidencia de factores internos y externos en una coyuntura precisa, entre julio y septiembre de 1936 y que a partir de entonces, incrustada decisivamente en las coordenadas exteriores de la época, conjuntó dos rasgos esenciales: guerra civil y conflicto internacional por interposición" (10-11). He further says that the conspirators never envisaged an extended war, although there are some tenuous indications that some of them thought the coup could turn into a short one (19).

contraband. Anthony denies being involved in any illegal transactions, but when he is shown the supposed Velázquez by the Duke that night, he feels impelled to tell the diplomat about it in confidence. During their conversation, there is a comic contrast between Anthony's passion and Parker's distinterested philistinism, reaching a height when Anthony tearfully entrusts him with a letter for Edwin Garrigaw, his arch-rival, to be delivered only in case of emergency. Two days later, he learns that Parker had told both Garrigaw and his superiors about the Velázquez, and that the former had asserted the painting was a fake. Anthony falls into histrionics until he is finally calmed by the absurdly named British Secret Service agent, Lord Bumblebee. Bumblebee orders him to continue with the sale of the painting in the name of British interests, but warns him that if the Spanish authorities learn of it, he will have no protection from the Embassy and will have to pay the full consequences.[94] The Embassy was aware that the proceeds of the sale would go towards supporting the Falange, and while "Inglaterra no mantiene relaciones de amistad y cooperación con gobiernos ni con grupos de ideología fascista, [...] tampoco tiene una actitud beligerante hacia ellos" (242). The real threat for Britain was from the USSR, thus "en España hemos de apoyar los fascistas frente a los marxistas" (242), and here the novel again follows most recent historiography.[95]

Bumblebee also tells Anthony that a Soviet Agent named Kolia is Anthony's "contraparte" in the whole adventure, and has been mobilised to stop the sale of the painting. Anthony's subsequent terror is comically over-exaggerated, and he is convinced that his nemesis will look like George Raft, the American actor famous for his portrayals of gangsters in crime melodramas of the thirties and forties. Shortly

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[94] This refusal on the part of the authorities to protect their "unofficial" agents if they are exposed is a common theme in Mendoza, and also occurs in *El misterio, El laberinto* and *La verdad.*

[95] There has been a growing body of historiographical literature which provides evidence for British hostility to the Republic and preference among ruling circles for a Francoist solution over a potentially communist republic which would be detrimental to British economic interests (see Viñas 12-37; Bernecker 81; Moradiellos García "British Government"; *Perfidia*). Gabriel Jackson, however, maintains that between 1933 and 1945 Germany was perceived as a greater threat than the USSR by the majority of Western Europe and America, and that analyses have been overly tainted by Cold War divisions ("Fascismo y comunismo" 57). He mentions only the more anti-communist studies of B. Bolloten (*The Spanish Civil War*) and S. Payne (*The Spanish Civil War, the Soviet Union, and Communism*) and J. Linz (*El sistema de partidos en España)*, though, and makes no reference to the more recent works of Viñas or Moradiellos, which are more impartial in their analyses of Soviet intervention.

after, Kolia makes a first appearance in the novel when he instructs Higinio Zamora to kill Anthony. Higinio obediently sets up an assassination attempt, which is conducted in an entirely farcical manner, the would-be assassins described as incarnating "a la perfección los rasgos distintivos del barroco español" (386). The row that develops between Higinio and one of the other assassins provides a satire on Commmunist totalitarianism, which provoked the assassinations of many who diverged from Stalinist policy during the civil war,[96] seriously damaging Republican unity and increasing international hostility to the Republic.[97] Higinio informs an incredulous Anthony that he is being executed in the name of the international proletarian cause, but is silenced by the other, who wants to get the unpleasant job done with quickly. Higinio refuses, saying, "Me cago en san Judas, Manolo [...] una cosa es ejecutar a un hombre por la Revolución de Octubre y otra es despachar a un tío como si fuese un cerdo. Aquí don Antonio, después de todo, no es un enemigo del pueblo. Diga uste que no, don Antonio" (385).[98] Anthony decides to bring the debate to "un terreno menos teórico" and argues that there must have been a misunderstanding, but is told that "las órdenes del camarada Kolia no se discuten" (385). In the end, Higinio will

[96] The real motives for Soviet policy during the Spanish Civil War remains the subject of some controversy, partly because access to Russian Comintern archives has only been very recent and there is still much room for historiographical work. While Francoist claims that a Communist revolution was imminent, have largely been discredited, many historians (eg. Payne and Bolloten) have also argued that Moscow planned an eventual totalitarian takeover of Spain after the war had broken out, the PCE having increased stratospherically since the outbreak of the war. However, Hernández Sánchez writes that recent historiography has discredited this view, demonstrating instead that the policy of the PCE, at the instigation of Stalin, has always been to support the bourgeois Republican government including after a potential win, as Spain was not yet ready for a revolution. It was because of their conviction that a united, moderate front needed to be maintained in order to win the war and gain international sympathy that the Communists acted so harshly against the POUM (25-74). Geoffrey Roberts also emphasises that Soviet actions were informed by both ideological idealism and self-interest, but were frequently also a contingent reaction to events, while the hunting down of the POUM was the result of a genuinely held fear that they were sabotaging the war as part of an international fascist front (84). Daniel Kowalsky, who has had access to Russian archives, argues that Stalin's involvement was ultimately cynical and self-interested, but that his nefarious influence in Spanish affairs over-exaggerated, as the Kremlin did not possess the resources to realise the objectives declared in various decrees (par.22).

[97] According to Paul Preston, historian Ronald Fraser and Spanish Marxist Fernando Claudín have argued convincingly that had the Communists managed to channel the revolutionary fervour that had exploded at the start of the war instead of crushing it, the Republic might well have won the war (*Guerra Civil* 273).

[98] There is also here is a subtle joke in Higinio's use of the term "don," hierarchical modes of address having been dispensed with by communists in favour of "comrade."

allow Anthony to escape, and the Englishman is dramatically swooped off by José Antonio, who had come to the rescue after being alerted by Paquita.

The final denouement will occur shortly afterwards at the British Embassy, but in keeping with its parodic style, *Riña* frustrates generic expectations and leaves a number of mysteries unresolved. We learn that Pedro Teacher was a German spy, but not the reason for his mysterious murder. A search of his flat uncovered documentation which showed he had known that the Velázquez was not real, but there is no indication of whether the Duke also knew the truth. Finally, even though Kolia met Higinio, and the latter presumably would have been able to provide the British with information about his identity, the diplomats claim to have no idea who he actually is. As in Mendoza's first novel, *La verdad sobre el caso Savolta* (1975), the impossibility of ever knowing the ultimate truth of an event is thus underscored, and the uncertainties of history once more foregrounded.

Chapter Conclusions

We have seen how *Riña de gatos* establishes an implict connection between 1936 Madrid and the current debates in Spain, and how the chronotope of adventure time is used to bind the parody of different genres together. We have also seen that lurking beneath the seemingly unified, linear chronotope of adventure time, there is in fact a disunity and disjunction provoked by the episodic nature of the adventures and the need to heighten drama through frequent switches of scene and point of view. This presents us with a somewhat Benjaminian conception of history as a series of episodes which have been strung together, giving it only an apparent unity. The comedy provoked by the clash of generic conventions also establishes a critical distance from the represented past, the interspersing of passages of historical analysis with farcical scenes reminding us that history is a somewhat provisional interpretation of established facts, not a ultimate, final truth about the matter.

Such techniques enable *Riña de gatos* to call into question clichéd discourses that locate the origins of the war in the Spanish character or which represent it as being a grand battle between Communism and Fascism. Instead, the novel puts forward Mendoza's view that "esa desgracia la movieron generales borrachos, seudofascistas sin ideas claras, revolucionarios que no sabían ni lo que era la revolución [...]. Y quien la empezó fue un cabroncito bajito que todos conocemos" ("Trastero"). In keeping with his role as a comic protagonist, Anthony remains unchanged by his adventures in Madrid and does not benefit in psychological, professional, or material terms from the trip. He is little more interested in involving himself in Spain's politics at the end of the novel than he was at the start, maintaining in his last conversation with José Antonio, that "las ideas por la que estáis dispuestos a mataros los unos a los otros, de eso no quiero ni oír hablar" (413). This comment could be said to be representative of the British government, which cared little about the actual political problems of Spain, and was concerned only with the way in which they might affect British interests. The international context of the civil war is emphasised in accordance with recent historiography on the subject, while the José Antonio of the novel has been stripped of mythical trappings, and is perhaps most reminiscent of Ian Gibson's account of him. He is charming, cultured and gentlemanly, but as even Anthony recognises, his rhetoric is without substance and his political idealism is impractical and irresponsible. He is, however, a sympathetic figure, and it is hard not feel sorry when he is arrested by the police at the end of the novel. Anthony's status as a British gentleman is also crucial because it enables an exposition of the various political ideologies in the novel, while his incomprehension shows them up to light. Through his innocent, outsider gaze, the novel causes us to question the validity of becoming so obsessed by a political idea that one is willing to kill and die for it, thus manifesting a very postmodern skepticism in totalising master narratives.

Chapter 4: Antonio Muñoz Molina, *La noche de los tiempos* (2009)

Antonio Muñoz Molina's *La noche de los tiempos* (2009) tells the story of 48-year old architect, Ignacio Abel, as he goes into exile in the US in October 1936.[99] While the present time of the novel narrates his journey from New York to Burton College, Rhineburg, the narrative is dominated by his memories of the past year in Madrid and of his love affair with the young American, Judith Biely. It tackles many of the same issues explored in *Riña de gatos*, displaying an equally negative attitude towards political radicalism and the military rebels. In addition, it challenges the clichéd view that pre-war Spain was divided into two radically opposing blocks; pre-war politics in *La noche* are shown to be shifting and plural, with people from all political persuasions mixing and fraternising with one another despite the increased levels of violence (although it is lack of communication which is emphasised in *Riña).*[100] Unusually also for a novel written from a left-wing perspective, there is an unflinching depiction of the repression practiced by uncontrolled militias in Madrid during the early months of the civil war, and a more negative re-evaluation of the role played by frequently glamourised left-wing artists and intellectuals such as José Bergamín, Rafael Alberti and Maria Teresa León. Nevertheless, the Francoist alliance is roundly condemned for having instigated the war, the brutality and cruelty practiced by its advancing army presented as being even worse than the terror unleashed by the "revolutionaries" in Madrid. Finally, there is a strong vindication of those moderates who have been said to have made up the Third Spain, men and women who, in their tolerance and

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[99] His tenth novel, it was well-received by both criticis and readers, winning the French Prix Mediteranée in 2012 and appearing on a number of Spanish bestseller lists for 2009 and 2010. Muñoz Molina was one of the relatively few novelists to treat the Spanish Civil War in the decade before the "memory boom," first of all with *Beatus Ille,* which was published in 1986, but especially with *El jinete polaco* (1991), winner of both the Planeta Prize (1991) and National Literature Prize (1992).

[100] The recent trend in historiography has been to suggest that the Second Republic was not as radically divided as the election of February 1936 suggested (see Chapter Two of this thesis). That Muñoz Molina also holds to this view can be seen in the following quotation from an interview: "No hay dos Españas, como en un partido de fútbol siniestro, que al final entran en guerra. Hay una situación política muy confusa, muy rica, en la que lo más difícil era que se formaran bandos congruentes" ("Contra los fanatismos").

commitment to liberal democracy, often felt out of place once the war had broken out (see 2.1). Many, like Ignacio, would choose exile, others, such as Dr. Juan Negrín, to fight for one or the other side, but some, like Ignacio's friend Professor Rossman, would lose their lives for the "crime" of having refused to support either. It is this liberal grouping which has frequently been silenced by the oft-repeated cliché of the two Spains, although its existence has recently started to make a reappearance in discourse about the war.[101] Like Mendoza, Muñoz Molina shows deep historical awareness and knowledge of the most recent historiography of the period. However, his novel is more than twice as long as that of the Catalan writer, which gives him greater scope and depth, while his narrative is always completely serious in tone. Nevertheless, there is room for irony, which, combined with the use of modernist narrative techniques, opens up a critical distance from which the past is subjected to re-evaulation.

This chapter will firstly investigate how the narratorial strategy and structural chronotopes create a relationship with the past which treats it as distant and different to the present, while at the same time refusing to romanticise it. The second section will analyse how the discourse and actions of politically representative characters are used to condemn violence and political radicalism, no matter how idealistic or well-intentioned, and to vindicate the memory of the moderates who supported tolerance and liberal democracy. Following this, there will be an examination of the various strategies used by the novel to suggest how the war was born of a complex of social, historical, economic and international geopolitical factors, a view which is in accordance with the majority of accepted historical studies in Spain today. Finally, *Riña de gatos* and *La noche de los tiempos* will be directly compared in terms of their philosophy of history and treatment of discourses about 1936 Spain.

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[101] As we saw in Chapter Two, the Third Spain has been understood as being made up of moderate, liberal democrats of the center who were opposed to radical politics of the left and right. It can be said to incorporate those who went into exile in 1936 rather than partake in the war, as well as those who stayed and fought for one side or the other because they were either given no choice, such as the young Julián Marías (later a renowned Spanish philosopher), or because they still hoped to salvage something of their ideals, such as the politicians, Juan Negrín or Indalecio Prieto. Follwing Angel Loureiro (32), the use of the term will be largely eschewed in this thesis, as it unhelpfully perpetuates the trope of the "two Spains" by continuing to assume their existence.

4.1 Historical fiction and the practice of "counter-memory"

Gonzalo Navajas has noted that in his treatment of history, Muñoz Molina has tended to oscillate between "la reconstrucción subjetivizada del pasado y la reconstrucción objetiva y representacional con el propósito de que la conciencia individual se sitúe frente a ese pasado de una manera significativa y genuina" (Navajas "Historia" 40).[102] In *La noche,* we will find a relatively equal balance between the subjective and the objective, presenting us with a view of history which comes simultaneously from both the inside and the outside. This balance is achieved through the use of a complex chronotopical structure which betrays modernist influences in the construction of time.[103]

Governing the whole, we have a chronotope of historical time, and the novel employs a number of conventions from the classical historical novel: the novel portrays a decisive moment in Spanish history—the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War—and the impact it has on private lives; it is peopled with a mixture of historical and fictional characters, with the former playing the major roles while the latter have only a secondary part; it contains detailed description and heteroglossia in order to provide authenticity of time and place. However, Muñoz Molina eschews the standard practice of the classical historical novel (and the historiographical practices it echoes)

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[102] His earliest works, such as *Beatus Ille* (1986), *Invierno en Lisboa* (1987), *Beltenebros* (1989), were clearly postmodernist in form and content, highly stylised, and oriented towards the literary and the intertextual than to the objective recreation of the external world. As a result, the past becomes mythified and acquires nostalgic tints, and while there is a critical analysis of the Spanish social and political situation, these are secondary to aesthetics. However, over time there has been an increasing commitment to the ethical dimension in his works, and therefore to historical contextualisation, with *El jinete polaco* (1991), for example, being dedicated to the memory of the civil war's "heroes" at a time when there was still relatively little popular interest in "historical memory" (cf. Navajas "Spanish Novel" 27; "Historia" 38-46).

[103] Time is a constant preoccupation of the novel, reaching its pinnacle in pages 408 to 416, where the words "time" and "tiempo" appear 49 times with rhythmic repetition in expressions and idioms in both Spanish and English. They mostly refer to Judith and Ignacio's family, although in the midst of the more personal reminiscences there is also a sudden shift to current affairs—to the fatalistic wait for the military uprising and common political slogans—followed by a final movement back to the personal. As we will see, this is but one of the strategies used by the author to link the private/fictional with the public/historical in the novel.

to narrate history as a sequence of cause and effect leading to a particular event. This type of structure gives a feeling of inevitability, which Muñoz Molina has said he explicitly wanted to avoid: "es mentira que estuviéramos abocados a un final así" ("Contra los fanatismos"). Neither does he use an omniscient third person narrator to give the illusion of total objective impartiality, and therefore of narrating historical "truth." His aim, rather, was to give an account of 1935-36 Madrid from the subjective perspective of someone who has no idea of the disaster that is about to unfold. At the same time, he does not seek to create a *faux*-memoir, but to foreground the ways in which the past may be fictionalised and apprehended by the present. In this, Muñoz Molina follows Walter Benjamin's exhortation to pursue a practice of history that does not seek to pile up facts about a dead past, but one which recognises the presence of the now and "seize[s] hold of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger" (255). Such a practice involves brushing history "against the grain," or in Foucauldian terms, conducting a practice of counter memory which breaks up historical continuity and gives expression to those voices which have been muted by dominant perspectives.

In order to break up standard historical time, Muñoz Molina employs three narrative chronotopes, which are combined in a number of ways to create a critical distance from the represented events and provoke the reader to question previously-held beliefs. The first narrative chronotope is the time/space of the novel's moment of production at the end of the 2000s, and it is here that the narrator is located, speaking always in the first person and the present tense. The narrator posits himself as the author of the novel, addressing the reader from the very first lines:

> En medio del tumulto de la estación de Pennsylvania, Ignacio Abel se ha detenido al oír que alguien lo llamaba por su nombre. Lo veo primero de lejos, entre la multitud de la hora punta, una figura masculina idéntica a las otras, como en una fotografía de entonces, empequeñecidas por la escala inmensa de la arquitectura [...]. (11)[104]

[104] Two chronotopical framing devices which will be used throughout the novel are also present in this quotation: the first is that of the photograph and the second, that of architecture.

Over the following eight pages, the narrator repeatedly refers to the act of imagination in his exposition of Ignacio and his chronotopical situation, saying on page 12, for example: "Lo he visto cada vez con más claridad, surgiendo de ninguna parte, viniendo de la nada, nacido en un fogonazo de la imaginación [...]".[105] Such self-reflexive interventions reappear throughout the novel, reminding us of the fictionality of the story, and helping to create a certain distance between the reader and the represented world. At the same time, the narrator explicitly states his desire to present a vivid and realistic portrayal of the past in the manner of the classical historical novel: "Quiero imaginar con la precisión de lo vivido lo que ha sucedido veinte años antes de que yo naciera y lo que dentro de no muchos años ya no recordará nadie" (575). This quotation also indicates that the narrator bears a biographical resemblance to the real life author, who was born in 1956, exactly twenty years after the outbreak of the war. In addition, the narrator's intentions about the novel are similar to those made by Muñoz Molina in interviews.[106] As noted by H.L. Hansen ("Autoreflection" 14-15) and A. Gómez López-Quiñones (35), the foregrounding of a subjective narrator is typical of a category of novels written during the current "memory boom". Such texts tend to engage directly with the processes of current-day historical memory, foregrounding how, why, when and by whom the past is constructed and interpreted.[107]

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[105] Further examples occur on the following pages, usually with reference to Ignacio, but sometimes to Judith: 42, 69, 75, 103, 179, 575 673, 719, 958.

[106] Muñoz Molina says, for example, that: "A veces me encontraba yendo un poco alucinado por la calle, buscando los lugares exactos donde habían sucedido episodios reales o inventados" ("Narra el drama"), and the narrator tells us he did so for the location of the Alianza de Intelectuales: "He buscado la dirección en un mapa y he subido por una calle estrecha, a espaldas de Cibeles, Marqués de Duero, hasta encontrar el número siete [...]" (*La noche* 719). In the same interview, Muñoz Molina talks about how he wanted to touch tickets and newspapers from the time to get a literal feeling of how it was, while the narrator says on page 577, "Toco las hojas de un periódico—un volumen encuadernado del diario *Ahora* de julio 1936—y me parece que ahora sí estoy tocando algo que pertence a la materia de aquel tiempo [...]."

[107] Nevertheless, this narrator should not be confused with an "implied author," as it was by Darío Villanueva in his review of the novel. The term was famously coined by Wayne Booth to describe the image of the author which is recreated by the reader from the text, but who does not have a direct presence in the narrative. In the words of Stuart Chatman, he can "*tell* us nothing. He, or better, *it,* has no voice, no direct means of communicating. It instructs us silently, through the design of the whole, with all the voices, by all the means it has chosen to let us learn" (148). The implied author establishes the norms or cultural codes of the narrative, and different works by the same author may each have a different implied author, each with a distinctive tone, style or preoccupation. In addition, while there may be more than one "real author," such as in the writers of a TV series, there is only one implied author who is reconstructed by the reader or viewer. Bakhtin also hints at the presence of an implied

The second narrative chronotope is that of the novel's present time/space, beginning in October 1936 as Ignacio Abel is about to board a train in Penn Station, New York, bound for Burton College, Rhineburg, where he is to oversee the construction of a new library. It continues throughout the train journey and spans his first two nights there. Narration is in the third person, and the present tense is used to give a sense of immediacy, but it is only ever focalised (internally or externally) through Ignacio's thoughts and actions. Sometimes, the future tense is used, such as on pages 42-3, when Ignacio is on the train to Rhineburg and imagines how professor Stevens will react when he sees him, but happens most noticeably in the very last chapter of the novel. Here, the narrator tells us (although in a speculative, almost conditional tone), what will happen once Judith and Ignacio wake up in the morning, having spent the night with each other at his residence in Burton College. The section begins thus: "Se quedará dormido y cuando despierte con la sensación de un sueño muy profundo [...] ya habrá empezado muy débilmente a clarear y Judith no estará a su lado en la cama" (948). Narration then proceeds in the future tense until a new paragraph on page 955 which returns us to the present time: "Pero ese momento no ha llegado todavía, pertenece a un tiempo aún inexistente, al futuro de dentro de unas pocas horas." The narrator's voice very clearly dominates here, with his omniscient ability to look into the future, but there is still a sense of uncertainty, a refusal to close off that future, and the reader will never know whether Judith and Ignacio ever meet again, or even

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author, although it is not a term he uses, saying in his discussion of the author's position regarding the work that "[w]e find the author outside the work as a living being living his own biographical life. But we nevertheless meet him as the creator of the work itself, although he is located outside the chronotopes of the work itself, he is, as it were tangential to them (*Dialogic* 254). We can always sense the chronotopes of the represented world as well as the chronotopes of the readers and creators of each particular work. While the reader may, and usually does, create an "image of an author" when reading the text (and here Bakhtin seems to be speaking most clearly of the implied author) this image remains external to the chronotopes of the work, even in the case of autobiographical fiction. The chronotope of the moment of production (where the biographical author is located) can only be apprehended by the reader through engagement with the author's text and other texts and materials which give information about that moment (such as a history textbook). There can be no direct, unmediated access to it. Returning to *La noche de los tiempos,* it can be seen that while the narrator appears to inhabit the same chronotope as the implied author, he is not outside, or even tangential to that of the novel, but is contained within it.

on what terms they eventually part that morning. History (and Ignacio's story) thus remains unfinalised.

Finally, there is a third narrative chronotope which frames the past year of Ignacio's life, also narrated in the third person, but in the past tense. The narration here is generally omniscient, and while Ignacio is usually the focus, there are moments of internal focalisation through other characters. One such example occurs in the narration of Adela's attempted suicide, preceded by an extended description of her thoughts with regard to both her personal situation and the increasing violence on the streets of Madrid (499-517).

These narrative chronotopes are in dialogue and can never be completely separated, shifting and melding into one another, bringing the reader back and forth through space and time. The second and third chronotopes taken together create a chronotope of memory, and there are frequent temporal and spatial shifts between the present and past, as well as a certain repetitiveness, particularly of themes which obsess Ignacio. These include his love affair with the young American student Judith Biely, whom he seeks in the US; his failed marriage to his wife, Adela; the pleas of his Falangist brother-in-law for protection in war-time Madrid; and his fruitless attempts to prevent the assassination of his friend Professor Rossman. It is not, however, a full mimesis of memory, for the narrator's voice is never far away, continuously foregrounding the fictional act of narration.

A linking of the first and third chronotopes occurs when real historical events are interlaced with Ignacio's memories, giving the impression of simultaneously looking back at history and of living that time as it was through his eyes (or through those of other characters). This could also be partly understood within the chronotope of memory, as Ignacio may have gained later knowledge about simultaneous events which he is able to relate to his personal life. Nevertheless, it is the narrator's perspective which dominates in such sequences, for it is he who has historical knowledge. The following quotation from *La noche* is exemplary of the technique:

> El viernes 10 de julio, a la misma hora en que Ignacio Abel consigue hablar con Judith Biely después de dos semanas sin saber nada de ella, cuando por fin logra que le prometa un encuentro, el teniente José Castillo, de la Guardia de Asalto [...] está tomando café en un bar y ve al otro extremo de la barra a unos desconocidos que le parecen algo sospechosos y le hacen instintivamente llevarse la mano a la pístola. (339)

Ignacio's direct memories are usually written in the past tense, and the use of the present tense here indicates that the narrator's voice dominates, although it is still filtered through Igancio's mind. There is a self-consciousness about the use of this technique in the novel, such as when Ignacio is travelling on the train to Burton College and he reflects upon his ignorance of what was to come:

> Pero esta tarde de finales de septiembre de 1935 Ignacio Abel no sabe nada todavía: es la escala de su propia ignorancia lo que ahora más le cuesta imaginar, como cuando se mira la expresión de alguien en una foto de entonces [...] *no ven lo que va a sucederles, lo que está sucediendo tal vez muy cerca sin que ellos se enteren, sin que sepan que esta fecha común en la que viven habrá cobrado una siniestra magnitud en los libros de historia* [emphases added]. (43)

The quotation is strongly double-voiced with the language of Ignacio and the narrator, and the italicised section clearly reveals the author's refracted intentions with regard to the treatment of history in the novel: it is only in retrospect that events acquire historical significance.

The second and third chronotopes combine to form a structural chronotope of exile, and as is commonly perceived in such a chronotope, there is a doubling of space and time.[108] Ignacio's current location in space/time cannot be fully separated from that of his past and the motherland still exerts a strong power over his present:

> En su conciencia dos relojes marcan dos horas distintas, como dos pulsaciones discordantes que percibiera apretando en dos puntos distintos del cuerpo. Son las cuatro de la tarde y son las diez de la noche. En Madrid es noche cerrada desde hace varias horas

[108] The subject of exile will not be treated in depth in this chapter as it is vast, and does not form part of the central questions being asked in this thesis.

> [...]. En la casa de la Sierra donde sus hijos tal vez siguen viviendo se escucharán en la oscuridad los golpes secos del péndulo y el mecanismo de un reloj que siempre anda con retraso. (77-8)

The slowness of the clock in the house in the mountains is in contrast to the precision of the those in Penn Station, alluded to a number of times in the opening pages of the novel (eg. 11, 12, 23). There is also evidence here of what Esther Peeren called "dwelling-in-dischronotopicality" (72-3). The exile not only experiences the homeland as a different chronotope, distanced in space and time from the one he is presently inhabiting, he also takes with him a way of conceptualising space and time which is particular to his community. For Ignacio, everything in Spain, such as the clock and the house in the mountains, (which belongs to his conservative in-laws), moves slowly. It therefore exists in an anterior time to other parts of the world, it is backward and behind. At the very end of the novel, Ignacio says to Judith that "se había equivocado acerca de todo, pero más que nada sobre sí mismo, sobre su lugar en el tiempo. Toda su vida pensando que pertenecía al presente y al porvenir, y ahora empezaba a comprender que si se sentía tan fuera de lugar era porque su país era el pasado" (935). Ignacio is not only out of place because Spain is part of his personal past, but also because he still conceives of himself within the chronotope of Spain, where everything always moved too slowly for him, placing him comparatively at the vanguard. While he was there, he could feel himself part of the present and the future represented by the Republic's modernising projects, intimately connected for him with construction projects such as the Ciudad Universitaria.[109] For him "el porvenir estaba previsto en las líneas azules de los planos y en las maquetas que él mismo había ayudado a construir, con su amor por las cosas que pueden hacerse con las

[109] Ignacio is a member of the architectural "Generation of '25," and the Ciudad Universitaria, initiated in 1927 during the Primo de Rivera dictatorship was "la manifestación global del espíritu de la generación de 1925" (Bohigas 22). It was initiated under the direction of Modesto López Otero, who was reactionary and monumentalist in his style, but included a team of young architects who, according to Carlos Flores "lograran imponer sus ideas, pero también se debe al clima creado por el advenimiento de la República el que las sugestiones para llevar a cabo una arquitectura de tipo tradicional fueran susituidas por una tendencia de formas de avanzada" (qtd. in Bohigas 22). Functionalism, a modernist architectural style developed in the 1920s, has been called the official architecture of the Republic (110), and would have been taught at the Bauhaus in Germany where Ignacio studied. He is thus very much part of the Republican intellectual and artistic vanguard.

manos [...] no imaginaba formas más práctica de mejorar el mundo" (260-1).[110] However, the Civil War truncated Ignacio's conception of Spanish modernity, and the Ciudad Universitaria would be completely destroyed by Francoist bombings.[111] The US is much further along the path of economic modernisation, and everything moves much more quickly—it is the future in comparison to Spain.

In *La noche,* this chronotope of exile has the function of both creating nostalgia for the homeland while at the same time creating an emotional and critical distance from it by highlighting its imperfections. Ignacio's journey to the US is emblematic of those educated moderates who chose exile over participation in the conflict. It is they who might have eventually brought Spain into line with modern, democratic Europe, had it not been for the coup and the machinations of the European powers. In order to reinforce both of these points, the novel ends with a declaration by Judith that she is returning to Spain as a member of the International Brigades to fight against the Francoists (see Section 4.2 for further discussion).

As in other Muñoz Molina's novels, there are also frequent references to the ability of the photograph to capture and freeze space-time. It is a part of both the chronotope of memory and of exile, providing a link as it does between past and present space. The following excerpt is exemplary:[112]

> Se ve a sí mismo como en una instantánea fotográfica, parado en un límite del tiempo, como lo he visto yo a él apareciendo entre la gente en la estación de Pennsylvania o como lo veo ahora, más fácil de captar porque está inmóvil, echado hacia atrás en su asiento del tren que empieza a ponerse en marcha, exhausto, aliviado [...]. (42)

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[110] Following Mari Paz Balibrea (in turn influenced by Jo Labanyi), the Second Republic is conceptualised here as "a plurality of competing modern projects" many of which would become "residual, alternative" modernities to the one represented by the Francoist dictatorship. Modernity is understood by Balibrea in a threefold manner as a way of conceiving time, an Enlightenment project and "how individuals and collectives experience their own conditions of life" (7-8).

[111] Ignacio has a prophetic conversation about the destruction of the Ciudad Universitaria with the artist and poet, José Moreno Villa. In the conversation, Moreno Villa mentions how painters used to draw fruit with a mark or a hole through which a worm might appear in order to symbolise the transience of life. Ignacio replies: "No me diga eso, Moreno [...]. No quiero llegar mañana a las obras y pensar que llevo seis años trabajando para construir ruinas futuras" (71).

[112] Similar references to photographs are also made on 12, 41, 42, 85,179, 230, 306, 308, 571, 572.

There are also hints of a Bakhtinian chronotope of adventure time (and of the road, which is intimately related to both exile and adventure); the essential randomness of events, their dependence on a particular place and time for their very occurrence, are constantly alluded to. For instance, when Ignacio realises he has almost left his passport in the New York hotel, he is reminded of how close he came to being shot during the summer: "En el descuido de un segundo está contenida entera una catástrofe. Faltaba tal vez menos de un minuto para que le mataran esa noche de finales de julio con la que sueña muchas veces y una voz que decía su nombre en la oscuridad lo salvó" (25). Such reflections also serve to resist a deterministic reading of past events, quashing the temptation to view history as inevitable and encouraging us to see each moment as unique and irrepeatable, following the type of historical practice exhorted by Benjamin and Foucault.[113]

Finally, the melding and joining of different chronotopes involves a rich use of heteroglossia in the novel, and excerpts from political speeches and news reports are interspered collage-like with elements of Ignacio's story in order to place history and fiction into overt confrontation with one another.[114] Just before one striking section of such technique, the narrator indicates his intentions:

> En los libros de historia los nombres tienen una rotundidad abrumadora y los hechos se suceden como cadenas inapelables de causas y efectos. En el presente puro que uno quisiera saber imaginar, en el pulso íntimo y verdadero del tiempo, todo es una agitación minuciosa, un aturdimiento de voces que se superponen, de páginas de periódico pasadas apresuradamente y leídas a medias, olvidadas en seguida, mezcladas entre sí [...]. (584)

Over the following six pages, there is a juxtaposition of newspaper reports containing a mixture of normal news and details of the double murders of teniente Castillo and

[113] Here, there is also a hint of Baroja, who was influenced by Nietzsche's conception of history, as Foucault is. Baroja conceived of history as a series of essentially random accidents, eschewing traditional beginning/middle/end plotting for his narratives in favour of a loose structure which he felt was more similar to life's meandering path (cf. Johnson 159; Ribbans 117).

[114] Muñoz Molina claims to have been inspired by Cela's *San Camilo. 1936* John Dos Passos' *Manhattan Transfer* and Joyce's *Ulysses* in this ("Contra los fanatismos").

José Calvo Sotelo, the second of which has been viewed as the immediate catalyst for the already-planned military uprising.[115] The comparative normality of some of the pieces of news stand out in contrast to reports of politically-inspired murders and assassinations, which would in hindsight be made to form part of a chain of cause and effect by historians. The following serves as an example:

> El señor Calvo Sotelo había pasado el domingo en Galapagar. Minutos antes de ser asesinado el teniente Castillo se despidió de su joven esposa en el portal de su domicilio. Numerosos turistas alemanes visitan Ceuta y Tetuán. Un automóvil arrolla a una moto y resultan gravemente heridos el conductor de ésta y su acompañante. (585)

Such a concept of history is also reminiscent of Unamuno's concept of "intrahistory," which emphasises ordinary day-to-day events as the motor of history, rather than the actions of "great men," which are the focus of the positivist approach. Tolstoy famously displayed a similar philosophy in *War and Peace,* where the events of the Napoleonic Wars are shown not to be the result of decisions made by princes and generals, but to be made up of a multitude of independent actions which lay beyond the comprehension or control of the leaders.

As has been seen, then, *La noche de los tiempos* adds a modernist twist to the conventions of the historical novel in order to create a sense of the past that is vividly realistic while at the same time pointing to its own fictionality and to the artificiality of human constructions of time. The lack of a straightforward linear chronology prevents the plotting of Ignacio's story or the collapse of the Second Republic as inevitable tragedy, instead encouraging us to read in the discontinuous manner that was exhorted by Benjamin and Foucault. This means that, even while some of the events portrayed evoke sadness, sympathy and even horror, there is a certain distance which prevents nostalgic over-identification. In this way, the novel seeks to put the past to rest, and refuses to see it as a haunting of the present.[116] The following section will

[115] The rising had already been planned before this murder, however, and it should not be seen as the actual cause of it (see Carr 71; Casanova and Gil Andres 163).

[116] In this way, Muñoz Molina has moved on from his earlier novel, *El jinete polaco* (1991), which is preoccupied with the recovery and narrativisation of a traumatic past by members of the postmemory generation. This shift in perspective may be the beginning of a more general movement away from the

explore how politically representative characters are used to condemn those revolutionary aspects of the modernising project which led to violence and war, while vindicating those who stood for peaceful reform.[117]

4.2 Politics Incarnated

La noche de los tiempos is populated with a mixture of historical and fictional characters, and as in the historical novel, this gives a sense of "realness" to the period being described. However, the historical characters do not simply provide realism, but have been selected for very purposeful reasons. Most of them are part of the grouping of liberal intellectuals, politicians and artists who would go into exile or, like Negrín, strive to keep alive the democratic Republic in the face of onslaught by radicals on the left and right. The fictional characters have clearly been created in order to be politically representative but, while some of them might be relatively "flat," they nevertheless have power.[118] Ignacio, as the main character, is treated with a great psychological depth and perception, drawing the reader into a profound sympathy despite, or perhaps even because of, his anti-heroic nature. While the characters are allowed to speak for themselves, there is no single one who should be

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obsession with memory and trauma in cultural discourse, although it is too early yet to tell. Such a movement would indicate that the "memory boom" is coming to an end, and that there is finally a willingness to let the past be past.

[117] As we saw in Chapter 2, Enrique Moradiellos refers to the three "R's" of the modernist period, Reaction, Revolution and Reform, the first two of which sought to reconfigure the European state through violence or force, while the last represented change through gradual, peaceful means. In Spain, the first 'R' was encapsulated by the conservative right, the second by the radical left and the last by centrist Republicans. What differentiated Spain from the rest of Europe, according to Moradiellos, was that "en España ninguno de esos proyectos de estabilización en pugna lograría la fuerza suficiente para imponerse a los otros dos de modo definitivo e incontestado" (*Mitos* 50), which partly explains the descent into civil war.

[118] The "flat/round" distinction was coined by the novelist E.M. Forster in his discussion of character in *Aspects of the Novel* (73-81). Chatman, who understands character as a "paradigm of traits," (where "trait" is a "relatively stable or abiding personal quality" suggests that a flat character has only one or few traits (Forster called them qualities or ideas), while a round character has many of them (126). However, even when a character is flat, this does not mean that they do not have a certain power or vivacity, and they are not necessarily typed. Chatman suggests that a flat character in structuralist vocabulary might be called teleological or directed, while a round character is agglomerate and open-ended (132). Jonathan Culpeper, in his more psychological analysis of character and reader perception also draws attention to the way in which flat characters, such as those who appear in soap operas, have a particular power to engage the audience (95).

viewed as a mouthpiece for the author. However, the author's refracted intentions are clearly visible from the manner in which their discourse is presented. The result is a sympathetic portrait of the political moderates, and a negative one of the representatives of Falangism, communism and anarchism. This constitutes a somewhat typical postmodernist questioning of modernist utopias, but as Gonzalo Navajas has said of Muñoz Molina's works in general, there nevertheless remains "una contracorriente en ella que es contraria a su orientación primordia y la conecta por modo retrospectivo y nostálgico, con los grandes principios del proyecto moderno" (50). As we will see, the aspects of the modernist project with which Muñoz Molina connects are those which Ignacio and Juan Negrín strive to realise in his novel: a progressive, liberal democratic society, where art and intellect are allowed to flourish and social justice has been achieved.

Moderates

Muñoz Molina has indicated that Ignacio Abel's character was partially inspired by the writers Pedro Salinas and Arturo Barea (see "Contra los fanatismos"; "Dos Españas), both of whom went into exile before the end of the war, the first in 1936, the second in 1938. Like Barea, Ignacio is a socialist of humble origins who manages to educate himself and climb the ladder to the middle class. For Ignacio, this ascent is facilitated in part by his marriage into a wealthy, well-connected family of monarchist sympathies. However, while his career is a successful one, his married life is not, and his wife Adela has never managed to excite him either sexually or intellectually. Indeed, Ignacio has never experienced any particularly intense feelings about anything other than his occasional bursts of architectural creativity.[119] This changes when he meets a young American, Judith Biely, at a talk he is giving, and they will embark on a passionate affair that spans the turbulent months leading up to the outbreak of the civil war. In an interview, Muñoz Molina says that the story of the affair was inspired

[119] One small exception is after hearing that Caballero has been proclaimed head of government: "Puestos en pie alzaban los puños cantando *La internacional,* tocada por los músicos de la orquestina. También Ignacio Abel levantó el suyo, con una emoción ajena a su voluntad y sin embargo verdadera, despertada por la música y por las hermosas palabras aprendidas de niño en los mitines socialistas a los que lo llevaba su padre [...]" (768-9). However, a few lines later, Ignacio's cynicism reasserts itself, and he reflects upon its reasons: "Pero quizás el error estaba en él, y su incapacidad para el entusiasmo era una prueba no de lucidez sino del mezquino endurecimiento de la edad, favorecido por el privilegio, por el miedo a perderlo. Hasta le molestó que el miliciano que vino a buscarlo le hablara de tú [...]" (769).

by that of Salinas and American student Katherine Whitmore in the years before the war ("Entrevistas"). As happened with Salinas's wife, Adela tries to commit suicide when she learns of the affair (in the novel, the two women are also friends (868)). Whitmore, like Biely, ended the affair in 1936, while Salinas, like Ignacio, took advantage of a pre-war offer to work in the United States, installing himself at Wellesley College, where Judith Biely has a position as an assistant professor. There are also similarities to Arturo Barea's personal life: he began an affair with a foreigner when both were working in the censorship office in the early months of the war, and they went into exile together in 1938, Barea's nerves having been shattered by the siege of Madrid and the terror that reigned there. He and his partner Ilsa Pollak were victims of Communist paranoia, which more or less forced them out of their jobs as censors, while Ignacio is almost murdered at the hands of the anarchists.[120]

Like most members of the 1936 exile, Ignacio is hostile towards the revolutionary fervour that ignites Madrid at the beginning of the war.[121] The increasing radicalism of politics before the war had also frightened him, and he says at one point to the American, Philip Van Doren, that the modern political ideologies, far from representing progress, "me parecen horriblemente primitivas" (152). He also believes that social justice should come through reform rather than revolution (see 264, 401 for example), an attitude which aligns him with the Prietista side of the Socialist Party (PSOE), and against those who followed the increasingly demagogic Largo Caballero

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[120] In their critique of the novel, Becerra and Rodríguez highlight other parallels between *La noche de los tiempos* and Barea's *La Llama* and indicate many of the novel's literary and historical debts (48-54). The critique as a whole suffers from being overly ideological, however, and reads as a piece of offended Marxism which clings on to a rather manichean interpretation of the war's origins. Seeking only to find fault with the novel, they scour it for historical inaccuracies (of which there are a few, all of them inconsequential) and dismiss the narratorial strategy as incoherent, which, as argued above, it is not. They are also mistaken regarding the novel's interpretation of the origins of the war, which will be treated in the third section of this chapter.

[121] Many of the intellectuals initially supported the Republic, and turned on it only after experiencing the violence of the revolutionary masses. Thus, of those who signed the declaration in support of the Republic on 31 July 1936, many would have left Spain a few weeks later. These included José Ortega y Gasset, Juan Ramón Jimenez, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Gregorio Marañón and Ramón Pérez de Ayala (Giustiniani 2). Some intellectuals had already distanced themselves from the Popular Front government before the war, among them Unamuno, Pérez de Ayala, Pío Baroja and Gregorio Marañon. They would, at least initially, support the uprising because they hoped that it would finally bring an end to the violence and chaos that had beset the Second Republic.

and his revolutionary rhetoric.[122] The association with the former is reinforced by comparisons made between him and other socialist moderates, Julián Besteiro and Fernando de los Ríos, by his conservative Catholic father-in-law (219-220), and the socialist foreman of the works at the Ciudad Universitaria, Eutimio (389).[123]

Ignacio's surname, "Abel," is a clear reference to the story of Cain and Abel and may suggest that he, like other moderates, was the innocent party and the true victim of the violence unleashed by the civil war. Nevertheless, as Hansen has said, the fact that he flees rather than being murdered also indicates that the novel departs from the traditional Cainistic tale of the Civil War ("Multiperspectivism 158), signalling to us that we are not to read the novel as another installment of the "Two-Spain" myth (an error which has been made by Becerra Mayor and Rodriguez Puértolas, as we will see in 4.3). Ignacio's political innocence is reminiscent of the Bakhtinian fool figure, a role also played by Anthony Whitelands in *Riña de gatos*, as we saw in Chapter 3. Like Anthony, Ignacio's incomprehension of the passions that animate political radicalism serves to throw these into relief and to illuminate the absurdity of rigid dogmatism. His ingenuousness is drawn attention to a number of times in the novel; for instance, the American, Philip Van Doren, reacts in the following manner after Ignacio insists that the military uprising is not serious: "De pie en medio del salón vacío Philip Van Doren miraba a Ignacio Abel como compadeciéndose de su innocencia incurable, de su incapacidad de saber las cosas que importaban, las que él descubría gracias a fuentes que no iba a revelar" (644). The foreman of the Ciudad Universitaria works, Eutimio (385), Dr. Negrín (714) and José Bergamín (764) also comment upon his naivety. Also like Bakhtin's example of the incomprehending Pierre contemplating the Battle of Vorodino in Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, war seen through his eyes is not

[122] The Socialist Party leader Indalecio Prieto was a pragmatic realist who was impatient with ideological theory, and the enmity he aroused in Largo Caballero would have tragic consequences for both the Socialist Party and for Spain. Paul Preston has suggested that had Prieto been allowed to form a government under president Azaña in spring 1936, the uprising might have been prevented. However, his rival, Largo Caballero blocked him, and the incompetent and ineffectual Santiago Casares Quiroga was summoned instead (*Tres Españas* 349).

[123] In the section on Dr. Juan Negrín below, it will be argued that the centrist members of the Socialist party could also be considered members of the moderate, Third Spain who continued to fight for a liberal democratic Republic against the forces of fascism, and would have done so against left-wing revolutionary forces later, if necessary.

romantic and glorious, but a chaotic and barbarous act where nobody truly leads. The following excerpt is illustrative, taken from a scene where Ignacio is unwittingly caught up in the fighting at the front:

> El desierto se convertía de golpe en cataclismo y confusión y multitud. Delante de ellos había una hoguera enorme y algo que parecía una montaña de chatarra y era el autobús que los había adelantado menos de una hora antes, volcado en mitad de la carretera, ardiendo. (777)

> " [...] los milicianos atolondrados y temerarios que no saben lo que es una guerra [...]. Nadie les manda, nadie le has enseñado a protegerse ni a retirarse con orden, probablemente muchos de ellos ni siquiera han aprendido a disparar, no hay tiempo para enseñarles, ni armas ni municiones suficientes [...]. (779)

At one point, after war has broken out, he also thinks that the world has started to be organised according to rules that only he appears not to know (710). However, although Ignacio might be a fool, he is perhaps the most lucid of them all, for he recognises that in war no one understands anything, and that "los que parecen entender algo son los más farsantes de todos, los más dementes o los más peligrosos" (905).

Yet there is also a wilful ignorance in Ignacio. He is a self-made man who is constantly beset by an internal struggle between his working-class origins and middle-class ambitions. He is impatient with obstacles to his success, such as those presented by worker's strikes, and finds it difficult to comprehend those who do not share his talents or drive to succeed. Therefore, he does not truly understand the anger that impels the workers when they find that their demands for better conditions are frustrated.[124] It is perhaps for this reason that he is so attracted to Judith and by extension to the United States, because they represent individualistic opportunity and unbridled freedom. Even in Spain, Ignacio lives in a state of exile and frequently

[124] This is referred to by Eutimio in a debate they have over reform and revolution, the foreman saying to Ignacio that he cannot understand the workers because "usted lleva zapatos y no alpargatas" (385).

iterates his discomfort with his own country.[125] Like most of the prominent Second Republic intellectuals, he has been Europeanised, having been educated in Germany and being able to speak multiple languages. It was this international education and linguistic facility which made it easy for intellectuals like him to leave and find work in other countries, unlike many other desperate people who had no choice but to stay and fight. Despite his antipathy to Spain, though, Ignacio's decision to abandon both his country and his family at a time of extreme crisis in order to pursue the woman he loves causes him guilt, and makes him feel cowardly and dishonest (these feelings are alluded to on pages 14, 549, 552, 717, 751, 812, 820, 931). At the same time, the Republic seen through his eyes is not some sort of promised land that was lost, as demonstrated in his reaction to the news that Judith intends to volunteer as a member of the International Brigades: "Claro que prefería que ganara la República le dijo, pero no estaba seguro de la clase de República que habría en España al final de la guerra, y menos aún de si a él le sería permitido regresar a ella, o si lo desearía" (932). Here he echoes similar pronouncements made by other exiles of 1936, such as Clara Campoamor, who prophesises in *La revolución española vista por una republicana:*

> El triunfo de los gubernamentales sería el de las masas proletarias, y al estar divididas esas masas, nuevas luchas decidirán si la hegemonía será para los socialistas, los comunistas o los anarcosindicalistas. Pero el resultado sólo puede significar la dictadura del proletariado, más o menos temporal, en detrimento de la República democrática. (151)

By highlighting the ambivalence felt by many of Spain's intellectuals towards the Republic, the novel yet again counters contemporary discourses which have sanctified the Second Republic.

Ultimately, as pointed out by Angel Louriero (32), Ignacio Abel's anti-heroic nature prevents complete emotional identification with him and contributes to the distancing of the past, as well as rendering the interpretation of the discourse a "multi-faceted challenge" (Hansen "Multiperspectivism 159). Through his skeptical gaze, political

[125] This discomfort will be discussed further in section 3 of this chapter in the context of Ignacio's negative pronouncements about Spanish traditions.

dogmatism is thrown into relief and the extremism of both sides is denigrated, while war is shown to be brutal and barbaric. His ambivalence about a potential Republican success in the war also contributes to the novel's refusal to mythify the loss of the Republic and convert it into a traumatic foundational absence, as has happened in many other novels of the fourth wave.

The most important historical character to appear in the novel is the last Prime Minister of the Republic, Juan Negrín, also a member of the moderate political groupings, although he was for a long time miscast as a radical, villified by both the Francoists and his own side. He was expelled by the PSOE in 1946, having been accused of being a Stalinist agent, of allegedly colluding in a communist reign of terror and of robbing Spain by sending its gold to the USSR.[126] Nevertheless, his memory has recently been vindicated by a number of biographies and documentaries which dispel the "black legends" that surround him, and the PSOE formally reinstituted his party membership in July 2008.[127] Like Ignacio, Negrín belonged to the moderate, Prietista wing of the party and was adamantly opposed to violence or revolution as a means of achieving change. A doctor and internationally-renowned academic, he did not become politically active until the foundation of the Republic, when he stood as a candidate for Las Palmas in Gran Canaria. He believed that the PSOE was the party best-equipped to deliver the type of modernisation Spain needed in order to become prosperous and peaceful, but was no ideologue (Jackson *Juan Negrín* 25). The

[126] Gabriel Jackson, among others, has argued that Negrín's government would not have any choice but to rely on the communists and the USSR for aid, the US, Britain and France having refused to provide it. Negrín firmly believed that the Republic must resist until the end, convinced that Hitler was a much greater threat than Stalin to Europe and that war would soon break out in Europe. Once that happened, he hoped it would stir the democratic powers to finally intervene on the Repubican side. Negrín did rely heavily on the communists in Spain because they were more organised and efficient than the anarchists or socialists. In any case, the responsibility for sending the gold to Russia to finance the war was not Negrín's alone, and was shared between Manuel Azaña, the President of the Republic, Largo Caballero, then Prime Minister and Indalecio Prieto, who executed it (counter to Largo Caballero's assertions in his memoirs). The gold had first been sent to France in the hope that it would finance the war, with the USSR only being used as a last resort (*Juan Negrín* 37-40).

[127] The negative view of him persists, as in Ofaya's *El expolio de la República*. See also a piece by journalist Federico Jiménez Losantos on his website, segundarepublica.com, originally published in *El mundo*. Positive (re)evaluations can be found in the biographies of Gabriel Jackson (*Juan Negrín)*, Moradiellos (*Negrín*), and the documentary *Ciudadano Negrín*. Angel Viñas, a specialist of the Republic's war-time strategy and its international relations, has gone as far as to say that "en comparación con él [Negrín], los grandes prohombres de la República en guerra, (Azaña, Giral, Largo Caballero, Prieto, Companys, Aguirre) fueron meros aprendices" (367).

following quotation from the novel expresses such attitudes, as well as giving an indication of what it was like to be a moderate in the highly charged atmostphere of pre-civil war Spain:

> Nos odian, amigo Abel. [...]. Nos odian en nuestro partido y fuera de él. Nos odian los reaccionarios que aún no se acostumbren a haber perdido las elecciones en febrero y muchos de los que creíamos que eran de los nuestros porque apoyaban al Frente Popular. Odian a la gente como nosotros. Los que no creemos que arrasando el mundo presente se vaya a hacer posible otro mucho mejor, ni que con la destrucción y el asesinato pueda traerse la justicia. No es una cuestión de ideas, como piensan algunos, en nuestro lado y en el de los otros. Usted y yo sabemos que las grandes ideas generales no sirven de mucho en la vida práctica. (445)

When the war begins, Negrín sees it as a type of madness, where those on the Republican side cannot even agree on what they are fighting for, other than they are combating the uprising:

> Hemos vivido y vivimos en parte todavía en una casa de locos, y no es una metáfora de esas que gustan tanto a nuestros oradores, sino un diagnóstico clínico [...]. Y para poner en práctica su delirio particular cada partido y cada sindicato lo primero que ha hecho ha sido inventarse su propia polícia, sus propias cárceles y sus propios verdugos. (817-8)

It is clear from this portrayal that Negrín belonged to the political centre, to those who understood the need for tolerance in a democracy, and who believed in liberty and social progress.[128] It is this deep humanity which would lead him, as Minister for Finance, to expedite the passports of all those who were in danger during the Madrid terror, irrespective of political persuasion (Jackson *Juan Negrín* 27), and it is to him that Ignacio will turn when he decides to go into exile. His weaknesses are not overlooked, however, and his gluttony is referred to a number of times, as are rumours about his large sexual appetite. Nevertheless, this "pantagruelism" is portrayed as being tied to his great dynamism, seeming almost a natural and

[128] This view of Negrín as a politician of the "centre" is propounded by Gabriel Jackson (*Juan Negrín* 15-20) and Santiago Álvarez (36).

necessary complement to it, and Ignacio compares Negrín favourably to himself, seeing in him "la solidez de una convicción moral que a él le faltaba, una capacidad expansiva que en ocasiones podía chocarle como histriónica pero que en el fondo le parecía mucho más saludable que su propia tendencia al disimulo y la reserva [...]" (441). Overall, then, the portrait of Negrín is highly sympathetic, and he stands as an emblem of that humanist drive towards progress which would be violently truncated by the outbreak of the civil war.

Falangists

The Falange is represented in the novel by Ignacio's brother-in-law, Víctor. He is an entirely negative and unsympathetic character, and is initially described in the following manner:

> El pelo escaso y muy pegado al cráneo le formaba un ángulo picudo sobre la frente. Era más joven de lo que parecía; lo envejecían el ceño siempre algo hostil y la sombra de la barba en el mentón huesudo y brillante, la dureza de los rasgos, que era del todo voluntaria, producto de su empeño en mostrar una hombría sin debilidades ni fisuras. (214)

He has weak lungs and spent a long time in a clinic in the mountains to protect him from tuberculosis, "lo cual había afectado su carácter y lo había rezagado en la escuela y en el instituto sin que él tuviera culpa" (358). A typical Falangist student, he studied law before switching to philosophy, and demonstrates artistic tendencies towards literature and theatre. However, he never settles seriously on one subject, and has neither a degree nor a career. His feckless romanticism causes him to immediately fall under the sway of Falangist leader José Antonio Primo de Rivera, saying of his speech at the foundational meeting of the party: "Aquel hombre no hablaba como un político sino como un poeta" (364). Ignacio regards Victor with great disdain, and does not take his Falangist inclinations seriously at first:

> Que su cuñado apareciera ahora algunas veces vestido con una camisa azul le parecía a Ignacio Abel una inconsecuencia del mismo orden que sus antiguas aficiones a la capa negra y la melena de bohemio y más tarde al mono absurdo de obrero que se ponían los

señoritos universitarios de La Barraca. (364)

His gun and his Falangist uniform are also ridiculed, almost unintentionally, by Adela, making them seem like a childish caprice: "Siempre le gustaron los uniformes, y la pistola ni siquiera tiene balas" (214). After joining the Falange, Victor becomes more masculine and virile than in the past, interesting himself in sport for the first time. (There is nevertheless always a vague suspicion of homosexuality or effeminateness hanging about him). He swallows the party's rhetoric uncritically, blaming left-wing radicals for instigating a spiral of violent reprisals, an excuse much used by the members of the Francoist alliance to justify the military rebellion, but which has been disputed by historical studies (368).[129] Víctor projects over Ignacio's son, Miguel, "un vago romanticismo de masculinidad" (357) and Ignacio is jealous of the increasingly close relationship between them. There are a number of growing similarities which also make Ignacio uncomfortable: Miguel is a weak child, performs badly at school and is something of a dreamer. As a result, Ignacio is often rather severe towards him, although this occasionally provokes feelings of guilt, and particularly so after he hits Miguel when he discovers Víctor showing him how to shoot a pistol. That he should lose control of himself here, when he is rarely ever stirred to passionate feeling, is indicative of the strength of his feelings towards those he sees as unproductive and without ambition.

Communists

The depiction of communists in the novel is also negative, and they are represented by Judith's ex-husband, and the writer and poet José Bergamín. The former is an

[129] It was a staple of Francoist historiography to blame the rising cycle of violence on the left, and to justify Falangist violence as a response to attacks on its members. This interpretation has been taken up again by revisionists such as Pío Moa and Enrique De Aguinaga. Most historians now disagree that the radical left is to be blamed (at least exclusively) for instigating the cycle of violence, and are more inclined to attribute joint responsibility to the Falange and communist militants (cf. Cervera *Madrid en Guerra*). Preston argues that the Right benefitted more from violence and the consequent political instability, and deliberately attacked Socialist leaders to provoke reprisals (*Coming* 255), while the socialist and communist syndicals tried to restrain their militants (268). According to Payne, Primo de Rivera was against street violence despite his rhetoric, but after suffering a fifth casualty in March, was finally pressurised into allowing the Falangists to retaliate (*Falange* 99). Julian Ruiz also agrees that it was not Falangist gunmen who started the wave of violence in Spring 1936 in Madrid, and that the cycle of violence was initiated only after Falangists were murdered by left-wing radicals (ch. 1).

aspiring novelist who spends all his time talking about politics, drinking red wine and smoking cigarettes with his friends. While Judith enjoyed such discussions, she tells Ignacio that she felt compelled to hide from him her enjoyment of Broadway musicals and other "frivolous" activities such as browsing the windows of the shops on Fifth Avenue, which might have been seen as a sign of intellectual weakness. In an implicit criticism of the sterility of socialist realism, she wonders, "¿Porqué la causa de la justicia implicaría la elección contumaz de la fealdad y del humor sobrío? (241). She realised eventually that the things he said were neither brilliant nor original, and had been repeated word for word many times:

> Flotaban en el aire, pasando de una boca a otra, de un folleto a otro, ampliadas a veces en pancartas, gritadas en el apasionamiento frío de una discusión política en la que era urgente sobre todo aniquilar al adversario, dejándolo sin razones, condenándolo a una intemperie de tinieblas como la que durante algún tiempo pareció haberse tragado a Leon Trotsky. (243)

There is here a denunciation of political propaganda and empty rhetoric which seeks only to silence the other, to shut down dialogue and communication, to eliminate the opponent through a verbal assault that becomes almost physical in its effects, literally wiping out opponents such as Trotsky. The evils of propaganda are referred to throughout the novel by different speakers and in different manners, as will be seen in the third section of this chapter.

The "Alianza de Intelectuales Antifascistas" was founded on 30 July 1936 in order to mobilise intellectuals, writers and artists in defence of the Republic, and counted most of the "Generation of '27" among its members.[130] A large part of its activities was dedicated to propaganda, channelled largely through its publication, *El mono azul.* It also organised meetings and talks, and members worked as cultural ambassadors, travelling to European countries to mobilise international support.[131] Although leading

[130] Notable members of the Alianza included María Zambrano, Ramón Gómez de la Serna, Rafael Alberti, Miguel Hernández, José Bergamín, Rosa Chacel, Luis Buñuel, Luis Cernuda, Ramón Sender, Emilio Prados, Manuel Altolaguirre, Max Aub and Arturo Serrano.

[131] Aznar Soler writes that: "La Alianza, con su labor de agitación y propaganda, debía actuar como caja de resonancia intelectual para influir sobre la opinión pública internacional a través de las

members such as poet Rafael Alberti would gain an almost mythical status, the Alianza was not always viewed in entirely positive terms by contemporaries, nor always since then by historians.[132] The impression of its activities and leaders in *La noche de los tiempos* is quite negative, and Negrín, when he sends Ignacio to the Alianza to ask Bergamín about the missing Rossman, says:

> La crema de la intelectualidad antifascista se ha instalado en el palacio de los marqueses de Heredia Spínola, que parece ser uno de los mejores de Madrid. Hacen la guerra editando un periodiquillo con poesías revolucionarias y para descansar de sus rigores dan bailes de disfraces usando el vestuario de los marqueses, que no sé si están huidos o difuntos, o los ex marqueses, como hay que decir ahora [...]. (714)

The fact that Negrín sends Ignacio to Bergamín to ask about his missing friend indicates that the leader of the Alianza had some sort of connection to disappearances that were being conducted at the hands of communist militants. Bergamín was a poet and a Catholic communist, a controversial and contradictory figure who was criticised by friends and enemies alike (Trapiello 121).[133] Before the war, he collaborated with many fascist writers in the magazine *Cruz y raya,* but as president of the Alianza and editor of *El mono azul* he would convert himself into a radical and intransigent defender of the Republic through his pen.[134] This violent rhetoric appears in *La noche*

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manifestaciones y las tomas de partido a favor de la República española de los miembros más relevantes de la inteligencia internacional. De ahí el torrente de mitines, manifiestos, cartas, entrevistas, y todo tipo de acciones propagandísticas que se asigna la Alianza para desarrollar su tarea específica" (120).

[132] Azaña's disdain of their activities is known, and he refused to attend the Second Congress of Anti-Fascist Writers organised by the Alianza in 1937 (Aznar Soler 143). In the novel, he asks Ignacio if he too is leaving "en otra de esas misiones oficiales que costeamos para que nuestros intelectuales más insignes puedan irse a toda prisa de España sin perder la vergüenza?" (828), a disgust which was expressed also in his diaries (Giustiniani 6). Trapiello also records Azaña as calling Alberti's wife "la señorita María Teresa León [...] con peor intención" (Trapiello 125). Among current historians, Santos Juliá in *Historias de las dos Españas* writes somewhat disapprovingly that the intellectuals of the Alianza "durante la guerra han renunciado a cualquier manifestación crítica de su gobierno y de los crímenes cometidos en territorio republicano [...]"(Ch. 6).

[133] Trapiello defends Bergamín's literary output, while accepting that his addiction to politics was perhaps his worst defect.

[134] One of the most infamous sections of the periodical was called "A paseo," where various public figures were violently denounced because of their alleged betrayal of the Republic, including Bergamín's former mentor Miguel de Unamuno and friend Sánchez Mazas. The title is a direct reference to the (illegal) assassinations that were being carried out in the rearguard and the euphemistic phrase used by their perpetrators to refer to them: "dar el paseo a alguien." Hence, the title implicitly condones the murderous violence which current-day defenders of the Republic have

de los tiempos, and the Bergamín which emerges in the novel is a somewhat sinister character, particularly through the repetition of the scene where Ignacio visits the Alianza to ask about his missing friend, Professor Rossman. [135] The first time the scene is described, it is preceded by a description of Rossman's dead body in the mortuary, and of the indignities to which the dead are exposed:

> Los merodeadores madrugaban para quitarles a los muertos los zapatos y los relojes, los afileres de corbata, hasta los dientes de oro [...]. 'Es la justicia del pueblo' dijo Bergamín, mirándolo con un recelo eclesiástico desde el otro lado de su mesa de despacho, an un salón de techos góticos de la Alianza de Intelectuales Antifascistas [...]. (162)

The chronotope of memory allows the mortuary and Alianza scenes to be placed side by side, giving Bergamín's pronouncement a grotesque resonance, while the reference to his ecclesiastic appearance and the gothic architecture of the building where the Alianza is housed are also reminiscent of the Inquisition and the grim practices with which it has been associated. Bergamín continues by proclaiming to Ignacio that "las vidas individuales ahora no contaban [...] tampoco las nuestras," but as Igancio would have liked to point out to him, "protegía la suya en el interior de un despacho en vez de exponerla acércandose al frente" (163). Bergamín's attitude to violence is further developed when the scene is returned to much later in the novel. "La revolución es la cirugía necesaria," (719) he begins, and continuing a page later says, "a nosotros lo que debe preocuparnos en esta hora gloriosa y trágica no es el volumen de sangre que se esté derramando a cuenta de la revolucion sino su eficacia, y en ese punto sí que es posible tener alguna duda" (720). He excuses the violence because "el pueblo está actuando con un instinto justiciero muy propio del genio de la raza" and praises its talent for improvisation, including that of language: "De pronto hay palabras y expresiones nuevas que ya parecen de toda la vida. ¿A qué genio de sainete espontáneo se le occurrió esa maravilla verbal de 'dar el paseo?'"[136] Seeing Ignacio's

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sought to attribute exclusively to the lawless "incontrolados," but which appears to have been condoned, at least in rhetoric, by the Republic's intellectual "heroes."

[135] This is amplified by the numerous references to him rubbing his hands or sniffing at his nails, to his weak voice, his pale face, small eyes and hunched figure, giving the impression of a rather morbid, skulking spider rather than a heroic defender of the people (cf. 720, 730, 735, 757 758, 760, 763, 766).

[136] Julius Ruiz suggests that the expression was adopted from US gangster films, having originally been coined during the Chicago gangland wars. These films were highly popular among the cinema-going

repulsion, Bergamín says he does lament the excesses that have occurred, but adds "qué poco son comparados con el gran acierto de heroísmo instintivo del pueblo, y en cualquier caso, no hemos sido nosotros los que empezamos esta guerra, y es justo que el peso de la sangre caiga sobre los cómplices de los que la provocaron" (721).

The difference between Bergamín and Ignacio is made abundantly clear in Bergamín's recognition that the architect retains "el escrúpulo humanista de no trazar una raya definitiva entre ellos y nosotros; usted no quiere aceptar que nosotros tenemos toda la razón y ellos toda la animalidad y toda la barbarie" (722). Bergamín appears wilfully blind when he declares that Rossman will be set free if he really has done nothing wrong, refusing to listen to Ignacio's protests that most of the executions and imprisonments are completely arbitrary (726). Much of the same language is repeated when Ignacio is summoned back to the Alianza and told that Rossman has been detained. The paranoia which so infected the Communist Party, and which would have a devastating effect on Republican unity, is made manifest when Ignacio tells Bergamín that he is sure Rossman has been detained in error. Bergamín reminds him of the recent trial of Kamenev and Zinoviev, where they confessed their anti-Soviet conspiracies. The enemy is not just on the other side of the lines but is also behind them, a fifth column which is "aprovechándose de la confusión que ellos mismos sembraron al sublevarse y de los escrupulos morales y los legalismos que a nosotros nos paralizan [...]" (761-62).[137]

The poet Rafael Alberti and his wife Maria Teresa León appear in as poor a light as Bergamín. Alberti is described as "un perfíl algo aceitoso de artista de cine," while

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public of the 1930s (a fact that is referred to repeatedly in the novel) ("Introduction"). Ruiz also says that the "mono azul" adopted by proletarians was first popularised due to the Buster Keaton films of the 1920s.

[137] It was partly due to the anti-stalinist POUM's criticism of the show trials of Kamenev and Zinoviev that the PCE would launch a ferocious repression against them in 1937. This led to the brutal torture and murder of its leader Andreu Nin, as well as the deaths of foreigners such as Austrian writer Kurt Landau and José Robles, a friend of John dos Passos. These murders were extremely damaging to the reputation of Negrín's government both at the time and subsequently. Furthermore, as mentioned in Chapter Three, Paul Preston has suggested that communist repression of other political groupings may have been detrimentally injurious to the war effort (see note 100). It is impossible to know whether the war really could have been won had this been the case, but it is undeniable that the repression demoralised many of the Republic's defenders at a crucial moment.

Maria Teresa is "rubia, jamona, con un boca magnífica de labio pintados de carmín y dientes muy blancos" (760). Here, the narrative has been focalised through Bergamín, who constrasts them with his own lack of public presence and charisma. However, there is a sense that it is the narrator's opinion which dominates—a sense reinforced by the similarity of Moreno Villa's descriptions of them earlier on in the novel (see pages 63-6 of *La noche*).[138] It also accords with Muñoz Molina's opinion, and we have seen how this is usually identical to that of the narrator.[139] The frivolousness of Alberti and León's activities is made patent when Ignacio returns to the Alianza after the failed attempt to rescue El Greco paintings from the anarchists. Still recovering from the shock of the horrors he has seen, he hears "un clamor de fiesta y pasodoble enérgico" in the "gran salón" of the palace, and sees Alberti dressed as a lion tamer (788). Immediately afterwards, he learns that Rossman has been assassinated and is in the mortuary:

> Salió del palacio de Heredia Spínola dejando atrás los balcones iluminados y la música de baile, desgarrando el sobre para leer su contenido a la luz de una farola: un acta judicial escrita en caligrafía florida y detallando el hallazgo de un hombre *muerto por heridas de bala causadas por autor o autores desconocidos [...]*. (789)

The contrast between the attitudes and actions of Alberti and León, and the terror experienced by the fighters on the front and ordinary citizens in the rearguard, is bitingly sharp. It is a perspective also shared by Andrés Trapiello, who in his seminal study of intellectuals and war, *Las armas y las letras,* writes of them: "Rara charlotada en verdad. Resulta difícil, en esa grave hora española, imaginarnos a don Miguel de Unamuno disfrazado de nada ni a Antonio Machado ni a don Manuel Azaña.

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[138] A certain amount of resentment towards many members of the Generation of '27 is expressed by Moreno Villa in these pages of the novel, but this does not emerge in his autobiography, *Vida en presente* (1944). In it, he does say of Dalí: "Hoy vive en los Estados Unidos dedicado a pasmar a los *snobs* con sus extravagancias y payasadas. Igual que hacían los bufones en la Corte de los Austrias" (82). He also speculates about the influence he may have had on Lorca (as happens in *La noche*), but admits that Lorca's work was superior to his (88).

[139] The following extract from an interview in *El País* indicates this. The interviewer begins: "Pero hay grandes sacrosantos de ese bando que no quedan en buen lugar, como Alberti o Bergamín," to which Muñoz Molina replies: "Es lo que es. No resulta lo mismo, por ejemplo, Miguel Hernández que otros. Él estuvo en lugares donde silbaban las balas mientras otros estaban en bailes de disfraces y comilonas de la Alianza de Escritores Antifascistas. Es así" ("Contra los fanatismos").

Definitivamente parecía una guerra de escolares, cuyos gastos fuesen a pagar los padres...y los hijos, y los nietos" (129-30).[140]

Anarchists

The anarchists are represented as a collective rather than as individuals, and appear brutal, lawless and ignorant. They are all members of the FAI (Federación Anarquista Ibérica), the most violent and revolutionary anarchist grouping, and who were also known to have robbed banks in order to obtain funds.[141] The decision not to individualise the anarchists creates a dehumanising effect, but crimes perpetrated by them in the novel do accord with the historical record (although the novel is perhaps overly harsh towards them). Many historians and eye witnesses agree that they were largely responsible for the terror executed upon Madrid during the early years of the war, and it is they who come and search Ignacio's house during the night before bringing him for a "paseo."[142] Their actions are apparently driven by bitterness and a desire for revenge, and their leader says to Ignacio:

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[140] Chilean diplomat, Carlos Morla Lynch, another of Muñoz Molina's sources, would write of Maria Teresa León's room in the Heredia-Spínola palace: "Es la habitación de la marquesa. Duerme en una cama llena de cortinajes y pieles de armiño. Este es el comunismo. Los moradores tenían, sin embargo, caras largas ante el temor de que todo aquello durara poco" (74). Alberti would refer to the war as "La Belle Epoque", and Maria Teresa León would call the war years "los mejores de nuestra vida" (Trapiello 133).

[141] It is interesting to note how differently the anarchists in *La noche* are represented in comparison to another fourth-wave novel, Rosa Montero's *La hija del caníbal* (1996). In Montero's novel, one of the characters, Félix, is a former anarchist who took part in robberies and other lawless actions, but his life is presented in a romanticised light, and he is an entirely sympathetic character. Montero wrote in the foreward that she had deliberately wanted to rescue the Spanish anarchists from the dark place often accorded to them by history.

[142] It has been common in historiography of the past twenty years (particularly from a left-wing view) to attribute Republican rearguard violence to groups of "incontrolados," of whom the anarchists formed a larger proportion. However, while agreeing that the anarchist CNT-FAI were the most active in the campaign of terror, Julián Ruiz has recently argued (drawing from extensive source material) that the Republican authorities and police were also implicated. He points out that the head of government, José Giral, allowed the massive entry of left-wing militants into the Cuerpo de Investigación y Vigilancia (the criminal investigation unit of the police) in order to guarantee the cooperation of left-wing parties and syndicates in the maintenance of order. He also appointed Manuel Muñoz as the new Director of Security, who created the Comité Provisional de Investigación Pública (CPIP) "una organización parallela dedicada a la investigación que 'ayudaría' a la DGS [Dirección General de Seguridad] mientras en esta se hacía una purga de fascistas. Con representantes de todos los partidos y sindicatos del Frente Popular, pronto se convertiría en el mayor centro de asesinatos y actuó como punto neurálgico de la red del terror, recibiendo y transfiriendo priosioneros para ser ejecutados." This had not been Muñoz's intention, but since he did not want to confront the CPIP, a situation was created whereby the DGS "participó conscientemente en 'sacas' de las prisiones. Es decir, emitió órdenes de liberación falsas que dejaban a los reclusos en manos del CPIP para ser matados fuera de la cárcel" ("Introduction").

> No te vayas a creer que nos engañas con todos tus carnets y todas tus fotos con la carcundia republicana [...]. Los compañeros de la construcción se acuerdan bien de ti. Te faltaba tiempo para contratar esquiroles y para llamar a los guardias de Asalto cada vez que se convocaba una huelga. Ahora vas a pagar. (666)

Ignacio is brought to the Ciudad Universitaria and pushed up against the wall of the Faculty of Philosophy, "las hileras de ladrillo picoteadas de disparos, de salpicaduras y chorreones de sangre" (668).[143] At the last moment, obeying the logic of chance, Eutimio saves him from his executioners, but he will be left with a traumatic memory which haunts him as he flees Spain: "Tan lejos de Madrid y de las noches de insomnia y miedo de los últimos meses Ignacio Abel aún recuerda en presente. El tiempo verbal del miedo no lo cancela la distancia" (16).

Ignacio will also be sent on a mission by Bergamín to rescue four El Grecos from potential destruction by anarchists, a story which is reminscent of one of the short stories in Chaves Nogales' *A sangre y fuego*.[144] Bergamín defends their ignorance, but even he cannot escape a note of disdain from entering his voice when he speaks of their actions:

> Esos muchachos algo delirantes de la FAI se han hecho con el poder y han decidido proclamar el comunismo libertario. Por ahora ya han eliminado la propiedad privada y el

[143] The depiction of *paseos* in the novel is in accordance with those described by Cervera Gil in *Madrid en Guerra* (65). A search and interrogation similar to Ignacio's experience also takes place in Juan Iturralde's *Días de llamas* (122), one of Muñoz Molina's acknowledged influences. Unlike Ignacio, the main character, Tomás, is not detained at this time, but in both accounts the militants inspire a visceral fear. Thus, we are told in *Días:* "Sentí un comienzo de temblor visceral [...]" (110); "el pánico me mineralizaba, ya no había apuntador ni ángel de guardia, sólo más sudores y más fríos y un dolor creciente en la región lumbar" (121). Compare this with the descriptions in *La noche:* "Recuerda el miedo primitivo, el miedo recobrado a la noche, la oscuridad más honda y más llena de peligros que en los cuentos que le contaban de niño" (657); "[...] tenía las mandíbulas como encajadas entre sí, las piernas encogidas y paralizadas, las manos muy frías sobre los muslos" (668).

[144] The story is *El tesoro de Briesca,* whose protagonist, Arnal, is a member of the Junta de Incautación y Conservación del Tesoro Artístico Nacional. After rescuing two El Greco paintings from militants in the village of Briesca, he buries them secretly, keeping a map of the location around his neck. Briesca rhymes with Illescas, the village that Ignacio is sent to along with the same Junta, and Becerra and Rodriguez in their critique of *La noche* suggest that Nogales' source of inspiration was the true story of the rescue of five El Greco paintings from Illescas by the sculptor Enrique Barral (who, like Arnal, will be killed in the defence of Madrid). Their sources for this story are Maria Teresa León's *Memoria de la melancolía* (1970) and *La historia tiene palabra* (1944) (57).

> dinero, y han convertido la capilla de la Caridad en almacén de víveres colectivizados. [...]. En la comuna se está debatiendo qué se hace con el retablo, si se vende para recaudar fondos y comprar armas, que es la postura de los más templados, o directamente se quema en una hoguera en medio de la plaza. No me mire con esa cara, Abel. No podemos reprochar al pueblo que no aprecie lo que no se le ha enseñado a admirar. (764-5)

A further incident of anarchist lawlessness occurs when Judith and Ignacio are driving out to Van Doren's house in the country and are stopped by anarchists looking for a "voluntary contribution." They insist they are not bandits or beggars, but are desperate because the landlords had refused to plant that year and there is no work available in the village. Ignacio feels both sympathy and disgust, and is glad when he is allowed to drive off, leaving them behind "en su pobreza de desierto, en la exasperación que los reducía a salteadores de caminos, dignificados por sus brazaletes con siglas y sus rudimentarios catecismos anarquistas" (431).

Radicals Are All the Same

Radicals of left and right are consistently portrayed as being morally and intellectually alike in their instransigence and propensity towards violence.[145] Thus, Rossman will say of his politically divided family: "Quizas en el fondo mi hija admire a Hitler tanto como a su madre, y el único defecto que le encuentra es que sea tan anticomunista" (94). He more explicitly equates the violence of the two sides in the following excerpt, spoken to Ignacio: [...] hay que escaparse de aquí. Las camisas azules y las camisas pardas y las camisas negras y las camisas rojas ya están llegando y es sólo cuestión de tiempo antes de que lo hayan infectado todo. (353) Ignacio has a similar opinion, and tells Víctor that he is equally repulsed by demonstrations on the left and the right: "Me da la misma vergüenza exactamente. El mismo asco. Todos iguales, marcando el paso, apretando los puños, apretando los dientes. Me da igual el color de la camisa" (367). Later, when he discovers that anarchists have shot at the socialist workers who labour at the Ciudad Universitaria, Ignacio thinks,

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[145] There have been suggestions that the Falange actually employed CNT *pistoleros* to do some of their fighting, and some Falangists professed sympathy for anarchism, although Hugh Thomas affirms that there was no formal understanding between the two groups (*The Spanish Civil War* 163). See also Brennan's *The Spanish Labyrinth* (309).

> Lo asombroso era que nadie más pareciera darse cuenta de la similitud extraordinaria entre los rituales funerarios de quienes se declaraban enemigos, la celebración exaltada del coraje y del sacrificio, el agrio rechazo del mundo real y presente en nombre del Paraíso sobre la Tierra o del Reino de los Cielos: como si quisieran acelerar la llegada del Juicio Final y odiaran mucho más en el fondo a los incrédulos y los tibios que a los iluminados del bando enemigo. (382)

He despairs to Judith at the very end of the novel, "el sentido común era la más desacreditada de las utopías" (934). Philip Van Doren also likens communism to fascism although in a more positive manner, saying: "Hay que amar los grandes proyectos y la acción inmediata y efectiva y no tener paciencia con la palabrería, con las dilaciones. En Moscú o Berlin su ciudad universitaria ya estaría terminada. Incluso en Roma" (151).

Another technique used to expose their similarities is that of juxtaposing propaganda and political rhetoric from both sides in a way that makes them appear similar. The words in bold come from right-wing propaganda, while those in italics come from the left. Those which are underlined could equally refer to both:

> No se puede detener la marcha implacable de la Historia (Marxist), decían; **Ahora o Nunca** [Falangist]; Ni un Paso Atrás [Republican]. Revolución o Muerte; **Aplastad a la Hidra Bolchevique**; El Pueblo Trabajador Parirá con Sangre y Dolor una Gloriosa España Nueva; **El Ejército Ha de Ser de Nuevo la Columna Vertebral de la Patria [Extract from Calvo Sotelo speech]**. Carteles con grandes letras rojas o negras recién pegados en los muros; <u>brazos musculosos, mandíbulas violentas</u>, **manos abiertas** o puños cerrados; **esvásticas, haces y flechas**, hoces y martillos, **águilas con las alas desplegadas** [...]. (334-5)

At best, radicals such as Victor or Rossman's daughter are portrayed as romantics lacking in common sense ("Mi pobre hija, enamorada de Lenin y de Stalin como se había enamorado antes de Douglas Fairbanks y Rudolf Valentino!" says Rossman of her (696)). At their worst, they are brutal and cruel, like the anarchists who almost murdered Ignacio. However, violence is never portrayed as blindly irrational. It is

either misguided or arises from anticlericalism, class hatred or old grudges, and never appears as part of a truly organised revolution, even if the word is used in justification. That the revolution was not truly accomplished is alluded to a number of times in the novel, and the following excerpt contains a rather striking metaphor:

> Zonas inesperadas de la antigua normalidad se mantenían intactas en medio del colapso: como ese balcón que había visto al pasar una mañana junto a un edificio bombardeado, un balcón casi suspendido en el aire, sujeto por una barra invisible al único muro que se mantenía en pie, sus filigranas de hierro perfectamente conservadas, igual que las macetas de geranios colgadas de la barandilla. ¿No decía Negrín que en España faltaba seriedad hasta para hacer las revoluciones? (543-544)[146]

Similarly, Ignacio will reflect on the "desastre de una revolución fantasmagórica que incendiaba las iglesias y dejaba intactos los bancos, al carnaval de desfiles y asesinatos" (931). In this way, the novel's interpretation of political violence in some part accords with that of Cervera Gil in his study of the terror in Madrid:

> Se trataba, en suma, de una violencia política aunque bien es cierto que muchas veces latían en el fondo odios, personales o de clase, deseo de venganza por hechos pasados o, incluso, el simple placer de matar. Esta violencia política era de carácter inorgánico porque no se debía a ningún proyecto revolucionario, sino que, precisamente, se originaba por carecer de tal proyecto. Además, la violencia en Madrid de esos sectores revolucionarios no era consecuencia de la preparación de un movimiento insurreccional contrario al de los sublevados a los que habían derrotado. En definitiva, la violencia de unos y otros derivaba, en suma, del fracaso de la vía insurreccional en ambos bandos. (59)

Perhaps because of this denial of revolutionary protagonism, the novel has been (unjustly) accused of stooping to old interpretations of the war based on a historical Spanish "cainism" which is irrational and barbaric rather than locating it in its specific socio-historical context (Becerra Mayor and Rodríguez Puértolas 67). It is true that there are multiple references to Spanish backwardness in the novel, and that political radicalism is associated with lack of common sense, while violence is barbaric. Bull-

[146] If we recall, this remark about Spain's inability to even organise a revolution is also made by Higinio Zamora Zamorano in *Riña de gatos* and can be identified with the personal opinion of Mendoza regarding the radical left and its utopian fantasies (see page 102).

fighting is frequently linked by Ignacio to the chaos and violence, giving the impression that cruelty and bloodlust is as much part of the Spanish character as the national sport is. However, to say that the novel presents these as the causes of the war and ignores the concrete social and historical circumstances is to greatly misunderstand it. It will be argued in the following section that, on the contrary, the war is shown to be rooted in a complex of social, historical, economic and geopolitical forces which were not always particular to Spain, but characterised the general European experience of the time.

4.3 "Spain Is Not Different"

To begin, it is important to recall that discourses about Spain's backwardness, exceptionalism and congenital predisposition towards civil war and violence were extremely common during the time of the Second Republic. Such interpretations first emerged among intellectuals of the nineteenth century, who sought explanations for Spain's slowness to modernise in comparison with other European powers. Although they are now largely discredited, they have continued to enjoy currency even up to the present day. When such discourses emerge in the novel, they must be seen as part of its attempt to present a realistic picture of the past. A careful analysis will show that the author's refracted intentions were not to blame the war on essentialist Spanish characteristics, but rather to portray it as the result of a complex of forces.[147] Below, there will first of all be an exposition of the way in which discourses about backwardness, bull-fighting and a Spanish "illness" are presented in the novel. Afterwards, there will be an examination of how conversations between Negrín, Ignacio and Eutimio highlight the many social and political tensions and finally, of how

[147] Muñoz Molina has clearly stated in an interview that he believes that "lo de las dos Españas [...] es una mentira, sólo la irresponsabilidad política puede alimentar esa idea" and that "los dos bandos eran muy poco homogeneous. Ni todos los de izquierdas eran comunistas, ni todos los de derechas, fascistas" ("Dos Españas").

these national problems are placed within a wider European context which denies Spanish exceptionalism.

Spanish "Backwardness"

Ignacio often laments Spain's backwardness in comparison to other European countries. Thus, when he returns to Spain after a year-long trip to Germany, he arms himself against expected years of "penuria intelectual" (126) with foreign magazines collected on the journey. When Rossman asks him in 1929 about his life, he thinks of "encargos sin resultado, proyectos en ruinas, como había leído en un artículo de Ortega y Gasset: España era un país de proyectos en ruinas" (97). He despairs of the progress of the Ciudad Universitaria works, one of the great modern building projects of the Republic, which is slowed by workers strikes, bureaucratic delays, and the use of primitive construction methods (262-3). Negrín is also frustrated about Spanish slowness, complaining that "la velocidad de la política española es de carreta de mulas" (442), and contrasting Azaña's fear of travelling faster than thirty kilometres per hour with Hitler's effective use of the aeroplane. Ignacio is also critical of anything which is connected to "Hispanidad" or a nostalgia for a supposedly glorious medieval Spain.[148] This is emblemised for him by Adela's conservative Catholic family, whom he dislikes despite their friendliness towards him and the substantial help they gave him to start his career:

> Pero no habría podido explicarle a su mujer que lo que más le enconaba contra su familia no era una discordia ideológica sino estética, la misma que mantenía silenciosamente contra la inagotable fealdad española de tantas cosas cotidianas, contra una especie de depravación nacional que ofendía más gravemente su sentido de belleza que sus convicciones sobre la justicia: las cabezas de toros disecadas sobre los mostradores de las tabernas, los carteles taurinos con un rojo de pimentón y un amarillo de sucedáneo de azafrán, los sillones de tijera y los bargueños que imitaban al Renacimiento español [....]. (217)

[148] The glorification of the Catholic monarchs of the fifteenth century was part of the discourse of Left and Right during the nineteenth. According to Henry Kamen, for the former, their reign represented Spanish success without the despotic absolutism that had characterised Spanish monarchies since (Kamen 49). For the Right, they represented the height of Spain's Imperial and Catholic glory, a myth which would become a staple of Francoist rhetoric.

The quotation contains one of many references to Ignacio's hatred of bull-fighting. As here, all that is primitive, backward and wrong about Spain is associated by Ignacio with the national pastime, and is linked to the civil war. Thus, when he reads news about the war in Paris, he reflects that

> la guerra de España era un asunto exótico y con frecuencia menor, noticias de barbarie en una región lejana y primitiva del mundo.[149] Recordaba la melancolía de sus primeros viajes fuera del país: la sensación de salto en el tiempo nada más cruzar la frontera; revivía la vergüenza que había sentido tan joven al ver en un periódico francés o alemán ilustraciones de corridas de toros [...]. Ahora no era toros o caballos muertos los que veía en las fotos de los periódicos de Paris [...] era hombres esta vez, hombres matándose los unos a los otros [...]. (83)[150]

Negrín is aware of Ignacio's hatred of bull-fighting, and after praising Ignacio's talk on architecture at the Residencia de Estudiantes, apologises because he knows that Ignacio "odia la fiesta nacional" and tells Judith that "sus principios laicos, antimilitaristas y antitaurinos son tan sólidos que su mayor pesadilla sería una misa de campaña en una plaza de toros" (114). Here then, Ignacio's repulsion is associated with his liberal democratic, anti-clerical principles. Finally, when Negrín tells Ignacio of how he and Prieto had to be evacuated from a political meeting because they were being abused by people from their own side, Ignacio asks if it had taken place in a bull-ring. Negrín replies: "Y dónde iba a ser, Abel? Es usted monomaníaco con la cuestión taurina" (444). In turn, Ignacio emphasises the importance of architecture on the

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[149] On the following page, the Spanish war is associated with the Italian invasion of Abyssinia of 1935-6, equally exotic to European readers, and which he had read about with similar detachment. There are a number of references to this invasion in the novel, serving as a reminder that the war in Spain would be multiplied across Europe because of the colonising drive for power, as well as political intolerance. See for example, page 39 when Ignacio recalls news footage in the cinema, and page 644, where Van Doren likens the Francoists to the Italian invaders of Abyssinia.

[150] Ignacio makes further comparisons between the war/political violence and bull-fighting on 85, 382 and 618. His sensitivity regarding the way Spain is perceived abroad also emerges when he sees a newspaper in Burton College (840). Before the war, his architectural philosophy is also expressed in terms of a painful feeling of Spanish inferiority (see the part in bold): "la arquitectura no consistía en inventar formas abstractas, **la tradición popular española no era un catálogo de pintoresquismos para enseñar a los extranjeros o para usar decorativamente en el pabellón de una feria**; la arquitectura de los nuevos tiempos había de ser un herramienta en el gran empeño de hacer mejores las vidas de hombres [...] [emphases added]" (106).

mood of the people and uses the example of the stadiums used by Hitler to give speeches. Elaborating on the bullring, he adds that "en una plaza de toros el sol reblandece las cabezas y al público le da el instinto de ver sangre y de pedir que se corten orejas" (444). The comparison to Hitler's meetings is noteworthy, reminding the reader as it does that inflammatory speeches were also taking place in a country other that Spain, and that political trouble there was being echoed throughout Europe.

The idea of a congenital Spanish sickness also appears in Ignacio's discourse, but as with bull-fighting, this largely emerges from a sensitivity about how Spaniards are treated and perceived abroad. Thus, in Paris, he sees "los españoles, como enfermos congregados por la vergüenza de una infección infame" (80). Spaniards have "una enfermedad congénita de la que él no puede curarse y a la que quienes hacían los periódicos y quienes los compraban distraídamente fuesen inmunes [...] (557). When he arrives in the US, he feels that Stevens treats him with a manner "que incluye ese punto excesivo de indulgencia con que se dirige uno a un enfermo [...]" (833, with another reference on 875). Later, the President shakes Ignacio's hand, "poniendo encima la otra como para confirmar su bienvenida, la admiración por su trabajo, tal vez también la condolencia anticipada por la aflicción de la República Española [...]" (863). Ignacio tells Judith that no one wants to help the Republic and that "nos miran como apestados" (893).[151] Rossman is also a victim of the Spanish sickness, lying "en una fosa común de Madrid, contagiado sin motivo ni culpa por la gran plaga medieval de la muerte española" (82). Neither in these examples nor elsewhere does Ignacio express the idea that Spain needs to be "cured" of an endemic illness. Such rhetoric belonged to the radicals of left and right who are denounced in the novel. If there is a disease, it is irresponsible political rhetoric and propaganda, as recognised by Ignacio (see the section in italics)

> Las mismas palabras en un asedio sin descanso, en las emisoras leales y en las del

[151] There are numerous references made by Ignacio to this "sickness", for example on pages 810–11 when he is reading foreign newspapers about the war. The feeling of being diseased or "apestados" which also emerges in other tales of exile such as Almudena Grandes' *El corazón helado* (2007) and Andres Trapiello's *Días y noches* (2000).

> enemigo [...] inmunes a la evidencia de la mentira, imponiéndose por la fuerza bruta de la repetición [...]. Cómo sería posible no escucharlas, no ser contagiado *e infectado por ellas, las borracheras de palabras que sostenían la alucinación colectiva* [emphases added]. (650)[152]

Negrín also decries empty rhetoric, exclaiming that "aquí la política no son más que palabras, selvas de palabras, hectáreas de discursos con frases subordinadas!" (439), using tauring imagery to ridicule Azaña's manner of delivering a speech, and complaining of the boredom induced by Ortega's florid speeches (440). As mentioned above, he is critical of Largo Caballero's revolutionary rhetoric, saying of him and his followers that they have learnt nothing from the uprising of 1934 and have "la cabeza llenas de carteles de propaganda y de películas soviéticas (443).[153] Those who produce propaganda are the worst, because, as an infuriated Ignacio says to Judith,

> A la guerra, a los sitios donde de verdad se está expuesto a morir, no van más que los que no tienen más remedio porque los llevan a la guerra o porque se han creído la propaganda y los han emborachados con las banderas y los himnos. Todo el que puede se escapa, salvo esos inocentes o esos alucinados que son los primeros en morir o en quedar mutilados o desfigurados. (906)

This negative perspective is echoed in a recent collection of historical essays on the subject, *Palabras como puños* (2011), edited by Fernando del Rey. Speaking for all of the authors, he writes of the different political groupings in the introduction that

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[152] Such characterisations of propaganda and war fervour are strikingly similar to a description by Julian Marías in his memoirs, one of Muñoz Molina's sources: "En efecto, era una locura, pero no orgánica ni psíquica; las personas que participaban de ella no eran psíquicamente anormales, no hubieran sido admitidas en ningún manicomio. Padecían una locura biográfica, social, histórica. Y esta locura es terriblemente contagiosa, sobre todo cuando cuenta con el medio difusor que se llama propaganda. Si los historiadores de aquella época se tomaran la molestia de repasar las colecciones de periódicos, no para buscar datos, hechos, sino el ambiente, la tonalidad, los supuestos de los que se decía, comprenderían mejor un periodo de nuestra historia siempre contado mal, precisamente desde las fórmulas y los esquemas abstractos" (188). Much of Marías' description of the early days in Madrid, along with his emphasis on the war as not being inevitable, nor even obviously a civil war at the beginning, are also similar to the representation in *La noche de los tiempos.*

[153] That Caballero's rhetoric was no more than words (if dangerous ones) has been agreed upon by most recent historians. In government he showed himself to be more pragmatic and less ideological than most had been led to believe. (see Preston *La guerra civil española* and Casanova and Gil Andres *Historia de España en el siglo XX*).

> a tenor de cómo plantearon sus artífices la democratización, de las resistencias que despertaron a su paso, de los lenguajes excluyentes de la omnipresencia de la violencia, bien puede afirmarse que todo ello deibilitó la democracia republicana, dando pie a que desde muy pronto se conemplase el enfrentamiento bélico como un desenlace probable. (41)[154]

Propaganda and rhetoric are not the only problems unveiled in the novel, however, and the desperate poverty and impatience of the urban workers is also cited as a reason for their increased radicalism. This emerges most clearly in Ignacio's pre-war conversation with the socialist foreman of his works, Eutimio. Ignacio decries the lawlessness and violence being practiced on the streets, but Eutimio tells him that he cannot understand "la lucha de clases" because "usted lleva zapatos y no alpargatas" (385). He goes on to call the Republican government one of "burgueses," which, while it was good, "no da de comer" (398). When Ignacio tries to insist that not all problems can be solved at once, he replies "¿Y quiénes somos usted y yo para decirle a nadie que tenga paciencia ¿O que se espere unos meses para darle de comer a sus hijos?" (398). This repetition of revolutionary socialist rhetoric leads Ignacio to think that "también Eutimio, que había tenido siempre el habla rotunda y precisa de los barrios trabajadores de Madrid, alimentada de viveza callejera y de la lectura de novelas sociales, se expresaba ahora como recitando un folleto de propaganda, un editorial de periódico" (386). Propaganda and desperation go hand in hand, feeding one another to create a dangerous monster.

The semi-feudal nature of rural Spain and the consequent misery of the peasantry are also referred to in the novel. One example occurs when Ignacio repudiates Judith's romanticisation of the Castillian countryside (and also the celebration of Spanish essentialism that was characteristic of the discourse of the Generation of '98):

> Intentaba disuadirla de esas ensoñaciones: que se olvidara de los éxtasis castellanos de

[154] The book was produced with the explicit intention of providing an impartial account of the Second Republic which avoids the mythification practiced by both pro and anti-Republican, and which is critical of the "historical memory" movement for re-awakening of manichean divisions. It nevertheless emphasises that the war was neither inevitable, nor necessary, and rejects the neo-Francoist argument that it began in 1934 with the Asturian uprising (34-41).

> Azorín y de Unamuno, de las vaguedades de Ortega; no había nada de mística, nada de belleza en la llanura pelada que tanto celebraban aquellos individuos, ningún misterio relacionado con el ser de España*: había ignorancia, decisiones económicas insensatas, talas de árboles, primacía de latifundios y de los grandes rebaños de ovejas poseídos por señores feudales, por ricachones parásitos que dependían del trabajo de campesinos aplastados por la pobreza y la ignorancia, malnutridos, sometidos a las supersticiones de la Iglesia* [emphases added]. (426)[155]

Finally, the military uprising is denounced as the immediate cause of the war, and the Francoist army portrayed as terrible, brutal and cruel, raping and killing without mercy as it advances upon Madrid "cómo una epidemia maléfica contra la que no hay antídoto" (680). It is telling that the idea of plague is used here, suggesting that the "Spanish disease," while it might have been incubated by the propaganda of left and right, was ultimately released upon the population by the rebellion.

The International Context of the War

Finally, *La noche de los tiempos* firmly places the Spanish conflict within the context of the larger European crisis which would eventually explode as the Second World War.[156] It shows how the radicalisation of politics in Spain was echoed all over Europe, and how the course of the war would be determined largely by the reactions of the European great powers. This is the same interpretation taken by *Riña de gatos,* with both novels following the trend of recent historiography.[157]

Discourse about the international context is largely filtered through the character of Professor Rossman, and to a lesser extent, of Negrín. Rossman flees to Soviet Russia with his communist daughter after Hitler has started to implement his anti-Jewish policies. However, when his daughter's lover becomes a victim of the Stalinist purges,

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[155] When she waxes lyrical about Madrid's charming streets, he also reprimands her by saying: "No tomes por exotismo lo que es sólo atraso" (195).

[156] Antonio Muñoz Molina has also insisted upon the importance of the international European context. His novel *Sefarad* (2007), in some ways a precursor to *La noche,* recounts the stories of those who were victims of the totalitarian ideologies of the twentieth century in Europe. Sefarad was the name given by Jews to Spain, and as the novel's title indicates, there is a connection to Spain and Jewishness in all of the stories contained in the novel.

[157] See Chapter 3, note 93 for relevant historiographical references.

they are forced out of Russia and decide to go to Spain, where, in a supreme irony, he is murdered by Spanish left-wing militias during the war. Ignacio believes Rossman may have been targeted because of his insistence on telling everyone he meets about the horrors he had witnessed in Germany and Russia, "obsesionado por la magnitud de delirios colectivos y de las mentiras de la propaganda alemana o italiana o soviética que todo el mundo a excepción de él mismo parecía aceptar sin enfurecerse [...]" (331). Rossman decries the insularity of the Spaniards who had only "nociones muy vagas sobre el mundo exterior, una curiosidad muy muy limitada y como distraída," and is frustrated that nobody will listen to him or ask him about "las cosas que él había visto primero en Alemania y después en la Unión Soviética" (332).[158] He frequently dropped cut-outs from international newspapers into Ignacio's mailbox, but Ignacio, like everyone else was uninterested, a failing for which he will later berate himself: "se empeñaba en cambiar imaginariamente el curso del pasado: él, solo, debatiendo con fantasmas, cambiando sus propios actos y los de las personas a las que conocía y hasta los de los figurones de la vida pública [...]."

Van Doren also presents an outside view, and admires the advances made in Russia, Germany and Italy, even seeming to excuse the expulsions which have taken place in the former two countries. He argues that this happens every time there is a change of system and that "es una cuestión de proporciones [...] no de casos individuales. Como decimos en nuestro país, *there is no such thing as a free lunch,* todas las cosas tienen un precio" (155). We cannot be sure how serious Van Doren is in his praise of totalitarian countries, and Ignacio senses that "en su convicción había algo de impostura: como si fuese capaz de defender igual de apasionadamente lo contrario de lo que estaba diciendo [...]" (156). The Republic's international isolation, and the grave effects this would have on its ability to defend itself against the insurgents, are all referred to upon numerous occasions, for example when Negrín complains to Ignacio about the the lack of help from the Western democracies:

[158] Ignacio encountered a similar lack of interest in the outside world when he returned from his study trip to Germany in 1924 (where Rossman was his teacher) and "nadie le preguntaba sobre su experiencia en Alemania" (96).

> [...] hasta nuestros camaradas franceses del Frente Popular nos tratan como si fuéramos apestados. No quieren que por culpa nuestra se les malogren sus relaciones excelentes con Mussolini y con Hitler, y menos todavía con los británicos, que no sé por qué nos detestan mucho más que a los facciosos. No quieren vendernos armas. (816)[159]

Finally, Judith stands as a representative of the many who went to fight on the Republican side as members of the International Brigades, ideologically committed to the international fight against fascism. She tells a cynical and defeated Ignacio about the fervent support which has been stirred up all over the world, informing him also that the USSR has finally agreed to sell arms to the Republic, and that France has agreed to allow shipments to pass across her borders (904). It was at this point that the war became truly international, and from where it would gain its fame as the first great battle between the twentieth-century ideologies of Marxism and fascism.

Chapter Conclusions

With *La noche de los tiempos,* Muñoz Molina has added a much-needed literary perspective on the Spanish Civil War, particularly at a time when there has been a frequent propensity in literature and film to romanticise the Second Republic and its defenders, and to gloss over the illegal violence that was practiced by less democratic elements. The interpretation of the war that emerges is complex and manifold. It is not reduced to pure irrationality, although irrationalism is present. Neither is it represented simplistically as a "war of classes" or of political ideologies. Politics is shown to be shifting and manifold, and while certain elements of society became dangerously radicalised, there were others who struggled to try and keep the peace.

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[159] Recent historiography has agreed that the British attitude was detrimental to the course of the war, and to the ultimate fate of the Republic. The British authorities were privately hostile to the Republican government because of fears that it would be overcome by Bolshevism, thus damaging British economic interests. There was also a fear that if foreign powers became involved, the conflict would escalate into a European war, which Britain wanted to avoid at all costs, her resources already being stretched in other parts of the Empire. Therefore the British eagerly signed an international Non-Intervention Pact which placed an embargo on the sale of arms to both sides. However, it was blatantly violated by Hitler and Mussolini, so that the rebel side was able to benefit from large transfers of arms and men, while the Republic had to rely upon the belated, and much inferior aid of the Soviet Union (cf. Moradiellos García "British Government"; *Perfidia*).

The international context of the war, so often ignored, is also made plain: Spain was not an exception, but just another European country that fell victim to the brutality of political fanaticism and its propaganda machines. In this way, the novel reflects the conclusions of most recent historical studies on the war and its origins (cf. Juliá *Víctimas de la guerra civil* 17-18; Espinosa Maestre 151-55; Casanova and Gil Andres 169; Preston "Defensa antifascista" 53). There is a re-evaluation of traditionally glamourised writers and intellectuals of the left, and many are shown to be hypocritical, frivolous or irresponsible. The reign of terror which existed in Madrid after 1936, and in which these intellectuals were complicit, is also condemned. However, the greatest censure is reserved for the Francoist alliance, responsible for the uprising, and brutal and deliberate in their policy of repression. Only the moderates are treated in a sympathetic manner, giving the impression that ultimately it was they who were the true losers of the war. Finally, the use of a first-person present-day narrator and the filtering of the story through the memories of an anti-heroic protagonist prevent the reader from arriving at any easy decisions about how the past should be interpreted, providing an open space for dialogue and discussion.

4.4 A comparison of *Riña de gatos* and *La noche de los tiempos*

As we have seen, both *Riña* and *La noche* have affinities with the classical historical novel: they are set in a time before the birth of the authors and treat moments of national historical importance; they provide rich and detailed description of the period; they contain a mixture of fictional and historical characters; and they link the private (fictional) stories with historical public events. However, in Mendoza's novel, the conventions of the historical novel are called forth only so that they can be parodied, while Muñoz Molina breaks with the genre's typical linear plotting in order to present a view of history as discontinuous, eschewing the usual third-person narration in favour of a first-person narrator who directly addresses the reader. As a result, the practice of writing and interpreting history is foregrounded, and the reader is called upon to question prior beliefs and expectations.

The chronotopes of the novels cause past and the present to be called up simultaneously—in *Riña* implicitly and in *La noche* more explicitly—thus providing a link between the novels and the debates happening in Spain today. These chronotopical structures are key to their successful challenge of mythified discourses about the civil war, and particularly of the old cliché that the conflict was inevitable because of the violent polarisation of the "Two Spains." Thus, as we saw in Chapter 3, *Riña* is partly structured according to the (parodied) chronotopes of the classical historical novel, which are similar to those of classic historiography. The narrator is therefore understood to speak from a position in the present and to have historical knowledge which was not possessed by those who lived at the time. There are numerous narratorial digressions which provide historical information in an impersonal, historiographical tone, preventing a total immersion in the events of the story. This information matches the accepted historical record, betraying a desire for historical authenticity, noted by Hansen and Gómez López-Quiñones as being another common characteristic of fourth-wave novels. The expectations of classic historiography are also invoked through the use of a linear chronology based on the chronotope of adventure time (which is common to the historical novel and the other popular genres parodied by *Riña*), with events succeededing one another logically in a chain of cause and effect. However, irony and humour frustrate these expectations, and teleologic master narratives of history, such as those of Marxism and fascism, are continuously dismantled and ridiculed. Irony and parody also break the referential illusion in order to foreground the fictionality of the narrative. Through these techniques, a critical distance from the past is established; the reader is encouraged to reflect upon the nature of historical interpretation and to question her own assumptions about how the past should be understood.

In *La noche de los tiempos,* on the other hand, the narrator addresses the reader directly about the process of novelistic creation from a location (physical and temporal) in the present. The desire for historical authenticity emerges in the narrator's references to reading newspapers of the period or visiting important streets and locations in Madrid in order to better imagine Ignacio Abel's presence there. At the same time, though, the narrator's self-reflexive commentary establishes a

distance from the represented past. As with *Riña,* historical linearity is ruptured, and Muñoz Molina clearly follows the advice of Foucault to "read history backwards" and dig out the counter memories that have been silenced by dominant versions (such as romanticised left-wing accounts of the Republican defence of Madrid). This type of reading is done through the use of a chrontope of memory, created by the linking of two narrative planes: that of Ignacio's journey to Burton College in October 1936 and that of 1935-6 Madrid. The story of Ignacio's train journey is told in the present tense in an overall chronological fashion, but it is constantly punctured by Ignacio's memories of the previous year. Typically, these memories are fragmented and do not follow a chronologically linear sequence, the most intense of them leaping out repeatedly to arrest Ignacio and the reader. In this, we are reminded of Walter Benjamin's conception of history as individual moments that are appertained according to the interests of the present day, rather than an entirety that can be recovered "as it truly was." History also remains unfinalised in the novel, and at the end there is a switch to a speculative future tense which leaves open the question of whether Ignacio and his lover, Judith, will ever see one another again. The narrative style, as well as the choice of an anti-hero as the main character, creates an emotional distance and opens up a space for engaging in a critical dialogue.

Riña de gatos and *La noche de los tiempos* show strong similarities in their attitude to the conflicts which animated the Second Republic and their interpretation of the war's meaning and origins. In *Riña,* the political radicalism of Left and Right during 1936 is ridiculed through parody, irony and carnival humour, while in *La noche,* it is condemned by making liberal democrats the most sympathetic characters, with Falangists, Francoists, Communists and Anarchists portrayed in contrast as brutal and ignorant. Nevertheless, the anger of the workers is shown as being justified in both novels, even if the resulting violence is condemned. The main protagonists of each, Anthony Whitelands and Ignacio Abel, are constructed as fool figures who are unable to comprehend the political catfighting. To them, radicals of the Left and Right appear to be fundamentally the same in their intolerance and their readiness to turn against anyone who stands for peace and negotiation. Thus, when Anthony witnesess a row between the Falangists and left-wing workers in a bar, the narrator finishes the

description of the scene by showing how insults of "fascista" and "rojo" become mutual slurs of "cabrones." The sense is that the arguing has less to do with genuine political ideals and is more about the expression of a general hostility, and when Anthony later refuses to take sides, everyone begins to turn against him. This echoes what happens in *La noche de los tiempos,* where Ignacio's friend, Professor Rossman is murdered for his outspokenness against totalitarianism of all kinds, fascist or communist. Ignacio himself is almost murdered by anarchists, even though he is a card-carrying member of the Socialist Party and the son of a construction worker.

Real historical characters also make an appearance in both novels, and although they play secondary roles, they are restrored to human form from the myths that have been built around them. In *Riña,* the Falangist leader José Antonio Primo de Rivera is presented as a charming, educated young man, with a genuine desire to better the lot of his people, but one whose political ideas are confused and who does not have the confidence of the conspiring miltiary generals. This portrayal is rather different to his traditional demonisation by the Left as a heartless murderer and his converse heroisation by the Franco regime as a martyr for its ideals. Muñoz Molina's novel addresses the reputation of another historical figure, the last head of the Republican government, Dr. Juan Negrín. For many years labelled as a traitor to the Socialist Party, having supposedly sold the Republic and her gold to Moscow, Negrín's reputation has recently been rehabilitated through biographies such as those of Gabriel Jackson and Enrique Moradiellos, and his Socialist Party membership was reinstated in 2008. In accordance with these reappraisals, Muñoz Molina's portrayal is of a pragmatic man with a tremendous energy and strong convictions, one who would never have become a Communist pawn and who was one of the few to see the Spanish conflict in terms of its wider European dimensions. In terms of the war's origins, neither novel interprets it as simply being the result of political irrationality, although the political environment of 1936 is described as a madness by sympathetic characters (the Duke of Igualada in *Riña* and Negrín in *La noche*). There is also a clear opposition to interpretations which see the war as being rooted in inherent Spanish propsensities towards internecine conflict. Through Anthony's British gaze, *Riña* calls forth stereotypes of Spain as being a land of violence and passion, but the

Englishman's many reflections upon art, particularly that of Velázquez, also provides a critique of such simplifications. In *La noche*, Ignacio berates Judith for falling victim to literary mystification of the Spanish landscape by the Generation of 1898, reminding her that what appears romantic on the surface is in reality miserable proverty and ignorance. He frequently expresses his disgust for all things traditionally Spanish, especially those customs which give Spain an embarrassing reputation for backwardness and cruelty, bull-fighting being prime among them. This rejection of a congenital explanation for the war also leads to a rejection that the war was inevitable in both novels, a view which is reinforced by their chronotopical structure, as discussed above. Instead, the war is portrayed as the consequence of a a traditional military *pronunciamiento* which became a civil war partly because of the state of play in European power politics. In this way, Mendoza and Muñoz Molina follow recent historiographic trends which have emphasised the crucial factors of British/French non-intervention versus the willingness of Germany, Italy and Russia to lend their arms to the warring sides. Spain was not different, as the Francoists had long insisted, but fell prey to the types of political divisions that characterised all of Europe at the time, deeply affecting the foreign policy of the major powers, and eventually exploding into the most brutal war the world had ever known. This detailed attention to the international aspect is probably also related to the fact that both Mendoza and Muñoz Molina have spent time working and living outside Spain, specifically in New York. It is therefore unsurprising that both novels feature English-speaking outsiders, most notably Anthony Whitelands in *Riña,* and Judith Biely in *La noche* (with Ignacio Abel himself being able to speak English, and having been educated abroad). This outsider perspective gives the novels a particular richness and depth that is lacking in works which focus entirely on the local or national elements of the conflict, such as the otherwise intriguing *Inquietud en el Paraíso* (2005) by Oscar Esquivías (which is set in Burgos 1936).

Chapter 5: Rafael Chirbes, *La Larga Marcha* (1996)

La larga marcha, by Rafael Chirbes, was first published in 1996, winning the German SWR/Die Bestenliste Prize in the same year, and described by its editor, Jorge Herralde, as "una novela tan necesaria como dolorosa, el referente ético y estético de una generación" (137). It is his fifth work, what he calls his "obra de formación," and like some of his other novels, it explores the Francoist past in order to uncover the complex weaves which make up the fabric of present-day Spain.[160] The novel is divided into two parts: the first, ironically called "El ejército del Ebro," treats the struggle for survival during the late 1940s and 1950s, each chapter focussing on the stories of different family groups living in various parts of Spain; the second, entitled "La joven guardia," is centred on the lives of the younger generation as they converge on Madrid in the 1960s, where they will meet each other through their various political, intellectual and cultural activities. As López Bernasocchi and López de Abiada point out, the title of the novel alludes to the "long march" of Mao and his people, and presumably also to Spain's own long march towards democracy (163), although the reference to Mao is somewhat ironic: the communist revolution that is discussed so ferverently in the second part of the novel will never materialise, and the democracy installed during the Transition is one which, in Chirbes' eyes, only served to cement the power of those classes that had dominated during the dictatorship.[161]

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[160] His novelistic output chronicles the history of his own generation, born after the Civil War and come to maturity during the transition to democracy. His view of Spanish society is often pessimistic and gloomy, though never bitter. The postwar Spain of *La larga marcha,* like *La buena letra* (1992), is depicted as one of grinding poverty, animal brutality, cynical opportunism and multiple betrayal, while the contradictions and injustices of late-Francoist Spain are interrogated in *Los disparos del cazador* (1994) and *La caída de Madrid* (2000). A deep disillusionment with the 1960s revolutionary, left-wing movement emerges in *La larga marcha* and *Los viejos amigos* (2003) (a retrospective set twenty-five years after), while *Crematorio* (2007), considered by many his best, deals exposes corruption in the construction industry at the height of the bubble. He has just published *En la orilla* (2003), which *El País* has called, "La gran novela de la crisis en España" (Chirbes "Gran novela"), in a way following on from *Crematorio* by treating the aftermath of the boom.

[161] In interviews, Chirbes has frequently expressed a negative view of the way in which the Transition was carried out, claiming that the Socialists betrayed their ideals in the construction of the new democracy (cf. Chirbes "Interview 01/2002"; "Las novelas"; Nichols 221-4).

This chapter will examine how the narrative style and chronotopical structure create a dialogue between past and present in order to foster a better understanding of how Spanish society has evolved since the end of the Civil War. It will also examine how the characters are deliberately constructed to be socially and ideologically representative, their discourse and that of the narrator fusing together to present a tapestry of social life during the period. The second part of the chapter will analyse how the novel challenges Franco-Falangist rhetoric which had promised prosperity and peace for all Spaniards after the war, exposing the cruelty of the Francoist repression and the disastrousness of its economic policy. In addition, it will show how the novel attacks the Falangist glorification of military prowess, with violence portrayed as a sterile dead end. The third section will argue that the novel represents the student opposition to the dictatorship as shallow and naïvely romantic, implicitly criticising the future Transition to democracy, along with those who would betray their left-wing ideals in the cynical pursuit of power. Finally, it will be seen how the novel exposes the regime's harshly repressive nature in contrast to current-day impressions of it as having only been mildly authoritarian.

5.1 The autopsy of past and present

As with *Riña de gatos* and *La noche de los tiempos, La larga marcha,* while being a work of historical fiction, departs from the conventions of the classical historical novel. Indeed, Chirbes has insisted a number of times that his novels are not historical novels, and that

> [n]inguno de mis libros han surgido como voluntad de reconstruir el pasado, sino como respuesta al presente, como intento de aclarar mi manera de estar en el mundo, de liberarme de la red de mensajes que me atrapa. Para desenredar esa red he buscado el lugar de donde vienen los hilos: nada se explica al margen de la historia. ("Escribir")

He is influenced by Walter Benjamin in his conception of history, and has likened the realist novel to a scalpel which performs the autopsy of a period, a view which is

reminiscent of Benjamin's injunction to "brush history against the grain" (256). He also follows Benjamin in his rejection of positivist historiography, preferring to explore the past from the contingent present rather than painting an "eternal" (259) picture of it. We can see this attitude in *La larga marcha*, where historical linearity is broken up through the use of anachrony and circularity, while the narrator clearly speaks from a present time location. Chirbes has also expressed his lack of interest in what he calls "una literatura de la compasión, de la misericordia, una especie de hagiografía, en el cual se considera el pasado por cerrado al mismo tiempo que se empieza a mirar hacia el futuro" (Nichols 223).[162] As with *La noche de los tiempos,* we also see here traces of the Foucauldian practice of counter memory, of a movement backwards from the discourse of the present time to investigate how these discourses arose and what other discourses were silenced in the process.

Also like *La noche de los tiempos,* the combination of traditional Realist and modernist narrative techniques enables Chirbes to present a view of history that comes from both the "inside" and the "outside."[163] In the case of *La larga marcha,* this means a highly realistic and often lyrical description of external space, combined with a narratorial voice which is at times omniscient, but is at others constrained by the perspective of the character through whom the narrative is focalised, thereby giving an internal, psychological view which is more typical of modernism.[164]Ulrich Winter's elaboration of the narrator's different characteristics and functions in the first chapter

[162] This has been coupled with a desire not to be accidentally linked to the current fashion for "sanctifying" the Republic. For this reason, he says, he wrote *Los disparos del cazador*, about a former Francoist fighter, after *La buena Letra*, the story of a Republican woman (Nichols 225). While each novel is narrated from the perspective of a supposed "winner" and "loser" of the war respectively, both focus on the betrayal of the protagonists by the succeeding generation, whose innocence was bought by the acts of their parents. The concern to portray protagonists from both side of the civil war divide and their successors is also a major concern of *La larga marcha,* and of *La caída de Madrid*, which comes after it.

[163] He has often situated himself within the Realist tradition, in one interview calling *La larga marcha* his own coming-of-age novel in the way that Flaubert's *La educacion sentimental* was for the French writer ("Formación"). He also acknowledges Galdós and Balzac as influences (cf. "Interview 01/2002"; Nichols 227-8). At the same time, he has admitted to the influence of modernists such as Joyce, Faulkner and Proust, especially in relation to the use of time, space and voice (Nichols 227). His combined use of modernist and Realist techniques has caused Ulrich Winter to place the novel within the category of "postmodern realism" identified by Joan Oleza (Winter 235).

[164] That his realism is closer to the modernist sensibility, with its focus on psychology and subjectivity rather than on naturalist description, is evidenced by his statement that the realist novel is not an "espejo al lado del camino, sino [...] el intento de capturar el espíritu de un tiempo" (Nichols 227).

serve as an example: firstly, he says, there is a switch from the omniscient third person narrator of classic realist fiction—"Eran las cuatro de la mañana de un día de febrero" (*Larga* 9)—to metafictional representation when the scene is referred to as an "escena" or "grabado moral" (*Larga* 10). Later, there is a lapse into a speculative historiographical mode common to the nineteenth-century—"Probablemente, en ninguna otra casa de Fiz había luzes encendidas" (*Larga* 11)—but from then on, the narrative shifts to internal focalisation, the most frequently-used technique in the novel. There are also periodical moments of external focalisation, at which point another narrator materialises, one who is not neutral/omniscient, but who is imbued with personality, acting as a witness or chronicler of the events. This narrator takes on a stronger, more definite personality in the second part of the novel, acting as a contemporary witness of the late-Francoist period, one who, like Chirbes, has made himself a novelist in order to communicate his experiences ("Adivinación" 236-7). Winter notes that the points of intersection between a character and the witness-narrator occur in free indirect style, and in Bakhtinian terms we may call them "hybrid constructions"—sentences where two voices exist side by side, often having and ironic, demythifying effect. It is this technique which Chirbes uses to most devastating effect in his critique of past and present discourses.

He himself has called the narrator "compasivo," one who gets close to "ciertos personajes, o se separa de ellos suavemente para caer con otro personaje" (Nichols 227). As Catherine Orsini-Saillet has said, it is a type of narrator which makes problematic "la evaluación de los personajes que se alejan de lo "correcto" y que pueblan las novelas de Chirbes" (90).[165] This is because we are in the presence of a polyphonic novel, where the narrator acts as an other who throws the belief systems of the characters into relief, but without passing judgement upon them or reducing their autonomy. The resulting ambiguity opens up a dialogic space for the reader, who

[165] Chirbes also referred to this compassionate narrator in an interview with Helmut Jacobs, saying there that "me salió un narrador que yo llamo 'compasivo' en la medida en que acompaña a sus personajes y padece con ellos, que se separa de unos para acercarse a otros y que va juntando los hilos" (Jacobs 187). This gives the impression of a spider weaving a web or of a puppet-master, and given Chirbes' use of animal imagery and grotesque realism in the novel (to be commented later), we cannot help but be reminded of the esperpento tradition and its critique of the deformed Spanish social order.

is invited to draw his own conclusions from the represented disourse. Nevertheless, the implicit author's refracted intentions are visible in the design of the work—it is he who has decided to present us with a bleak view of the postwar and who has highlighted the contradictions between intellectual revolutionary Marxism of the 1960s and social and economic realities.[166]

Chronotopical Structure

The novel contains three main narrative chronotopes which taken together provide the overall chrontopical structure of the novel. The first is that of the narrator, who is most likely located in the late-1990s, the time of the novel's writing.[167] The other two chronotopes correspond to the two parts of the novel, and are themselves fractured into smaller pieces which frame the stories of individual characters or families over two generations. These stories are in dialogue with one another, giving a perspective of history as an intricate jigsaw puzzle, but one where some of the pieces are missing, so that it is impossible to produce a total and complete picture. We learn that nearly all of the main characters in the first part of the novel—the exception being Gloria Seseña and José Pulido—fought on the Aragonese front, albeit on different sides and for different motives. The juxtaposition of their stories has a particular function: it breaks the Manichaeism that divided Republicans and Nationalists, challenging the long-established discourse of the irreconcilably opposed "two Spains." Instead, people of both sides are portrayed as losers, trapped in similar cycles of poverty and betrayal, although for the defeated Republicans, targets of the regime's repressive policies, the outcome is generally worse. Only the well-connected opportunists prosper in the postwar, and even a former Republican can find a way into the upper ranks of society

[166] Raquel García Pascual has argued that the narrator does judge and take sides, showing himself "especialmente crítico con el caso de Gregorio, que no pudiendo vencer a su enemigo, se une a él" (García Pascual 117)—a reference to the labourer's attempts to imitate his bourgeouis "revolutionary" friends. Hwever, it is important to distinguish between the refracted intentions of the author and the narrator's attitude; the narrator does not explicitly pass judgement here, but merely highlights the contradictions of the situation and invites the reader to reflect upon them (this issue will be treated in more depth in 5.3).

[167] At the very least, he has witnessed the transition to democracy, to which reference is made a number of times in "El joven guardia." These references will be explored in the third section of this chapter.

as long as he is willing to sacrifice his morals and political ideals.[168] We might say, in fact, that Chirbes replaces the traditional binary of the "two Spains" with a series of other dichotomies, a number of which Raquel García Pascual has identified: that of two generations (postwar and 1960s), two family paradigms (rich and poor), two social systems (rural and urban), and two temperaments (activist and apathetic) (112). To this list we could also add two ethical outlooks (cynical and idealist).

The relationship between the past and present is mediated through a balance of circularity, linearity and anachrony, and this is seen most strongly in the treatment of the key family in the novel, the Amados.[169] The novel starts and finishes from the perspective of two different generations of the family, establishing both circularity and continuity.[170] We first meet them on their Galician farm in Fiz on the eve of the birth of Manuel Amado's second son, Carmelo, in a sequence that is strongly dominated by the chronotopes of the agricultural and family idyll. According to Bakhtin, all idylls have certain features in common due to their "relationship to the immanent unity of folkloric time" (225):[171]

> Idyllic life and its events are inseparable from this concrete, special corner of the world where fathers and grandfathers lived and where ones children and grandchildren will live [...] the unity of the life of the generations [...] in an idyll is in

[168] This will be the case of railway worker Raúl Vidal's's brother, Antonio, as will be seen later in the chapter.

[169] It was Pedro Alonso who pointed out this balance, although I disagree that anachrony is "siempre filtrada por la memoria herida del personaje," since prolepsis in the book always comes from the narrator (16).

[170] Gloria Seseña, after being rescued from financial ruin by Ramón Giner, also realises that "la naturaleza se repite, crea modelos repetidos, y que quien sabe descubrir las leyes de la naturaleza, quien mantiene los ojos y los sentidos abiertos, puede gozar de una segunda oportunidad [...]" (112). Gloria has discovered that her bourgeois line can be renewed through a good marriage, with the implication being that the "natural law" of society always ensures that wealth and power remain in the hands of those who have always possessed them, even when there are temporary reverses such as those occasioned by the Civil War (or in the case of Gloria's daughter's generation, the transition to democracy).

[171] Bakhtin writes that folkloric time connects "real life (history) to real earth" and is a time of labour and productive growth, where time is "differentiated and measured only by the events of *collective* life" (*Dialogic* 206). It is essentially future-oritented, although "there is as yet no precise differentiation of time into a past, a present and a future (which presumes and *essential individuality* as a point of departure)" (206). In addition, it is "profoundly spatial and concrete. It is not separate from earth or from nature" (207). Its cyclical nature is, however, a negative aspect for Bakhtin because it limits its force and ideological productivity, while even growth does not become an authentic "becoming" (210).

> most instances primarily defined by *the unity of place*, by the age old rooting of the life of generations to a single place, from which this life, in all its events, is inseparable [...]. This blurring of all temporal boundaries made possible by the unity of place also contributes in an essential way to the creation of a cyclic rhythmicalness of time so characteristic of the idyll. (225)[172]

Accordingly, the themes of family, place and generational continuity dominate the first chapter of *La larga marcha*, and on the eve of his son's birth, Manuel thinks that his new child will be "una nueva pieza que venía añadirse a la obra familiar, como él mismo había sido una pieza de la obra que continuó su padre, prosiguiendo el trabajo de los abuelos; y el futuro, aunque no era más que una bruma, se coloreó con nuevas esperanzas" (12). The unity of place emerges in the following quotation, when Manuel muses that his father has kept the early morning vigil

> como un propietario que se niega a abandonar los derechos sobre su propiedad [...]. Rasgos o gestos formaban una unidad que podía definirse con la sola palabra propietario de la casa y los muebles, de los animales y los campos, de todo cuanto se movía en una geografía que era rigurosamente suya, que como la semilla que había dado vida a sus hijos, había salido de dentro de él [...]. (20)

Manuel looks to the future (also a characteristic of folkloric time for Bakhtin), but the future is uncertain, and does not fulfil expectations. The unity of place and the cyclicity of time will be broken, and the penultimate chapter of "El ejército del Ebro" will recount the family's forced removal to Madrid, after their farm has been flooded to make a reservoir.[173] The reservoir is a concrete embodiment of the industrial modernity which had ruptured the romantic idyll in Europe by the mid-nineteenth

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[172] Another characteristic of the idyll is its lack of concern with the realities of everyday life, so that these consequently appear in a softened, sublimated form. There is also a conjoining of human life with the life of nature, with the same language being used to describe both. For Bakhtin, the combination of the family and agricultural idyll comes closest to achieving folkloric time because it links together the phenomena of nature and the events of human life through the presence of agricultural labour (226-27).

[173] Numerous reservoirs were built in Spain in the 1950s to provide energy for new industries. The arrival of the technocratic government in 1957, and the securing of funds from the IMF and OECD in order to finance the Stabilisation Plan would finally bring economic modernistation after many years of backwardness and sub-development due to the Francoist policy of autarky.

century, but which came much more slowly to Spain.[174] If, as Manuel believes, "la familia era el río por el que corría la vida" (19), then the diversion of the river is doubly symbolical of the uprooting of the family from their farm.[175] This, as Christiane Musketa points out, also implies a loss of identity for the Amados, whose system of values was intimately connected with their land and possessions (179). The final chapter of the book will end with Carmelo languishing in a Francoist prison, crushed by the torture which has been inflicted upon him. Whereas his father had fought on the "winning" side, Carmelo is defeated by it, but only temporarily, for we know thanks to an earlier piece of narratorial prolepsis (an example of anachrony) that he will eventually become a respected film critic (209).[176] Nevertheless, the novel leaves us with no indication of when he will leave prison, and this refusal to give narrative closure is a break with classical Realist convention (and also teleological, vulgar Marxism), reinforcing the impression of an open-ended past which continues to bear upon the present.

The delimitation of space in the first part of the novel is very important and the physical environment of the characters, whether urban or rural, is intimately linked to their social position and identity. Characters who belong to rural locations, such as José Pulido and Manuel Amado, are ruled by an agricultural chronotope which is connected to folkloric time. However, these two are differentiated by wealth—José is a poor Andalucían day labourer, while Manuel is a prosperous Galician farmer—and

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[174] Stevenson has remarked how modernist literature reflected the industrialisation of the British landscape through images of constriction and crowdedness, in contrast to the Romantic idealisation of open space (79), and D.H. Lawrence's *The Rainbow* (1915) contains a striking parallel to *La larga marcha*: when the Industrial Revolution arrives in 1840, a canal is built across the farm of the Brangwen family, cutting them off from part of their land, and by implication, from an older conception of cyclical, pre-modern time. Significantly also, the old patriarch, Tom Brangwen, is drowned when the canal overflows and floods the land, symbolising the final destruction of pre-modern ways (145).

[175] The second and third sentences of the opening chapter had also hinted at the danger of flooding water: "A pesar de que los postigos de la ventana permanecían cerrados, se oía el ruido del torrente a espaldas de la casa [...] el torrente arrastraba toda el agua resultante del deshielo, y ramas secas y piedras y, al ser transportadas, producían un tremendo fragor" (9).

[176] The narrator also warns us proleptically about Carmelo's impending doom when his mother discovers his revolutionary pamphlets and tells him to be careful (254), paralleling Vicente Tabarca's warnings to his daughter about the dangers of her revolutionary activities. In the first section of the novel, Vicente had also contemplated with horror the possibility that Helena might one day be on the arm of one of the sons of the winners (50), and she will have a relationship with Ignacio Mendieta, who is precisely this, although he rejects the politics of his parents.

by environment. In Andalucía, the summer is dry and barren, and José and the others must endure and suffer until the autumn brings rain and fertility (78), whereas in Galicia the rain is constant and the lands fertile and green, (although water also provides a threat).[177] Meanwhile, those living in towns or cities often feel constricted, particularly if they have moved there from the countryside, with the situation worsening for the poor and the Republican defeated. Thus, the Republican railway worker, Raúl, moves in a very small space that is confined to his workplace, his home, and the bar nearby. On the other hand, his brother Antonio, who has betrayed his ideals to join with the enemy, moves in a much larger one that includes the casino, excursions to foreign places of worship such as Lourdes, or trips to beaches "más o menos alejadas" (26). The shoeshiner Pedro del Moral feels as if Salamanca is asphyxiating, and is nostalgic for his village, even if it had no opportunities. Meanwhile, the Republican doctor, don Vicente, is trapped in a prison of fear, and ironically wishes he had a windowless, interior room where he could read at night without raising suspicions (47). This desire to shut out the external world is in contrast to his previous life as a promising young surgeon, when he walked the halls of the Ciudad Universitaria in Madrid and published papers in international journals.[178] The wealthy Gloria Seseña, who is saved from homelessness and penury through her marriage to her brother's *nouveau riche* assistant, Ramón, sees her property as a materialisation of her historical lineage. Thus, when her Madrid house is reconstructed after the war, she takes care that "nadie, al verla, pudiese pensar que era la casa de unos nuevos ricos, ni (eso sería peor) que detectase una decrepitud salvada por la energía del dinero reciente. No, quiere para su casa—como para sí

[177] Andalucía continued to be one of the poorest parts of Spain, and continued to be governed by a semi-feudal structure, most of the land belonging to huge "terratenientes" and worked by labourers such as José. The system was grossly inequitable, and those who worked the land were condemned to misery and semi-slavery. For this reason, agrarian reform was one of the most pressing issues during the Second Republic, but it was strongly resisted by the landowners. Those laws which were passed by the first Republican government in 1931 were repealed when the Right was in power during the "bienio negro" of 1934-6. After the Popular Front victory of February 1936, there was a determination to implement the delayed reforms, this being one of the main reasons that the wealthy landowners supported the military uprising.

[178] Here, we are reminded of how the Civil War and the post-war purges decimated Spanish intellectual life, with many university chairs being occupied by mediocre incompetents who were loyal to the regime. The universities were also materially impoverished as a result of the failed policy of autarky and a profound anti-intellectualism, which caused the regime to neglect the educational system (Giner de San Julián 309-11).

misma—la idea de una historia larga, felizmente aceptada, con meandros, sí, pero sin quiebras ni fracturas" (126). For the aristocracy, property and tradition are closely bound, the obsession with family and descent being emblematic of a view of history as tradition, although it is a view which is resisted by the rupturing chronotopes of the novel.

In "El ejército del ebro," references to time are quite vague, and it is often uncertain whether the events of each chapter occur in parallel or in asynchronous time, creating an impression of a more distanced, muddied past. Two precise dates are given: the exact time, day and year of Carmelo Amado's birthday (6a.m., 16 February, 1948), and the date of the military uprising. Both are crucial because the first introduces the story that frames the novel, that of Carmelo Amado, while the second refers to the event which has conditioned the lives of all the characters. In "La joven guardia," there is a contraction of geographical space as, one by one, the younger generation converge on Madrid and come into contact with each another. While the themes and chronotopes of generational continuity or cyclicity dominated the first part of the novel, those of the *bildungsroman* make up the second part, signifying a shift from older, cyclical time to a more linear biographical time which is fitting to the description of modernity and the city. Villages and rural environments are gradually replaced by city streets, cinema clubs, the university and the apartments in which the young people live. Time is more defined and more precise, and there is a stronger connection between historical time and events, perhaps because the period is closer to the present of the narrator. The action also occurs on an increasingly tighter time scale, heightening the drama. For example, when Pedro del Moral's son, José Luis, is in a boarding school in León, he observes how time and space are rigorously marked and constricted:

> [...] todo transcurría dentro de los límites que marcaban las alambradas que rodeaban el edificio, por encima del muro de granito, y, además, en el interior de esas alambradas la actividad debía desarrollarse en un mismo lugar en cada momento, y uno no podía estar nunca fuera de donde se agrupaban los demás [...]. (185)

We are given an account of where Gloria Seseña's daughter spent Christmas 1963, and the summers of 1964 and 1965 (189), and the date when Gregorio Pulido begins to work on the farm of Doña Sole (April 1964). This is the same year that José Luis returns to Salamanca to complete the last year of his secondary studies, and is linked to the student demonstrations against the regime (263). A more precise linking of the fictional and historical occurs when the students take part in the demonstrations against the verdicts of the Burgos trial in 1970 (350).[179] Finally, there is an ultimate, great contraction of space in the last chapter of the book, which is set in Carmelo's prison cell in Sol. Time, which had previously moved in a flow, is now configured as an eternal present. In this way, the prison stands for the dictatorship itself, which has monopolised the past and the future and seeks to arrest the flow of time, even as its rivers continually try to crash through the dam.

There is also dialogue between the two parts of the book and their chronotopes, between the older and younger generations and their perspectives on their historical place and time. It is clear that the members of the latter exhibit a different way of understanding the world than their parents, impacting upon their expectations for the future. One of the most palpable examples of this change is the way in which young people from Nationalist and Republican backgrounds become friendly and join together in the student opposition to the regime. These new attitudes lead to conflict with the parents, such as when Vicente Tabarca discovers that his daughter, Helena, is involved in the student opposition, and even worse, is meeting in the house of a "facha":

> Conocía demasiado bien cómo funcionaba aquel sistema que el paso de los años había enmascarado; sabía—y en torno a él seguía detectándolo con ese fino olfato que habían adquirido los supervivientes y que no los abandonaría hasta la muerte—que la maquinaría continuaba funcionando implacable [...] y en los sótanos de la Puerta del Sol seguían sonando golpes y gritos que a veces llegaban hasta las aceras de la calle Carretas.

[179] In the Burgos trial, sixteen ETA militants were collectively judged for the murder of the head of the Brigada Social in San Sebastián, Melitón Manzanas, as well as for a list of other crimes. Protests were mounted all over the country, especially in Madrid and Barcelona, and received so much international attention that Franco was pressured into commuting the death sentences that had been passed on nine of the accused.

(275)

She laughs off his fears, although they prove to be prophetic, and at the end of the book she will be in prison, just as he had predicted. The bourgeois, pro-regime Gloria Seseña has a similar reaction when she discovers that her own daughter is a member of the Francoist opposition:

> Oyó de nuevo las sirenas que anunciaban los bombardeos en mitad de la noche de un Madrid asediado [...]. Doña Gloria Seseña de Giner lloró de pena y de rabia, pero sobre todo de miedo. Tenía delante la boca del animal que había querido ver de cerca y ahora sabía que el aliento que salía de aquellas fauces la abrasaba. (385)

The older generation have not been able to escape the traumatic scars of the war, but the younger generation has not experienced its horrors at first hand. Coming from both sides of the civil war divide, they are joined in their opposition to the dictatorship, even as they have been formed and schooled by its institutions and values. They represent the Spain of the Transition, and have opted not to let past divisions affect the present and the future, unwilling or incapable of comprehending the suffering of their parents.[180]

Character

As Lukács said of Scott, Chirbes portrays the "struggles and antagonisms of history by means of characters who, in their psychology and destiny, always represent social trends and historical forces" (34). In the first part of the novel we are introduced to a

[180] If the older generation of Spaniards is unable to understand the attitudes of the younger, it is the returned exiles of the sixties and seventies who are perhaps the most bewildered. The theme of exile does not really enter *La larga marcha,* but it does *La caída de Madrid*. Ana Luengo has highlighted how the returned exile Professor Chacón is the only character in *La caída* who is able to provide an impartial, outsider perspective on late Francoist society. Thus, when his friend Professor Bartos tells Chacón that his moral authority is badly needed at that historical juncture (the imminence of Franco's death) and that he is admired by the anti-Francoists, he replies, "Los antifranquistas de los que me hablas son los herederos de Franco" ("De como" 150). Luengo points to a strong similarity between Chacón and the Max Aub of *La gallina ciega* (1971), where the exiled Spanish writer recounts the "tragedia de desarraigo" (152). Aub is one of Chirbes' acknowledged literary heroes, and in his book of essays, *El novelista perplejo,* he describes Aub's story as "un texto lúcido que nadie debería dejar de ller para entender muchas de las cosas ocurridas durante esa larga traición llamada transición" (*El novelista* 119). See also Chirbes' article in *El País* on the 100th anniversary of Aub's birth ("Quien se come a Max Aub").

wide range of socially representative characters, from the Galician farmer to the defeated Republican doctor and the traitorous opportunist. However, the more important characters are not merely social types, but are "figuras de 'carne y hueso' que se debaten a menudo en las cosntradicciones de la vida cotidiana" (Altmann 34). They are heroes in a polyphonic novel, where the author "constructs no objectified image of the hero at all but rather the hero's discourse about himself and about the world" (Bakhtin *Problems* 53). This accords with Chirbes' view that "[l]a lengua nace de la historia y colorea la visión que cada individuo tiene del mundo [...]. La lengua es seguramente el rasgo más sólido que define al hombre como miembro de una tribu" (*El novelista* 130-1). Indeed, Chirbes has acknowledged the influence of Bakhtin on his conception of language and the novel in his book of essays, *Por cuenta propia* (2010). In the introduction, he cites from Bakhtin's "Discourse in the Novel" on the novelist's appropriation of the language of others, then elaborates:

> Bajtín ve la novela como un ejercicio de indagación, de búsqueda de uno mismo entre las historias y razones de otros: es una idea que comparto, y, por eso, estoy convencido de que no hay orden novelesco sin punto de vista, que es tanto como decir que no hay novela sin que el autor ponga a prueba su fuste ético. Encontrar ese lugar desde el que mirar y escribir yo diría que es el único verdadero problema al que se enfrenta el novelista, ya que se trata nada más y nada menos que de poner en orden y dotar de sentido la infinita variedad en la que se le ofrece la vida. Por eso, los grandes maestros de la narrativa no vienen sólo de los que mejor dominaron el oficio; a veces hay que buscarlos fuera del género: puedo decir que mis novelas deben tanto a Marx o a Lucrecio como a Balzac y a Proust" (*Por cuenta* 27).[181]

The exposition of the character of José Pulido is exemplary of Chirbes' technique, the external world emerging through the language of José and melding with his self-identity and social position: "A José Pulido le gustaría mirar desde lo alto de un mulo las tierras canas en las que a estas alturas del verano ya no quedan ni siquiera hierbas secas, nada más que tierra que se agrieta, y algunos espinos [...]" (76). The reader

[181] This Bakhtinian view of language as ideology is one he repeats elsewhere: "El lenguaje, las palabras son como las personas frutos de su tiempo y, en cada época, pelean por imponerse unas sobre otras. Decir libertad, amnistía y estatuto de autonomía era dinamita en una época, te convertía en delincuente. Hoy te llevan al Parlamento" (Riaño).

immediately sees the dry, barren lands of the Burguillos mountains from Pulido's perspective, which is coloured by his ambition to own a mule. This desire is referred to again on page 77, in a line that further establishes his poverty and low social position: "A José Pulido le gustaría tener un mulo para cargar los sacos, pero sólo se tiene a sí mismo: él es su propio mulo; su espalda, el lomo de mulo que arrastra los sacos de una otra colina [...]."[182] The importance of speaking the right language in order to gain entrance to a particular social *milieu* is also expressed by a number of characters in the novel. For example, the poor tobacco seller, Luis Coronado, always speaks well in order to distinguish himself from the uneducated masses, and only uses bad language when he is drunk or angry (56), while the labourer Gregorio Pulido adapts his language to fit in with his bourgeois university friends (376). When Carmelo Amado goes to school in Madrid, he is humiliated because he speaks with a Galician accent (210)—only good Castillian was socially acceptable in the monologic Francoist hierarchy, while the regional languages of Galician, Basque and Catalan were denigrated and suppressed. For this reaon also, Pedro del Moral dreams that his son, José Luis, will one day speak on the radio in perfect Castillian, which he has heard said to be that of Valladolid, though he thinks that the language of Salamanca, where they live, should also be good due to the presence of the university (37).

The names of the characters also have ironically symbolic importance, as noted by Raquel García Pascual: "Chirbes ha elegido los nombres con conciencia de una inversión semántica: Raúl Vidal se suicida; Vicente Tabarca había pensado en lo motivado de los nombres de sus hijas—Helena, la más batalladora—; Luis Coronado no exhibe corona alguna, ya que se siente derrotado" (113). To this list we might add the names of Pedro Moral, who clings onto a private morality but has been degraded by his actions during the war (and whose name we will give more attention in 5.2), and José Pulido, a poor, uneducated labourer who is anything but polished.

The characters, through their range and diversity, as well as through their

[182] There is a near repetition of the line on page 78: "A José Pulido le gustaría tener un mulo, y también un cerdo que se alimentara en el corral de su casa para cuando llegase el invierno, y gallinas y ovejas y cabras, y hasta una vaca, pero no tiene nada. Sus manos, y su espalda, sus patas y su lomo."

individualising discourse, represent a challenge to the political stereotyping exemplified by the labels of "rojo" or "fascista." These monologic categories deny the right of the individual to speak for him or herself (or even to be counted as fully human), and consequently shut off the possibility of dialogue between the subject and the person who has been objectified. In some parts of the novel, the clash between stereotyping and individual self-definition is explicitly expressed, such as when Pedro del Moral, who fought on the Francoist side, links the loss of his innocent youth with a memory from the war:

> Dónde había caído aquel muchacho? [...]. En las montañas de Santander mientras entraban en una casa tan pobre como la que, por entonces, él tenía en Fuentes de San Esteban para sacar a empujones a aquellas tres mujeres asustadas, y el sargento se dirigía a él, 'tú, Pedro,' y le daba una maquinilla y le decía que las esquilara, 'pela a esas putas rojas' y él no era capaz de decir que no, a pesar de que la más joven era nada más que una niña, y la mayor, una anciana, y luego oía el 'Cara al Sol' [...]. (102)

The three women are fully human in Pedro's eyes, "mujeres asustadas" who belong to the same class as him, and whose house is "tan pobre" as his own. His compassionate, empathetic view of them contrasts with the violent othering of the commander's label: "putas rojas." Through being forced to commit an act of violence against them, Pedro experiences a violence to his own psychology, and to his perception of the other as an individual subject with the right to answer back.

Catherine Orsini-Saillet, drawing upon categories of hero established by Vincent Jouve, has used this example to define Pedro del Moral a "'revelador," an anti-heroic character who, in this case, induces the reader to "replantearse la imagen del soldado nacional, ciego, violento, despiadado" (80). In Jouve's terms, she says, the "revelador" is a subcategory of the "concave" hero, the latter being defined as one who is neither exemplary nor trustworthy "pero que [orienta] la significación de la obra de modo oblicuo" (79). While a secondary character is a "revelador," a protagonist is a "cobaya," or guinea-pig, a label which points to a certain lack of agency, in contrast to the "campeones" and "modelos" of the "convex" type, who carry out great deeds and incarnate an ideal. As Saillet points out, Chirbes' novels are all populated with concave

heroes who are filled with contradictions, breaking expectations that narratives referring to revolution and war might favour the "convex" type (79). Jouve has also said that concave heroes are pedagogic rather than didactic, which accords with Chirbes' own understanding of the function of literature (86).[183] This type of characterisation not only encourages the reader to actively reflect upon the contradictions of human action, but also helps to break down the barrier between the "two Spains" by providing a multi-perspectival view that prohibits emotional over-identification with any politically representative character. In this, Chirbes' characters remind us of Muñoz Molina's Ignacio Abel, a "cobaya" who is battered by uncertainty, and who, despite having raised himself to the middle classes through his own efforts and talent, finds himself helpless to prevent his lover, Julia, from leaving him and his friend Rossmann from being murdered by militants.

The main protagonists of "La joven guardia" are more rounded than their parents, and there is less dependence on environment for the construction of identity. This is partly because their relationships with one another give more scope for psychological development and allow observation of at least some of them from different points of view. It may also be because they are of Chirbes' own generation, and he is able to construct them from personal experience. Their social positions nevertheless continue to be affected by their family origins. For example, Luis Coronado, who is aware of this, asks Carmelo not to mention the squalor of his home to the other students (246). Like his father, he wishes to appear greater than he is, and wears "una flamante chaqueta azul y [...] una recién estrenada corbata roja, siempre con el nudo muy pequeño, como un rasgo de distinción" (246). Yet, while he succeeds in making the bourgeois Gloria Giner his girlfriend, her mother, for all her airs of modernity, is suspicious of his "corbatas pasados de moda" (383), indicating the difficulty of genuine social mobility. Finally, the narrative is mostly focalised through the perspective of Carmelo Amado, Gregorio Pulido, and José Luis del Moral, followed by

[183] He has said, for example, "Me gusta más la literatura como forma de indagación. [...] Toda frase en un libro si no te enseña nada es una frase inútil. Y toda frase que te enseña, aunque te parezca torpe o lo que sea, acaba penetrándote y acabas volviendo a ella porque te enseña, ¿no? Esa es mi idea de la literatura. Que me aburro como una hostia cuando no me enseñan nada, y me excite cuando hay cosas que no entiendo y busco entender [...]" (Nichols 233-4).

Helena Tabarca and Gloria Giner. Tellingly, the first three are the most genuine characters, the least compromised with the bourgeoisie and the closest in social position to the working class (with the exception of the cynical Luis Coronado).

5.2 "El ejército del Ebro"

The Deconstruction of Franco-Falangist Rhetoric

Despite the promise of prosperity and peace for all "loyal" Spaniards, the Francoist policy of autharky during the 1940s and early 1950s only worsened an already bad economic situation. While Italy and Germany took only three years to start recovering from World War II, according to Charles Powell, Spain took ten to recover from the civil war (10). National income did not rise to 1935 levels until 1951, while income per capita did not stabilise at 1935 levels until 1954, and many sections of the population suffered from famine, particularly after the bad harvest of 1945 (Tuñón de Lara 21-22). The system of autarky was also open to corruption and abuse, enabling the few to become even richer at the expense of the rest. This is the harsh reality that is exposed by the novel, where even the supposed "winners" of the civil war are condemned to penury and semi-starvation by the opportunistic ruling classes.

One of the victims of the social and economic system, despite being a supposed "winner" of the civil war, is Pedro del Moral.[184] In the following excerpt, we see how Franco-Falangist propaganda (in italics) painted a deceptive picture of the promised land to people like him who had fought under the Nationalist banner:

> Él, desde el lejano mirador de su pobreza, había soñado en cosas hermosas que había creído rozar con la punta de los dedos cuando volvió como *vencedor de una guerra* (**así**

[184] The presentation of an alternative reality which exposed the misery and poverty of the 1940s and 1950s was the mainstay of Spanish social realism. However, history was implied rather than specifically inscribed into a narrative which was focused on describing the author's present (cf. Herzberger "Social Realism" 154). Narration was also entirely external, while the narrative voice was almost non-existent so as to facilitate an illusion of total objectivity and a direct apprehension of reality through descriptive language. On the other hand, in *La larga marcha,* history is explicitly evoked, and there are multiple references to past and future, while the narrator, as we have seen, has a distinctive voice, and dialogues with the characters.

> **los habían llamado:** *"Vencedores"*). A pesar de que la guerra le había enseñado la capacidad de hacer el mal que tienen los hombres, incluso los mejores, pensaba que la posguerra iba a ser hermosa, y de ellos, de quienes habían servido *a la bandera española contra las hordas de la república*. Así se lo prometían los altos mandos que visitaban las trincheras y les hablaban después de haberlos puesto en formación (*"Vencedores de las hordas sin fe del comunismo internacional"*), o los que pronunciaban discursos por la radio, cuyas voces se escuchaban a todas horas en las cantinas [emphases added]. (34)[185]

The section in bold might be the voice of Pedro, reflecting on the words used by the officers, highlighting the strangeness of the word "vencedor" to him, or explanatory commentary on the part of the narrator.[186] Whatever the case, the label of "vencedores" is put to question and its historical contingency is exposed. In reality, people like Pedro win nothing, as he discovers when he goes to Salamanca after the war, and realises that he is not the only one wearing a blue shirt who is looking for a job:

> Creyó que el mundo se le venía abajo cuando empezó a encontrarse en las puertas de las casas cuyas direcciones le habían dado antes de salir del pueblo a decenas de tipos uniformados (la mayoría con más de una medalla), que hacían interminables colas para ser recibidos en misteriosos y poco ventilados despachos [...]. Allí, en las largas colas, sus manos de campesino destacaban en exceso al extremo de las mangas azules. Aquellos dedos cortos y robustos y las palmas encallecidas y duras aparecían vulgares entre las pálidas manos de quienes estaba a su lado [...]. (36)

Pedro is ridiculous and out of place, the social distance between him and others who fought for the Francoist armies highlighted in the comparison between his rough peasant hands and their pale, soft ones. They have never laboured in the field, and have enjoyed the privileges of a higher social class and education. The sense of social

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[185] The political programme of the pre-war Falange contained a commitment to agrarian reform and a bettering of economic conditions through the replacement of capitalism with a corporativist system. However, its commitments to socio-economic equality were largely sidelined after Franco fused it with the Carlist *tradicionalistas* in 1937. Many of the *camisas viejas,* those who had been members of the party before the civil war, would abandon the party in disgust when they realised what Franco had done, although others stayed on, as membership was almost obligatory in order to obtain official posts within the regime (Payne "Regime" 238).

[186] Winter understands such asides (of which there are a number) as being delivered by the narrator for the benefit of a younger, unschooled generation, although to me it is more likely that they form part of the character's own thoughts (Winter "Adivinación" 237).

distance is further amplified by Pedro's preoccupation with names. He learnt the importance of putting a "del" in front of his surname while serving in the army, because all the commanding officers, who came from good families, were named thus:

> Por eso, cuando, ya en Salamanca, vestido con la camisa azul, y con una medalla colgada del bolsillo izquierdo (el lado del corazón), pintó aquel cartel que iba a poner cada mañana encima del sillón de trabajo, no escribió, **como hubiera sido lógico**, "Pedro Moral. Limpiabotas", sino "Pedro del Moral. Higiene y abrillantado del calzado." Al principio, la gente se reía, no tanto por lo de Del Moral, sino por lo de higiene y abrillantado, *que sonaba a farmacia, o a una de aquellas casas que había por detrás de la Clerecía y que vendían lo que entonces se llamaban gomas higiénicas para evitar contagios en los servicios que ofrecían las chicas* [emphases added]. (33)

The first sentence in the quotation is a hybrid construction, lending an ironic accent. The dominant voice is that of the narrator, who provides the description, but the words, "como hubiera sido lógico," belong to the language of convention, which Pedro is rather pathetically trying to break. The irony is heightened by the fact that many shoeshiners before the war were proud anarchists, and he may well have been trying to distance himself from such associations. In any case, his attempts to aggrandise his name and occupation are met with laughter, and the derisive voices of the people echo through in the second half of the final sentence (in italics).

The misery caused by the backward, agrarian structure in Spain (particularly in the Andalucía), which the Republic had tried and failed to reform due to resistance from the Right, is exemplified by the story of José Pulido. He and his wife can neither read nor write, and must blindly trust the accounts made by the shopkeeper to whom he sells his stolen produce. The Guardia Civil also emerge here as a menace to the livelihood of the peasants, and more than once he is forced to abandon his load in the shop because of their imminent arrival. It is never there when he returns for it, the shopkeeper claiming that the guards had made off with his sacks (79). They are so poor that his wife is eventually forced to give sexual favours to the baker in exchange

for bread and flour, a fate which befell many women of the time.[187] This will result in the birth of their son Gregorio, who will seek his fortune in Madrid when he comes of age.

If the 1940s brought nothing but more misery for the poor, it was even harder on defeated Republicans of all social classes. Those not imprisoned or executed during the postwar repression faced numerous restrictions, especially on work.[188] The fear they experienced is palpable in don Vicente Tabarca, a doctor who was narrowly saved from execution by the intervention of a cousin who was an officer in the Nationalist army. His story opens with the following stark sentence: "Aún duerme mal don Vicente Tabarca" (43).[189] He has suffered professionally from the punitive measures taken against former Republicans, and when he is eventually allowed to reopen his medical practice, hardly anyone ever attends it. The language in Vicente's character zone is always replete with medical and anatomical metaphors, as befits his occupation. Such language, however, was also used by Francoists when speaking of the need to cure Spain of the sickness of left-wing ideas (González Duro 50-65), and we have already seen its presence in pre-war discourse in *Riña de gatos* (see 3.1) and, especially, *La noche de los tiempos* (see 4.3). The following quotation is a parody of such rhetoric, with Vicente's accent of fear and bitterness running throughout, revealing the malignant effects of the "cure" on its victims:[190]

> Esos libros puestos en los estantes del cuartito de estar, lejos de la vista de los pacientes,

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[187] Prostitution increased sharply during the postwar, as many Republican women were forced to resort to it in order to make ends meet. This was a direct consequence of the repression and to the severe restrictions placed on women's rights to work (González Duro 188).

[188] It is estimated that in 1940 there were about 250,000 people still in prison for political reasons. There are no official figures for the number of prisoners executed in the first years after the war. Stanley Payne puts it at around 30,000, although tens of thousands more would die of disease and malnutrition in the prisons. Penalties on Republicans, apart from imprisonment or execution, included partial or complete restriction of personal and professional activities, various categories of limitations on residence, ranging from expulsion to internal exile, banishment to African colonies or house arrest, as well as wide-ranging economic sanctions (*Franco* 222).

[189] Encarnación García de León has pointed out that "el miedo y sus miseria impregnan e incluso determinan, la vida de cada personaje de Chirbes [...]" (31). Fear is indeed experienced to varying degrees and for different reasons by each of the characters in *La larga marcha.*

[190] As José Álvarez Fernández has argued, the characterisation of the enemy as a plague or a leper fits with Foucauld's theory about authoritarian regimes, and Francoist psychiatrists called Republicanism a plague, with its implications of sickness, quarantine and social exclusion (Álvarez Fernández 157).

> muestra que él sigue contagiado por una forma de pensar que los vencedores calificaron de *epidemia* y que *extirparon con cruel y efectivo instrumental* durante tres años en las trincheras y cuya cura prosiguieron en paredones y celdas. Don Vicente, cada vez que abre un libro, sabe que, con ese gesto, demuestra que *la dolorosa cura* no ha sido suficiente, que sigue *intoxicado*, y teme una nueva intervención de esos despiadados *cirujanos* cuyo instrumental componen pesados barrotes, relucientes Luger, largas y restallantes vergas de toro [...]. El miedo encubre *los síntomas del mal*, mientras que los libros delatan su permanencia [emphases added]. (46-47)[191]

Vicente agrees with the opinion of Unamuno and other intellectuals that Spain "es un eterno país nocturno e intransigente, cainita, en donde siempre la mitad ocupa por la fuerza el todo, y lo pone a su servicio [...]" (47). All of the best of Spain has been exterminated, and the only people that remain are the "enchufados, usurpadores, estraperlistas, gente sin escrúpulos que se paseaba por las calles de Madrid vestida con una elegancia recién adquirida y que servía de insultante contrapunto a tanta miseria" (50). The clergy he likens to vampires or parasites "que chupan la sangre de la ignorancia y el miedo que han impuesto después de tantos años de muerte, con el solo objeto de engordar" (48), echoing the hatred felt by many left-wing intellectuals towards the Catholic Church for its narrow conservatism and its role in repressing the population.[192]

In the following sequence, we are introduced to an "estraperlista," but a poor one who is driven to the black market by poverty and desperation. His name is Luis Coronado, and like Pedro del Moral, he fought for the Nationalist side but did not

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[191] For Orsini-Saillet, Vicente Tabarca is another example of a "revelador" character who, despite fighting for his Republican ideals in the Civil War, is now a defeated, terrified man who tries to stop his daughter Helena from taking up the anti-Francoist battle. When he finds and destroys her revolutionary pamphlets, he ironically thinks of his actions in the same terms as the "verdugos": "tenía la impression de que él ejercía como cirujano por una vez en su vida desde que se acabó la guerra, y sajaba para extirpar el tumor cuando rompió en mil pedazos aquellos papeles" (*Larga* 279) (Orsini-Saillet 82).

[192] Before the civil war, the conservative Catholic Church was perceived to be an ally of the reactionary Right, stirring a deep anti-clericalism among those agitating for social reform. This antipathy towards the Church occasionally exploded into acts of violence against church property in the years before the war, and according to Julián Ruiz, between 150-300 churches were burnt in the months leading up to the conflict (Introduction). Partly in reaction to the attacks it suffered, but also because of its genuine support for Francoism, the Church played a significant role in the postwar repression, and both within the prisons and without, the collusion of priests and church leaders in the capture, punishment and control of politically suspicious elements was fundamental (Casanova et al. 9-15).

benefit materially from it. While serving in the army, he learnt the importance of "apariencias y nada más que apariencias":

> El capitán Varela tenía gracia. Decía: 'Yo no vengo del mono, como los comunistas, que dicen que vienen del mono y a veces pienso que tienen razón, que ellos sí que vienen del mono. A mí me hizo Dios, y me hizo hombre y patria y bandera e ideales. Pero la verdad es que debía habernos hecho un poco más diferentes.' (52)

Capitán Varela's assertion that he is not related to the monkeys echoes fundamentalist Christian rejection of Darwinian theories of evolution in favour of creationism. Taking Varela's exhortations to heart, Luis develops an obsession with maintaining himself as clean and well-dressed as possible in order to "alejarse del mono" (53). There is an irony to this, the reality being that Luis and the rest of the postwar generation are engaged in a Darwinian struggle for survival that often reduces them to the level of animals. [193] It is a struggle which is frequently represented through animal imagery in the text, and, as noted by López Bernasocchi and López de Abiada (162), is allegorised through the tale of the wounded dog in the last sequence of "El ejército del Ebro."[194] Luis ekes out a living selling cigarettes and other products on the black market in Madrid. He also becomes a drug mule for a time (until his contact disappears), and when very desperate resorts to pickpocketing. He

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[193] Pedro Alonso has pointed out how Darwinian laws favour the strong in the novel, "y el fuerte es el que tiene un pasado Falangista, el que tiene influencia o contactos, el que sabe leer o tiene formación de algún tipo, el que tiene pocos escrúpulos morales a la hora de hacer negocios, y el que sabe venderse, aún a la costa de perder su dignidad" (Alonso 17-18).

[194] Animal imagery is always used to debase the humans who are associated with it, and is most frequently used to describe the poor. For example, Raúl thinks he is like a dog (30) and José Pulido is his own mule (77), José Luis del Moral's teacher calls him an uneducated "animalito" (230), and Gregorio's friend Julián has the face of a dog when he watches Gregorio leave him (272). Madrid is an animal that devours people (58), and the blood of a dead man eats up don Vicente's past, converting Vicente himself into a beast (95) with a fine nose for smelling trouble (275). Similarly, Gregorio smells imminent danger before he and his activist friends are betrayed to the police (371-2), and hears warning sounds that are not audible to humans, in the same way as a bat or a rat (374). Sex is always linked to the animal and Gloria Giner thinks her boyfriend looks only half-man when she sees him naked (311). Carmelo, when angered and frustrated about his unrequited love for Gloria, feels part "felino rabioso" and "ratón acorralado" (368). Bourgeois Gloria Seseña sees the revolution as an animal, almost like a hellhound, which re-incarnates the fear she experienced during wartime Madrid (385). On the other hand, the wealthy young Ignacio Mendieta is so refined that "nada en él delataba los rasgos primarios que sitúan al hombre en la continuidad de la escala animal" (314). Finally, in the third-last line of the novel, the only thing Carmelo can hear in his prison cell is the "gruñidos y jadeos de los perros," all sounds of human life having disappeared (391).

does have a pang of conscience about robbing from the poor, but justifies it because "era más jodido no llevar nada para comer. Además, esta época [...] no toleraba a los imbéciles" (56). In addition, he is a willing informant for the police, who leave him be in exchange for his collaboration:[195] "Él conocía y trataba a la mayoría de los policías que se movían de paisano por el barrio. El haber hecho la guerra en el bando correcto le ayudaba no poco en este trato y había sido determinante para haber podido moverse con soltura en su negocio, sin que nadie viniera a molestarlo" (118). Luis's use of the word "bando correcto" is indicative of his state of mind—it is advantage, not political idealism, which is important to him. He feeds off corruption and vice, and is disdainful of the peasants who come to the city in search of better opportunities than is granted to them by the land. However, when a wealthy self-made gentleman (by implication one of the "estraperlistas" for whom Vicente has such disdain) gives him an opportunity for advancement, Luis rejects it, realising that the world of the rich is

> un mundo que no consideraba que pudiera nunca pertenecerle, ni en el que él pudiera moverse, era inseguridad, miedo al lujo, miedo a la riqueza [...] esa expresión era como una moneda—la moneda con la que iba a pagar su vida—y tenía dos caras, y si en una cara decía eso, miedo a la riqueza, en la otra por fuerza tenía que decir querencia a la miseria [...]. (122)

Luis then, is a failed opportunist who apes the language of those who have been able to benefit from the war, while being too sunk in his misery and degradation to ever be anything other than a lowlife scammer.

The following chapter continues with the theme of illicit profiteering, but this time from the perspective of those who are able to make the system work to their advantage. It opens with the final betrayal of bourgeois Gloria Seseña by her wastrel brother, Roberto, who has gambled away their family fortune and now leaves her with the prospect of losing her house. He had abandoned her in Madrid at the beginning of

[195] The police network of collaborators and informants was a pillar of the new regime, which characterised such work as a patriotic duty on the part of all citizens and actively penalised passivity (Álvarez Fernández 139).

the war, fleeing to Paris dressed in the "mono azul" of the workers, only returning to meet her in San Sebastián towards its end, dressed in the "camisa azul" of the Falange. Looking at him playing tennis there, she thinks:

> *¿Dónde los áridos campos de Aragón, los terribles hielos negros de Teruel, los cielos amenazadores de un Madrid insomne, los campos de esparto, las mujeres enlutadas, los cadáveres bajo el sol* [emphases added]? Roberto jugaba al tenis, o miraba caer la lluvia sobre el tapete del mar, desde las ventanas del hotel, miraba caer las cartas sobre el tapete verde de la mesa de póquer mientras a su alrededor la ciudad parecía jugar una agitada partida de ajedrez en la que todos tenían prisa por mover sus piezas, o celebrar un banquete: la guerra y el país que iba ganándose cada día aparecían, vistos desde aquel mirador privilegiado, como una gigantesca tarta instalada sobre un bufet al que todo el mundo tenía acceso. (71)

The first sentence makes somewhat poetic reference to well-known locations and descriptions of the Civil War's horrors, while the rest of the quotation is overlaid with the narrator's voice, conjuring up the image of vultures circling above a battle, waiting to feast upon the remains. Gloria will also partake of the banquet when she marries her brother's former assistant, Ramón, who despite his lowly origins, has succeeded in making contacts in Salamanca with "gente que 'pesaba'" and will become very rich (71). Nevertheless, Gloria is to some extent a loser, because Francoism enforced rigid restrictions upon women's mobility and rights to work, restrictions which stifle her and cause her to be jealous of her sister-in-law, who lives in more liberal Rome (151 154).

The contrast between those who profit from the war and those damaged by it, between those who stand by their ideals and those who sink into corruption, is exemplified by the story of Raúl Vidal and his brother, Antonio. It comes in the second sequence, between the stories of Manuel Amado and Pedro del Moral. Raúl works on the railway, and like Vicente, suffers the professional consequences of the repression. In his interior monologue below, we hear the echoes of Francoist discourse, which justifies discrimination against those who fought on the Republican side and in favour of the regime's supporters:

> Desde que acabó la guerra, había tenido que conformarse con continuar como peón de Vías y Obras, viendo cómo ascendían rápidamente los que llegaban de fuera avalados por *recomendaciones que siempre destacaban su conducta patriótica en el bando nacional* o los que, habiendo trabajado con él antes de la guerra, habían actuado en el ferrocarril como colaboracionistas: los de la *quinta columna*, que era como se llamó durante la guerra a quienes boicoteaban el servicio, trabajaban con desgana traidora y hasta cometían pequeños atentados en el material del ferrocarril [emphases added]. (27)[196]

Raúl was not particularly political, but joined the UGT and the Republican army because "Bovra había caído del lado republicano y también porque ésas eran sus ideas como trabajador, como proletario, que se decía en aquellos años" (27). The word "proletario" is a forbidden one in postwar Spain, belonging as it does to Marxist discourse. It appears to have never been truly part of Raúl's belief system either, merely a word that he acquired from the language of left-wing activists.[197] With such activists now gone, it has no more meaning for him, a dead word which is no longer spoken. In sharp, contrast, Raúl's brother, Antonio, cynically manages to turn the postwar situation to his advantage. Unlike Raúl, he was a socialist militant, and was imprisoned after the war for his participation in the Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas (JSU). Raúl often went hungry in order to bring food to Antonio while he was in prison, a fact which is never appreciated by the latter, who will ingratiate himself with his former enemies as soon as he is set free. Raúl cannot understand his brother's speed at abandoning his old beliefs "porque el miedo o el rencor y la venganza no deben nunca traspasar ciertos límites, porque, si lo traspasan, degradan al hombre y lo convierten en un pelele" (28). When his brother sings the Falangist hymn "Cara al sol" at the cinema, ignoring the abuse thrown at him, Raúl thinks that he has lost all human dignity, and that "a partir de entonces alguien podría echarle un pedazo de pan al suelo y que é lo cogería con la boca, que alguien podría darle una patada y él se escaparía a la carrera gimiendo exactamente igual que un perro" (29). However, when

[196] The term "la quinta columna" was coined by the rebellious general, Mola, when he was advancing on Madrid. He had four columns of soldiers, and referred to a fifth which was working inside the city to undermine the Republican defence.

[197] This line may also be read as an explanatory comment by the narrator, although again it seems more likely to be connected to Raúl's thinking.

contemplating his own misery, he sometimes thinks that it is he who is the dog, not his brother, and wants to "liarse una soga alrededor del cuello, igual que se les ata a los perros" (30). The reader is encouraged here, as elsewhere in the text, to reflect upon the ethics of survival, to ask how human dignity can be maintained in the wake of such extensive humiliation, betrayal and defeat. The vulgar Marxist glorification of labour is also called into question, as well as the naïve teleological belief in the inevitable triumph of the working class. Despite the promises of revolutionary theory, Raúl has done nothing but suffer, and his work feels mean and lowly to him. As with Pedro, his son Raúl gives him a glimmer of joy, although the chapter ends with the following counterpoint: "Ya decía con una erres estropajosas la palabra perro" (30). He will die young, perhaps through suicide, or as a result of his difficult life and work. Consequently, his son will go to a boarding school for orphans, where he becomes the friend and protector of Pedro's son, José Luis.[198]

The Sterility of Violence

As we have already seen, one of the principles of Falangism (and Francoism) was a return to the imperial greatness of fifteenth-century Spain, arising from a belief that the essential character and destiny of Spain was rooted in violence, struggle, and domination.[199] Thus, as in Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, the Francoist regime placed a strong emphasis on the creation of new generations of strong men who would further Spain's glory. Special financial aids were given to families in order to encourage them to have larger families, abortion and contraceptive "propaganda"

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[198] Chirbes' own father was a railway worker, and died when the author was only four years old. He was sent to a boarding school for the orphaned sons of railworkers in Ávila at the age of eight, later transferring to another in León, the province in which the school of Raúl and José Luis is located. His experiences there profoundly shaped him and his outlook on life, and despite the separation from his family and the strictness of the routines, he says that "sigo viviendo como positiva esa experiencia igualitaria, que ya no encontré en el internado de Salamanca al que me enviaron luego, en el que se educaban hijos de la burguesía local y donde—como es normal entre adolesentes—se practicaba el exhibisionismo. En el colegio de huérfanos, uno valía por su propio esfuerzo y no—como ocurría en Salamanca—por el apellido, el negocio de los padres o la ropa que llevaba. Esa idea de que cada persona se sostiene en sí misma me acompaña" ("Interview with López de Abiada" 12). The experience of boarding school in *La larga marcha* will be focalised through José Luis rather than Raúl, and he too seems to find a certain solace in the discipline and order there, although it is not without its miseries; he is bullied by one of the masters and treated as an outcast by the other boys.

[199] José Antonio Primo de Rivera frequently waxed lyrical about Spain's "destiny in the universal," an expression taken from Ortega y Gasset. It had few practical implications, and it was never clear whether he meant a return to Empire or to a resuscitation of Spanish cultural dominance (Payne *Falange* 43).

were made illegal and carried prison terms, and women's rights to employment were severely restricted, their sole function being to raise families (see Febo 222-24).[200] In the novel, this discourse emerges when Pedro proudly reflects upon the boxing match of his son, Ángel:

> Era la primera vez desde que se murió su mujer que aguardaba algo inminente. Uno puede ser limpiabotas, así también se sirve a la patria, y *engendrar a un personaje, a una celebridad capaz de llevar la imagen de España por todo el mundo* [emphases added], ser recibido por ministros, acompañar a artistas, darle la mano al Caudillo el día que le impone una medalla en una recepción en la Granja, o en El Pardo. (103)

Ángel, however, will become a good-for-nothing fascist street thug, an example of the ultimate sterility of violence. The incapacity of violence to breed life also emerges when Manuel Amado reflects upon the futility of his brother's death in the arid plains of Morocco: "Aquel minúsculo punto negro del mapa había bebido la sangre de Carmelo, que ni siquiera debió de servir para que naciese algún hierbajo" (13).[201] The reference to Morocco is significant, it having been one of Spain's last colonial outposts, as well as the cause of considerable political strife during the decades before the civil war because of humiliating defeats suffered there by the army. These culminated in the Battle of Annual in 1921, after which the Cortes demanded an investigation into King Alfonso XIII's colonial policy and alleged corruption in the military. The event seriously eroded the public's confidence in the monarchy, although the immediate outcome was the installation of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, with the king's backing. Public anger was all the greater because most of those who served were the sons of the poor, the rich having the means to "buy" a replacement recruit from among the less well-off. The young Manuel was frequently haunted by the memory of his brother, who came to "desvelarlo con sus dedos nudosos que se aferraban al hombro y con el triste crujido de la arena entre sus dientes" (15). Such nightmares fade with time, until the brother becomes nothing more than

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[200] This theme also emerges when Vicente Tabarca performs an illegal abortion for Elvira Rejón, Luis Coronado's wife, because they cannot afford to feed another child (148).

[201] A connection between violent death and barren landscape is also made when Gloria Seseña thinks about her dead lover during the Civil War, "sus labios muertos y duros, resecos por el polvo estéril de los Monegros, por el helado cierzo" (69).

> humo: un sistema codificado de gestos y palabras que alguien recordaba, un condicional si ("si él hubiera visto esto," "si él hubiera estado aquí," "si a él le pasara") que oponía futuribles y hechos presentes, algunas fotos que ayudaban a que el humo no se disolviera del todo, la letra de sus cartas, irregular, torpe, que bajaba al dios de los recuerdos de su pedestal y lo ponía en su limitado espacio de ignorante campesino que desconocía con demasiada frecuencia las reglas de la sintaxis y de la ortografía. (18-19)

Viewed in Bakhtinian terms, the photograph, as well as his letters, may be seen as the echo of a particular past discourse which continues to resonate in the present. The family continues to imagine Carmelo's actions and reactions to particular situations, unable to consign him to the dustbin of history or to separate him entirely from the collective family identity. The photographs will take on a somewhat different significance for the younger Carmelo, however, and become tinged with a romantic aura:

> Ahí en esas fotografías, y en la historia que del tío Carmelo le habían contado tantas veces, fijaba el niño sus afanes de exotismo y aventura, términos que le llegaban envueltos en una gasa oscura, de sufrimiento y muerte, no sólo en aquellos libros que veía, sino también en los anuncios de las películas que ponían en el cine del pueblo. El tío Carmelo saltaba así de las fotografías a las páginas de los libros y de las páginas de los libros a la pantalla del cine, y unas veces sus rasgos se parecían más a Gary Cooper, mientras que en otras ocasiones se identificaban con los de John Wayne o los de Errol Flynn. (87)

The contrast between Carmelo's impressions and the pain suffered by the family at the loss of his namesake reminds us of how past events, particularly when violent, change in their effects and significance upon succeeding generations. While those who directly experience war or violence might suffer from trauma, those who are more removed often experience little more than curiosity, and may even find the event a subject for entertainment. Carmelo associates the hard military aspect of the *guardia civil* with his uncle and his cinematic heroes because he sees that they inspire both fear and desire; and while the people of the village are afraid of the guards, his aunt falls in love with one. The reality of war, though, as Vicente (94-5), Pedro (34) and Luis

(118) recognise, is that it is cruel and brutal, and that it brings out the worst in human beings, even those who are good on the surface.

5.3 "La joven guardia"

Bakhtin noted in *Problems With Dostoevsky's Poetics* that in order for the full play of dialogic interaction to exist, "all things that are disunified and distant must be brought together at a single spatial and temporal 'point'" (177). This is what happens when the children of those who protagonised the first part of *La larga marcha* converge on Madrid in the mid-1960s. With the exception of José Luis del Moral and Raúl Vidal, the young people will eventually militate together in a communist cell called "Alternativa Communista,"[202] a group typical of those formed by student activists during this period. Chirbes, who spent a few months in the prison of Carabanchel in 1964 for his own involvement in the student opposition, has in a number of interviews expressed his disillusionment with revolutionary utopianism and disgust at the subsequent careers of many former "revolutionaries" after the Transition.[203] Consequently, in *La larga marcha* the motives of the revolutionaries are put to question, as are the

[202] During the most radical phase of the student movement (1968-1970), many such small, clandestine groups were formed in response to the harsh repression exerted upon those who expressed their public opposition through the Democratic University Syndicates. These groups drew upon a mixture of Maoist, Stalinist and Trotskiest theory, and modelled their tactics on the revolutions of Cuba, China and Vietnam. However, they showed themselves to be somewhat naïvely idealist and out of touch with the political realities of Spain, whose social structure was very different to that of Vietnam or Cuba (Valdelvira González 148-49). Sergio Vilar is also critical of the tactics used by these and other clandestine groups, calling them irrational and saying that they only served to marginalise them from the masses, rather than drawing the latter to them (375).

[203] In a 2007 interview, he said: "Al poder siempre llegan los peores, el poder es un imán que atrae a los peores, y sólo con la traición y la mentira se llega al poder" (Nichols 232), a sentiment which is also expressed by José Luis in *La larga marcha* (344). Later in the same interview, he voices his opinion about revolutionary idealism: "La revolución es un fantasma, que puede ser el fantasma de la verdad y que no sabemos lo que es. Y que es ese espacio ideal que nunca ha existido" (Nichols 232). Regarding the Transition, he says in a 2003 interview with *El País* that "es lo que descubre Max Aub en los sesenta: no hay dos Españas, sólo hay una, la otra no existe. Toda aquella enseñanza de la Institución Libre y los ateneos obreros no nos habían llegado [...] el que ocupó las tierras se quedó con las tierras ocupadas y el que ocupó la cátedra con la camisa azul se quedó con ella. Hubo un pacto para no matarse, pero hay que saber que alguien había perdido" ("Las novelas").

theories upon which they base their action.[204] This is done in three ways: firstly, through the suggestion that the students' activism has more to do with adolescent hormones and sexual desire than genuine political passion; secondly, through the contrasts between the characters of Carmelo Amado, José Luis del Moral and Luis Coronado; and thirdly, through the interaction of the labourer, Gregorio Pulido, with the students in general.

Politics, Romance and Romanticisation

The starting point for the activism of the students is their daily meetings in a bar called "El Laurel," where they pass around books and magazines, and talk about politics and culture. Helena, (daughter of Vicente Tabarca), starts to attend the meetings with her friend Gloria (daughter of Gloria Seseña), after being introduced to the group by Ignacio Mendieta, whom Gloria had met the previous summer when visiting her cousin Roberto in Rome. Gloria fell in love with Roberto (the son of Gloria's wastrel brother), and because of her parents' disapproval of their relationship, uses Ignacio as a go-between to send letters to him. For the girls, who are still in their pre-university year, the welcome given to them by the older students is thrilling and exciting. They are introduced to revolutionary left-wing texts, and Helena starts reading "los libros de Baroja, Machado y Unamuno que su padre tenía en la biblioteca" (219). There is a suggestion, however, that the intellectual pretensions of the group were rather superficial and had more to do with sexual desire than political passion, a characterisation which will surface repeatedly throughout "La joven guardia." The following quotation is illustrative:

> [...] no sería arriesgado afirmar, con la perspectiva que concede el paso de los años, que la vida intelectual y la rebeldía que mostraba de un modo casi exhibicionista el grupo de El Laurel se sostenía en muchos casos sobre un pudoroso e invisible cimiento amoroso, sobre un conglomerado de atracciones secretas, que se expresaba en la aparición de unos sentimientos de ternura que caían sobre la totalidad de sus componentes [...]. (222)

[204] In *Los viejos amigos,* where the old members of a communist group reunite for a meal twenty-five years later, Chirbes shows in even stronger terms the ways in which revolutionary idealism dissipates over time.

Helena and Antonio Menchón, an agricultural student, are the first to become involved, and their relationship, which is never fully consummated, serves as a "detonante" for other pairings. From then on, "se inició el baile sentimental y político con extrema animación. La gente se afiliaba con precipitación a las organizaciones políticas y también al amor" (227).

By showing how student counter-culture and political opposition in *La larga marcha* revolves around romantic sentiment, Chirbes makes a subtle commentary about how it was later romanticised in public (and private) discourse. This can be seen more clearly in the following quotation, also from the same scene:

> **'Fueron tiempos de enorme vitalidad. Lo discutíamos todo y lo leíamos todo. Mezclábamos a Kafka con Freud, y a Marx y a Hegel con Baudelaire, Miguel Hernández y Hermann Hesse**, nos parecía que todo eran ladrillos de un edificio de rebeldía' fue lo que dijo Gloria Giner cuando la entrevistaron para un programa televisivo acerca de la transición más de veinticinco años después. *Probablemente sus palabras eran verdad, aunque con matices porque, por entonces, y aunque quizá ni Helena ni Gloria repararon en ello, además de ser ladrillos en el edificio de la rebeldía, las lecturas de esos libros exhalaban también un intenso perfume animal que ellas confundían con la presencia envolvente del espíritu* [emphases added]. (221)

First, in bold, we are given Gloria's subsequent interpretation of the era, where she makes reference to a range of fashionable counter-cultural texts of the time. There is in her description a hint of nostalgia for an idealistic youth which has now been lost, but also a sense of self-satisfaction at having been part of the triumphant generation of the Transition. Below, in italics, the narrator provides another interpretation: that there was something more primal than spiritual in the rebelliousness of the students. The narrator's repetition of Gloria's words, "los ladrillos de rebeldía," within his commentary is an example of a hybrid construction, and has an ironic effect that deflates Gloria's rhetoric. The author's refracted intentions can also be discerned from the reference to the present-day memory of the Transition. Since Gloria is being interviewed for television, it can be assumed that she played some sort of public role in the democratising process, but as has been seen, she comes from a family that

benefits materially from the Civil War.[205] As in "El ejército del Ebro," then, there is an implication that the rich and well-connected always find a way to maintain power. This point will be made again when it is revealed that Ignacio's wealth provides the students with the funds to buy their books, music and films. He is the first to declare himself a communist and reject "el egoísmo y la estupidez" of his bourgeois background, but this is an empty decision because he continues to benefit materially from all its privileges (314). As Chirbes showed in *Los disparos del cazador,* the sons and daughters of rich Francoists like Ignacio and Glória had their "innocence" bought for them by their parents; they positioned themselves against the regime during the 1960s and 1970s, but sacrificed very little, and when democracy came, they were able to change from being "ricos franquistas a ser ricos socialistas absolutamente inocentes" (Nichols 225).[206]

"Al poder siempre llegan los peores"

The characters of Carmelo Amado, Luis Coronado and José Luis del Moral, and the relationships among them, function as a commentary on the motivations which drive political activism and the nature of those who seek power.[207] Carmelo, a film

[205]A similar view of the students was presented in Juan Marsé's much earlier novel about the first university disturbances in Barcelona in 1956, *Últimas tardes con Teresa.* Like Chirbes, he makes use of ironic commentary and narratorial prolepsis to strip the romantic gloss from the rhetoric of the students: "Pero justamente por esas fechas, tan calenturientas en la Universidad de Barcelona, tan preñadas de sublimes y heroicas decisiones—que sin embargo no conseguirían todavía cambiar el vergonzoso curso de la Historia ni aún sacrificando por el pueblo mejor de nuestra juventud, según la propia Teresa Serrat le confesaría un día a su compañero en la lucha [...]" (84). *El día de mañana,* as will be seen in the following chapter, also casts a critical eye upon the activities of anti-Francoist youth in the 1960s and 1970s.

[206]Almudena Grandes explores this issue in detail in *El corazón helado* (2007), the difference being that the protagonist, Álvaro Carrion, confronts the political and personal betrayals committed by his father and mother during the war and postwar. Faced with his mother's cynicism after he has confronted her with the truth, he thinks "la mía no era más que una historia, una de muchas, tantas y tan parecidas, historias grandes o pequeñas, historias tristes, feas, sucias, que de entrada siempre parecen mentira y al final siempre han sido verdad" (1,225). However, Grandes is less pessimistic than Chirbes in suggesting that if those like Álvaro expose the dirty secrets of the past and affiliate themselves ethically with the values of the Republic, a better future might be forged.

[207] Chirbes has previously said in interviews that some part of him is in each of his characters, but it is hard to escape the sense that Carmelo and José Luis in particular contain autobiographical elements. Both are highly sensitive, having artistic minds, and are fuelled by a more genuine ethical and moral commitment than those characters provenant of the dominant classes or who seek access to power, such as Gloria Giner or Luis Coronado. Other small details include the fact that Chirbes, like José Luis, was put into a boarding school at a young age while Chirbes, like Carmelo, spent some time in prison for his anti-Franoist activities (Rodrigo).

enthusiast, is politically idealistic and somewhat naïve. Being also quite insecure, he does not have much success with women, and sometimes falls into solitary depression. He meets Luis Coronado (the eponymous son of the black marketeer) for the first time at their school, their friendship developing because they took the same route home, and not because Luis "era el amigo que él hubiese elegido" (210). From the start, Luis appears superior to Carmelo. Not only does he look older, "sino que era indudablemente mayor, a pesar de que tenía prácticamente la misma edad que él" (209). Luis, born and raised in Madrid, knows the city intimately, and is a talented manipulator of both people and words: "conocía no sólo las palabras que había que usar, sino también el tono en el que tenía que pronunciarlas, la velocidad a la que debían ser desgranadas y con qué melodía" (209-210). Luis also wears "una chaqueta gris y una corbata azul marino con el nudo muy pequeño" (210), in order to appear elegant and more sophisticated. This is in contrast to the hand-knitted jumpers which Carmelo wears, and which Luis insults after they go to a dance, leading Carmelo to terminate their friendship (213). Although they become jointly embroiled in the student opposition at university, their friendship is not reawakened, and Carmelo feels increasingly uncomfortable around Luis, who orders him not to tell anyone about his miserable family background or the fact that his brother is a Guardia Civil. Like his father before him, Luis is obsessed with keeping up appearances, a compulsion which the more sincere, (or naïve), Carmelo does not understand (246).

Indeed, Luis always remains somewhat mysterious to the reader, and the narrative is never focalised through his perspective. He is usually represented through the eyes of Carmelo, or through the narration that forms part of Carmelo's character zone, being the antagonistic other against whom the Galician must constantly define himself. To the reader, Luis appears increasingly false and manipulative, particularly towards Carmelo, whom he often treats with disdain. For example, when they encounter each other on a clandestine mission for the first time, Luis scolds Carmelo for not using their assigned "nombres de Guerra," therefore breaking a fundamental rule of the group, even though they were alone.[208] Carmelo is hurt and humiliated by his

[208] This is a rule that Luis hypocritically breaks when he later asks José Luis for the keys to his flat (342).

treatment, and by the fact that Luis should also criticise him for his lack of foresight and timidity in carrying out the tasks they had been assigned

> como si [...] tuviese un conocimiento más real que él de los que allí se estaba haciendo, como si no hubiera sido él, el propio Carmelo, con ayudo de Gregorio [...] y en compañía de José Luis [...] quien había empezado a trabajar en la zona y quien había ofrecido el trabajo de los tres a la organización que el camarada Carlos [who is Luis] parecía representar en aquellos momentos con una autoridad moral que excluía y minimizaba cualquier logro anterior [...]. (339)

Even Luis's choice of clandestine name, "Carlos," after Karl Marx, is an assertion of his superior fitness to preach the revolutionary gospel. Rather than stand up for himself, Carmelo accepts Luis's castigation and even criticises his feelings of resentment and antipathy towards him as being "pequeñoburgués." This is parodic use of Marxist language, and the word "pequeñoburgués" appears in quotation marks, signalling the foreignness of the word for Carmelo. It has not been fully appropriated and absorbed as part of his belief system, and even when the word is used later without the syntactical markers, the latter seem to maintain a ghostly presence. The sentence which finalises this particular encounter between Carmelo and Luis makes use of parodic stylisation, reinforcing Carmelo's resentment and making their activity seem somewhat ridiculous: "El camarada Pedro y el camarada Carlos intercambiaron bajo el cielo sin estrellas de las afueras la documentación y los informes y fueron dos desconocidos en la oscuridad" (340).

José Luis forms a complete contrast to Luis. The fragile and gentle son of Pedro del Moral, he meets Carmelo after they have attended a screening of Ingrid Bergman's *The Seventh Seal* at a cinema club. Their friendship quickly develops, and they become roommates. José Luis refuses to join "Alternativa Comunista," however, and is disdainful of the "reuniones en la cafetería ('burguesitos y burguesitas' decía), las tertulias intelectuales en El Laurel [...]" (342). Nevertheless, he frequently assists the group in its political activities, distributing leaflets and displaying posters in the university, even when there are police present on campus. He justifies his reasons by saying that "los ciudadanos tenemos que curar y operar y poner sondas, aun a

sabiendas de que siempre triunfa el mal, que el poder acude por naturaleza a los peores" (343).[209] His interests are not in political power or abstract theory, and because he is "menos que proletario" he says, he does not have a bad conscience, nor feel the need to apologise or expiate his sins through membership of a party. It will later emerge that José Luis has a romantic attachment to Carmelo, however, suggesting that this was also a motive for his involvement. Shortly after José Luis's comments about the nature of those who achieve political power there comes a strong suggestion that Luis should be considered one of those. He has tried to undermine Carmelo once more by accusing him of lacking in ambition, causing the latter to feel bewildered about how

> una idea que a él le parecía que debía llegar envuelta en el aceite dulcificador de la piedad, porque recogía las aspiraciones de los desheredados, podía encontrar su expresión en el orgullo con que se expresaba Coronado, que parecía hablar desde un altivo mirador invertido de clase cuanto criticaba el "subjetivismo" de José Luis del Moral y el "esteticismo de Antonio" (ése era el nombre de guerra de Mendieta) y que a Carmelo le parecía que repetía el tono con el que unos años antes le recriminaba su ingenuidad de pueblerino recién llegado a Madrid. (345)

Not only is Luis overbearing, arrogant and ambitious, but he is also hypocritical, and has no qualms about exploiting Carmelo. For example, he asks Carmelo to borrow the keys to his flat on the pretence that he needs to hold a meeting, promising to be finished by eight o'clock at the latest. However, he does not keep his promise, and Carmelo is forced to walk the streets in the cold for several hours until Luis finally emerges with his arm around Gloria, with whom Carmelo is in love, thus dealing him a further humiliating blow (346-347). Despite this, Carmelo will eventually accede to Luis's demands that José Luis leave the flat because he is not a member of "Alternativa Comunista," allowing his hated other to share the room instead. He is too ashamed to tell José Luis, his best friend, the truth, instead inventing a story about possible gunmen from the north who might endanger his safety (362).

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[209] Here again Spain is represented as a sick patient who needs to be cured, although the type of cure José Luis has in mind is different to that of the Francoists or the leech-like priests which left Vicente Tabarca so bitter.

Not only does Carmelo use theory to repress his feelings of jealousy and dislike towards Luis, but he also tries to enlist it in the service of seduction, and when he fails, expresses his frustration through sexualised language: "Gloria escuchaba sus palabras cuando él le exponía algo que había estudiado con atención, pero no las abrazaba, no se abría ante ellas, ni gemía dejándose penetrar por ellas, ni destilaba calor físico ante su aleteo" (366). In fact, Gloria is almost as hypocritical and intellectually shallow as Luis. She shows no interest in the books on free love that Carmelo lends her when they first meet, declaring that she is Marxist "y no me interesa demasiado la vida personal" (250). The falseness of these words is immediately discernible to the reader, because, unknown to Carmelo, she is in love with Roberto at the time. Furthermore, while she and Luis agree with the theories of free love that Carmelo expounds to them, after their discussions they always go to the room that Carmelo and Luis share, "entreteniéndose una noche más a la espera de la deseable llegada del matrimonio múltiple" (366). The sarcasm of these lines underlines the superficiality of the couple in comparison to Carmelo's self-sacrificing impulses, although the ridiculousness of his position is highlighted by Gregorio's common-sensical response to his explanation of the situation: "'O sea, que estás enamorado de Gloria, y le dejas tu cuarto para que folle con otro,' concluyó, sin atender a las razones acerca del libre albedrío de los seres humanos que Carmelo le expuso" (370). Here, direct speech from Gregorio contrasts comically with the indirect report of his refusal to accept Carmelo's interpretation, which is given through the language of the texts that he reads, ("libre albedrío de los seres humanos"). It is no accident that it is through the mouth of Gregorio that the practical applications of radical theories are thrown into doubt, and, as we will now see, he plays a crucial role in the deconstruction of left-wing, revolutionary rhetoric in the novel.

De-Mythification of Left-Wing Rhetoric

Gregorio is the illegitimate son of José Pulido's wife and the baker, and goes to work on the Extremaduran farm of Doña Sole at the start of "La joven guardia." After being dismissed for refusing to stop his nightly drinking, he goes first to live with his friend

Julián, and then to Madrid in search of his fortune. Once in Madrid, like many former agricultural workers of the period, Gregorio takes up a job in construction and becomes active in worker strikes. He meets Carmelo upon moving to the Amados' boarding house, and they soon become friends. Carmelo is ecstatic to have discovered a genuine, militant worker, and quickly sets about indoctrinating him in Marxist theory. Gregorio, however, finds it difficult to comprehend, and is rather skeptical of the outcome:

> 'Imagínate lo que pasaría si mandásemos nosotros. Si mandando gente de cultura, abogados, profesores y gente así, va el mundo como va, lo que podría pasar si nos lo dejaron manejarlo a cuatro burros. Eso son cosas que decís los estudiantes porque no sabéis lo que es un obrero,' se burlaba Gregorio de Carmelo. (332)

As a builder, he is the representative of those who would supposedly lead the country once the revolution has been instigated. However, only a small number of workers formed a part of groups like "Alternativa Communista" during the 1960s, and Gregorio is its only working-class member. Militant workers who took part in strikes did so in order to gain improvements in pay and working conditions rather than to spark a social revolution, a very different situation to that which existed in the years prior to the civil war, when revolution was a major mobilising factor (Powell 32; Sartorius and Sabio 53). The divide between the students and the urban workers is further highlighted in the following quotation from *La larga marcha*, where left-wing rhetoric emerges as inflated and overblown:

> [...] en aquellos días, no pudo suponer [...] que Alternativa Comunista había fijado en él su mirada con la que en la organización denominaban "Naciente Frente Obrero." No sabía cuántos proyectos dependían de él. *Ni que era una gota de agua destinada a unirse a otras para formar un inmenso mar* [emphases added]. (333)

Gregorio is always conscious of his class differences, a feeling which is particularly acute when they have their meetings at Gloria Giner's house:

> [...] se esforzaba en coger los minúsculos canapés con dos dedos en vez de con toda la

> mano, y en bajar el tono de la voz, no sólo por razones de clandestinidad, sino también por un sentido de la elegancia que se le agudizaba cuando estaba doña Gloria con ellos y hablaban de cualquier cosa; entonces Gregorio callaba casi todo el tiempo, pero permanecía atento a las palabras de los otros, se esforzaba en escuchar y aprender las palabras que ellos utilizaban y el nombre que daban a las cosas. (376)

It is Coronado who spells out the problem "cuando se investía con la personalidad del camarada Carlos, y le decía: 'Es el origen de clase. Por más que ellos se esfuercen, nunca serán auténticos proletarios. Son burgueses. Simples compañeros de viaje'" (375). However, Gregorio adopts their mannerisms and language, and starts to feel that "se iba convirtiendo en uno más, se confundía con ellos, y que se habituaba a moverse con libertad en ese mundo, que era el pasado burgués condenado a morir, pero en el que le parecía necesario acomodarse a la espera del derrumbe [...]" (376). The implication is that the bourgeois world will not disappear and the "revolution" will be tamed, its proponents slowly adapting themselves to existing power structures until they are neutralised.

Given the political and social structure of Francoist Spain, it is unsurprising that Gregorio will be the cause of the group's betrayal to the police. A chain reaction is set in motion when his erstwhile employer, Doña Sole, sees him at the Giner's house and becomes hysterical, demanding that he leave immediately. Initially, he is paralysed and silenced by the weight of the past, and by her appeal to the authoritative, classist discourse of Francoist Spain. However, gaining courage, he tells her to "go to the hell" and she runs into the house. The younger Gloria's reaction to the scene, and the way it is related by the narrator, is telling:

> 'Espera, esto es mi casa. No os vayáis. Y tú, ¿de qué conoces a Sole?', dijo, sin moverse de su sitio. Las primeras frases las había dicho mirando a Ignacio, mientras que la pregunta se la había dirigido a Gregorio. Sonó raro el tú que acababa de pronunciar Gloria, como si, al pronunciarlo, bajara un peldaño en la escala del universo de los seres vivos, aunque ciertamente más raro hubiese soñado que llamara a Gregorio de usted. Parecía evidente que tenía que existir una fórmula intermedia. (378)

Ignacio immediately agrees to stay with the now tearful Gloria, as does Luis. On the part of Ignacio and Gloria, this decision appears to be an immediate closing of class ranks, but although he is Gloria's boyfriend, we once more suspect hypocrisy on the part of Luis. Carmelo leaves with Gregorio, as does Helena after a few minutes of hesitation, ignoring Ignacio's pleas for her to stay. Meanwhile, Gloria Seseña, who had previously tried to present herself as a modern, progressive woman, reverts to class stereotypes when she hears Sole's story, trying to think if she had noticed whether any valuables had gone missing and feeling terror at the thought of a new "revolution." In the chapter that follows, the students are arrested by the police, and there is an implicit suggestion that they were informed upon by one, or both, of the two women.

The Dark Side of the Regime

As previously stated, the final scene is narrated from Carmelo's perspective when he is in prison. We learn that the activists were held incommunicado for almost a month, the existing state of emergency having given the police complete discretion over the length of time a suspect could be held without trial.[210] Carmelo relates that nearly every day, he was taken to a room to be beaten and interrogated, before being told to sign "una declaración en la que se autoinculpaba de ser militante de una organización comunista" (389), but following his training, he refuses to do so. One night he sees Helena, who also shows the signs of mistreatment, and on another, Gregorio, although he could not see the latter's face because "llevaba la cabeza envuelta en una venda en la que destacaba una enorme mancha oscura" (389). On another occasion, he is beaten senseless, but before losing consciousness, thinks he hears someone say "entre sollozos: 'Es que mi hermano es guardia'" (390). This is most likely a reference to Luis, who has lost the hardness of the "camarada Carlos." There is no mention of Ignacio and Gloria, making it seem likely that they have been released early on account of their influential family connections, if they were ever imprisoned at all.[211]

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[210] It being 1970, this probably refers to the state of emergency imposed in the wake of the disturbances surrounding the Burgos trial.

[211] This is what occurs in *Los viejos amigos,* where the wealthy son of a regime family, Narcisus, buys his freedom in exchange for the betrayal of the communist cell. He also helps to arrange the freedom of

Recalling the earlier reference to Gloria's appearance on a television show about the Transition, we might argue that the novel seeks to rescue from the dustbin of history those few who took immense personal risks to oppose the dictatorship, but who never appear in documentaries or are mentioned in hagiographic accounts of figures such as King Juan Carlos and Adolfo Suárez. These invisible people nevertheless made significant contributions towards the creation of a civic, democratic culture.[212]

The final scene in the novel bears strongly Orwellian overtones, as can be seen in a comparison of the final two lines of *La larga marcha* with the following quotation from *1984*, when Winston has been imprisoned in the Ministry of Love.

> Encima de la puerta metálica alumbraba sin tregua la bombilla. Allí dentro era siempre la misma hora y el mismo día. Una eternidad llegada después del instante que se había ido. (*La larga marcha* 391)

> More often he wondered where he was, and what time of day it was. At one moment he felt certain that it was broad daylight outside, and at the next equally certain that it was pitch darkness. In this place, he knew instinctively, the lights would never be turned out. (Orwell 241)

The chronotope of the prison cell in these quotations is that of an eternal present which is divorced from either the cyclicity of nature or the linearity of human, historical time. The natural cycle of night and day has been ruptured by the walls of the prison and the ever-burning, artificial light, which casts a long shadow on the future of the prisoners, and of the societies in which they exist.

Laura, who had a "rama familiar (la paterna) muy bien relacionada con la política y diplomacia franquistas" (168). The differential treatment awarded to children of regime elites and bourgeois families is mentioned in an anecdote by Enrique Múrgica Herzog, who relates how an agent of the Brigada Social interrogated him in a paternalist tone, addressing him in the polite form of "usted" and using the title of "don" before his name and those of his companions (Álvarez Fernández 156).

[212] Isaac Rosa in *El vano ayer* also expressed his hostility towards those who rhetorically exhalted revolutionary heroism in the face of torture, "el bonito relato de esos intelectuales que rara vez sufrían torturas, solían recibir buen trato, incluso en la cárcel [...]" (170). He accuses these intellectuals of being engaged only superficially in the opposition, so that they could later say "bien alto que ellos eran la verdadera oposición a Franco, que ellos trajeron la democracia, que ellos sufrieron la repression" (170).

Chapter Conclusions

Through the use of socially representative characters and a polyphonic narrative style, *La larga marcha* successfully calls into question a number of discourses which have constructed present-day Spanish culture and society. The traditional civil war divide is dismantled, but is replaced by other dichotomies, the most important being the opposition between those who attempt to live according to an ethical code, even at great personal cost, and the cynics who seek only political, material or social gain. The novel exposes the emptiness of Franco-Falangist promises that peace and prosperity would accompany their victory, with people from both sides of the divide being portrayed as losers in a dismal, fear-bound society, although it is the defeated Republicans who suffer the most. Violence, another staple of Franco-Falangist rhetoric, is also shown to be a sterile dead end rather than the basis for a "regeneration" of the Spanish race. At the same time, the 1960s student opposition to the regime is submitted to critique, and most of the activists are represented as being either naïve, contradictory or hypocritical in their convictions. Here lie the origins of the *desencanto,* and the political cynicism and opportunism which will propel the Transition, preserving the power of the Francoist elite while seeming to usher in a new era. Finally, the repressive, totalitarian side of the dictatorship is exposed, presenting a challenge to discourses which have depicted it as being only paternally authoritarian at worst.

A unified, totalising view is not imposed, however: there is no single dominant protagonist, and the reader is exposed to the varying perspectives of the different types of social actors who might have existed at the time. The author's intentions may be discerned, particularly where irony and subtle parody are used by the narrator to dismantle certain discourses. The location of the narrator in the present time also provides a link between past and present, an effect which is heightened by the refusal to give narrative closure. This linking is reinforced through the inconclusive ending, which leaves the reader to speculate about the ultimate fate of the detainees.

Chapter 6: Ignacio Martínez de Pisón, *El día de mañana* (2011)

Published in 2011, Ignacio Martínez de Pisón's *El día de mañana* has already accumulated numerous literary awards, including the prestigious Premio Nacional de la Crítica.[213] It is set in the Barcelona of the sixties and seventies, and tells the story of a police informant, Justo Gil, from the perspective of the people who knew him. Through their stories, a panoramic picture of Spanish society emerges, one which resists nostalgia and strips bare rhetorical glosses which were painted over the ugly structure of the regime by its sympathisers. The image that remains is of a humanity which is weak, wicked and corrupt, but where, even in the darkest corners, courage, conviction and determination shine through, providing hope for a better future. It is these latter virtues which will enable the Spanish people to successfully negotiate the difficult process of the transition to democracy, struggling against forces that seek to bind them to the hellishness of the past. For Justo, though, there will be no earthly escape, and his only hope for salvation will ultimately lie in the next world and the providence of an uncertain God. As we will see, there are a number of parallels between its portrayal of the late-Francoist period and that of *La larga marcha*, as well as with other, earlier novels which have treated similar themes.

This chapter will examine first of all how the narratorial strategy of *El día de mañana* functions in order to create a portrait of the spy while at the same time painting its fresco of Spanish society. It will then be shown how the chronotopical structure links public history with private life and establishes a dialogue between the novel and current debates about "historical memory" in Spain. Subsequently, there will be an

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[213] Other awards include the Premio Hislibris 2011, Premio de Letras Aragonesas 2011, Premio Ciutat de Barcelona 2012 and Premio Espartaco la Semana Negra de Gijón 2012.
Martínez de Pisón has published 18 books, comprising novels and collections of essays and short stories. He is also writes for cinema, and wrote the screenplay for the film *Las trece rosas,* which tells the true story of thirteen underage girls, all of whom, bar one, were executed after the civil war for their Republican activism. There is something of a divide between his earlier works and those written after 1994, reflecting a changing preference from "los escritores al estilo de Poe," to "los de la estirpe de Chéjov" ("Escribir" 5). In the words of Ana Casas, the first "poseen una ambientación contemporánea con respecto a la fecha de su publicación, aunque con frecuentes idas al pasado de los personajes, lo que nos suele llevar a la que en adelante sera la época predilecta del autor: los últimos años del franquismo y el periodo de la transición democrática."

exposition of the way in which the novel treats the 1960s economic boom, the anti-Francoist opposition, the nature of the regime's repressive system, the violence of the transition, and the collusion of the police with the ultra right. In the final section, it will be argued that the novel represents the dictatorship as a type of hell on earth in which Justo, like many others, has become trapped, but from which he desperately desires redemption.

6.1 A multi-voiced perspective on the past

The story of Justo is delivered through the oral testimony of twelve homodiegetic narrators, echoing the current popularity of the testimonial genre in Spain, which has enjoyed something of an editorial boom since 2000 (Labanyi "Historias de víctimas" 93). The genre brings history closer and makes it immediate and present, but also gives a highly subjective view. Nevertheless, Martínez de Pisón provides a bibliography at the back of the novel which contains a mixture of historiographical texts and published testimonies from former communist activists. This desire to provide authenticity approaches the novel to the genre of docufiction, which Martínez de Pisón also practised in *Enterrar a los muertos* (2005), his investigation into the disappearance of John Dos Passos' friend, Gil Robles, during the Civil War. Robles is presumed to have been assassinated by the Communist Party during the purges of 1937, and while the pro-Francoist right had long used such excesses as justification for the military uprising and subsequent repression, it is one of the few accounts of Republican crimes undertaken from a liberal, left-wing perspective (*La noche* being another example, of course).[214] Nevertheless, *El día* and *Enterrar* correspond to two

[214] Martínez de Pisón has stated he is particularly interested in exploring subjects which are not usually treated in cinematic and literary representations (cf. "Interview 11/04/2004"), the more standard novel, *Dientes de leche* (2008) being another good example. It centres on the life of Raffaelle, an Italian fascist who settled in Spain after fighting for the Francoists during the Civil War. While Raffaelle is portrayed in a generally sympathetic manner, the ideology to which he is passionately committed is not presented in a positive light, and Raffaelle's children do not support it. One of them even joins the anti-Francoist resistance after he discovers that Raffaelle had abandoned a wife and mentally handicapped child in Italy, the shock of the discovery causing a disruption to his world outlook. However, he subsequently leaves because the activists appear to him as rather ingenuous and ineffectual, a portrayal of militant anti-Francoists which we also find in *El día.*

different modes of docufiction distinguished by Hans Lauge Hansen. He starts with Tschilschke and Schmelzer's distinction between documents that are inflected with literary qualities, and fictional texts which adopt documentary charactersitics ("Formas" 84). The first type, say Tschilschke and Schmelzer, arise in three ways: through the use of fictive elements in a documentary; through the meaning that is constructed from a particular emplotment of the documentary elements; or through the adoption of codes and strategies associated with fictions, such as narrative, dramatico-theatrical or poetic structures. Conversely, a fiction might take on the features of a documentary through the use of historical sources; the integration of documentary texts or images into the fiction; or the use of forms and strategies which are conventionally interpreted as documents, such as the letter, the diary, the interview and so forth (Tschilschke and Schmelzer 16). Hansen, however, points to an additional, important distinction between the concepts of "document" and "documentalism." Following Isabel Estrada, he describes documentalism as a journalistic discourse which does not attempt to represent reality in a raw, unmediated state, being based instead on the opinion of the author/director about the theme ("Formas" 85). This leads him to state that in a work of docufiction, if the point of departure is the document,

> de igual manera será el discurso documentalista la tipología textual en la que se inicia la mezcla de elementos ficticios y de procedimientos narrativos. En cambio, si el punto de partida es el discurso literario de la ficción, los documentos sueltos serán los fragmentos que se mezclen con la narración literaria, aunque también se puede hablar de la imitación de formas de comunicación genéricamente vinculadas al discurso documentalista. ("Formas" 84)

Enterrar, whose plot is devoid of fictional elements but is elaborated through the use of literary strategies, belongs to the first type of docufiction, while *El día,* a fictional story that makes use of historical sources and adopts an oral testimony form, belongs to the second.

The choral style in which the narrators provide their testimony is also reminiscent of the Orson Welles film *Citizen Kane* (1941), where the deceased protagonist never

speaks directly, and is only known through the stories of those with whom he came into contact. These are not the only cinematic overtones in the novel, and its ending bears a strong resemblance to the film version of Hemingway's *The Killers* (1946), which is even quoted by Noel, one of the characters in the novel.[215] Of course, Martínez de Pisón is himself a screenwriter, and has said that this discipline is good training for a novelist because "aprendes a manejar esas estructuras narrativas que no se ven, pero que forman parte del engranaje: construir situaciones de forma que nada sobre" ("Escribir" 4).[216] Certainly, there is a tight structure to *El día* and a feeling that every word and event is singularly orientated towards the author's purpose. Nothing is repeated or overstated, leaving ample space in which the reader's own imagination may operate.

It is also a purely polyphonic novel, and the heterodiegetic narrator appears only to inform us of who is speaking, using the present tense verb, "dice." This imparts a feeling of "presentness," which for Bakthin is typical of polyphonic novels, where "the author's discourse about a character is organised as discourse *about someone actually present*, someone who hears him (the author) and is *capable of answering him*" (*Problems* 63). As Sue Vice points out, this indicates that the narrator or implied author exists in the same timeframe and location (or chronotope) as the "hero," in this case Justo and the homodiegetic narrators. Indeed, it appears that one of the latter, Toni Coll, is the heterodiegetic narrator who assembles the testimonies, thus placing author/narrator and hero in the same chronotope. Toni's grandfather was a one-time Socialist senator who discovers during the 1980s that Justo had spied on him. Toni's possible identity is not revealed until the epilogue, when Carme Roman, another central figure, recounts how she had met him at an exposition of his grandfather's paintings, which included a series called "El Rata 1969," ("El Rata" being Justo's nickname among the police). She and Toni talk about Justo, and he requests another meeting with her so that she can explain all she knew about him. She agrees, intuiting that Toni "sentía el deber de completar una investigación que su abuelo

[215] These two cinemtatic resemblances have been pointed out in a number of reviews of the novel (cf. Martínez Bouzas; Senabre).

[216] Martínez de Pisón has also acknowledged the influence of Italian neo-realist cinema upon his work ("Interview 16/03/12").

había dejado a medias" (377). The very last line of the novel is the line with which she begins her testimony on page 27: "Se puede decir que Justo y yo fuimos socios. Eso fue en 1964 [...]" (377). Toni himself only speaks once, on pages 102-114, when he relates how his grandfather came into possession of a police file that had been compiled about him during the 1960s. His grandfather subsequently became determined to discover the identity of the spy who had provided the information in the file, finally guessing that it was Justo after speaking to others at the funeral of the writer and publisher, Carlos Barral. He then begins to obsessively paint portraits of Justo with different faces:

> Los observabas uno por uno y te dabas cuenta de que en uno tenía los ojos juntos y en el otro separados, aquí el pelo largo, los labios finos, los pómulos marcados, allí el pelo corto, la boca carnosa, la cara sin sombras...Los rasgos podían coincidir o no, y sin embargo, saltaba a la vista que todos esos rostros eran siempre el mismo rostro, como en esos sueños en los que se te aparece un familiar o un amigo con un aspecto que no es el suyo: sabemos que es él aunque no sea él, aunque no le parezca en absoluto. (113)

Toni realises that "él no buscaba tanto ilustrar como conocer, averiguar. O tal vez comprender. Comprender al enemigo, al traidor, a la persona que se había acercado a él y a los suyos para delatarles" (114). The multiple paintings of Justo are also a metaphor for the novel's narratorial structure, the narrator's stories like snapshots taken from different angles to reveal various aspects of his life and personality. Toni's investigation of Justo's secret past echoes a typical "mystery" plot device of many fourth-wave novels. In more sophisticated exemplars, such as Javier Cercas's *Soldados de Salamina* (2001), the technique is used self-reflexively to place focus on the practice of historical investigation, raising questions about how, why and by whom history is constructed.[217] In many others, however, it has degenerated into a simple

[217] This cliché is satirised by Isaac Rosa in his novel *¡Otra maldita novela sobre la guerra civil!* (2006). A re-publication of his first novel *La malamemoria* (1999), it is set in 1977 and tells the story of a man who is asked to write the memoirs of a Francoist establishment figure, Gonzalo Mariñas by his wife. Mariñas committed suicide because of the personal attacks mounted against him during the Transition, but the story evolves into a conventional "quest plot" when the narrator discovers that Mariñas's wife has been keeping a secret from him—that her husband had been repsonsible for the massacre of a nearby village during the Civil War. In the new edition, Rosa includes a page-by-page critique of the

cliché which is used to propel forward a narrative of suspense that barely engages with deeper issues.[218] Martínez de Pisón avoids this trap by making the narrator silent and only revealing his identity at the very end of the novel. There is no suspense, and the characters are simply allowed to recount their memories of Justo, having been informed of his double identity as spy.[219] Ironically, the frequent use of the tags "dice" may also give the impression that the novel is comprised of a series of police reports (Pérez-Bustamante Mourier 10). Nevertheless, the lack of an authoritative narrator and the rejection of the narrative conventions of the detective story means that the novel avoids the "judicalización de la historia" which has characterised much contemporary production related to the war and tends towards a polarised view of the past.[220] Toni's choice of words above is also significant—the investigation is not about discovering and prosecuting the author of the crime ("ilustrar") so much as understanding *why* that crime was committed, what caused him to act in this way ("comprender al enemigo"). The focus no longer rests solely on the perpetrator and his motives, but broadens to encompass system and circumstance. What were the events that led Justo to go astray? How was his value system constructed? To what extent did his social environment play a role in his perception of his situation and the choices available to him?

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novel from the perspective of an educated reader, highlighting each use of unoriginal language and narrative cliché. His second novel, *El vano ayer* (2004), is also a parody of novelistic conventions relating to the Francoist dictatorship, particularly of the detective novel form.

[218] See Chapter 2 for a discussion of common plot techniques in recent novels.

[219] Martínez de Pisón has, in fact, indicated that he chose this narrative style deliberately to prevent his novel from falling into the clichés of spy novels or detective fiction (cf. "Interview 11/04/2004"; "La clase media").

[220] The term "judicalización de la historia" was coined by Santos Juliá and quoted by Gina Hermann in her study of the television documentaries of Montse Armengou and Ricard Belis. She has pointed out that the conventional social television documentary is a trial-like genre, drawing upon techniques of collage (of witness testimony, documentary material and expert opinion) and using a single narratorial voice-over in a manner that casts the narrator as both detective and prosecutor, and the audience as jury. The defendant, however, is left without a defence and the verdict is a foregone conclusion. Accordingly, the politically committed documentaries of Belis and Armengou about the Francoist repression, *Els nens perduts del franquisme* (2002), *Les fosses del silenci* (2003), and *El comboi dels 927* (2004) all follow this trial-like set-up, where the crimes of Francoism are at once investigated and condemned, filling a void that has been left by the real judicial process in Spain (Hermann 194).

El día de mañana is original among fourth-wave novels in its focus on the Francoist informant.[221] The use of a choral narrative is also particularly suitable to creating the portrait of a spy, because, having multiple identities, spies can never reveal their true selves to others without losing the ability to carry out their work. Thus, all the narrators knew Justo in a different capacity, but only one, the policeman to whom he reports, knew his identity as an informant while he was still active. Since Justo himself never speaks, the reader never knows what he is thinking or how he rationalises his actions. Instead, we must rely upon the observations of the homodiegetic narrators—themselves mediated by the heterodiegetic narrator—in order to form a picture of him. This exclusively external characterisation is reminiscent of the "camera eye" approach of behaviourist fiction, where character was described only through action, dialogue or outward expressions of emotion.[222] There are, nevertheless, two important differences between the narrative style of *El día* and that of its realist forebears. Firstly, in social realism the main story is usually related by a covert heterodiegetic narrator rather than—as happens in Martínez de Pisón's novel—by homodiegetic narrators. Furthermore, in *El día* the description is always filtered through the words and minds of the character/narrators, so that the illusion of objectivity granted by the external third person narrator of behaviourist fiction is lost.

This use of technique from the oral testimony genre also foregrounds the method by which the self constructs the other in both real life and in fiction: for Bakhtin, the formation of self-identity always requires the presence of the other because the

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[221] The figure of the "chivato" or police informant was treated by Javier Marías in *El siglo* (1983), but this novel belongs to the previous period of novelistic production. *El siglo* makes little reference to the actual betrayals committed by the protagonist, Casaldáliga, although the novel moves in a slow and rather spiralling manner towards an explanation of how he became an informant. The events are narrated entirely from his perspective, shifting backwards and forwards between scenes from his past life and his present as an old man on the verge of death. Despite this, *El día* is more successful in its exploration of Justo's character and the society which formed him, while the image presented by *El siglo* is hazier, feeling somewhat disconnected from concrete realities and approaching the stasis of myth.

[222] The term "behaviourist fiction" is used here to refer to fiction where exclusive use is made of external focalisation in the narration, whether it applies to French objectivism and its imitators (for example, social realism in Spain) or to the modernist style of Ernest Hemmingway. For stylistic reasons, "objectivism," "neorealism," and "social realism" will be used interchangeably in this chapter in order to refer to the objective, polyphonic narrative style which was adopted by many, if not all, social realist novels in Spain.

definition of the self is also an anticipation of, or a response to, that other. We may view ourselves in a radically different fashion to the way another person views us, and each different person will form in her mind a different impression of us. Thus, while our essential self-identity may remain fairly constant, our articulation of it will be subject to variations depending on the interlocutor. Conversely, when we attempt a construction of the other we also reveal our own self, and the narrators do this in the process of describing Justo and their relationships to him. Many of them belong to the emerging middle classes, whom Martínez de Pisón believes to have been under-represented in literature. However, he says that, while "no son necesariamente representativos de nada, [...] entre todos ellos acaban componiendo un fresco social que puede muy bien reflejar el mundo que le tocó vivir al personaje [Justo]" ("En la transición").[223] This image of late Francoist society coalesces because the narrators both form, and are formed by, their social environment, and they articulate themselves within the bounds of its ideological and linguistic systems. As happens in *La larga marcha* and *La noche de los tiempos,* the "intrahistory" of the period is revealed.

Chronotopical Structure

Three main narrative chronotopes make up the structure of the novel, working in conjunction to establish a dialogue between past and present. The first is that of the heterodiegetic narrator, Toni Coll—the time and place where he organises and selects the stories he has gathered from the narrators. This is a function he shares with the

[223] Martínez de Pisón has always shown himself to be partial to a multi-voiced narrative style, reflecting his rather democratic approach to the narration of social reality. While none of his previous works have been structured exactly like *El día, El tiempo de las mujeres* (2003) comes closest in being narrated through the voices of three sisters. His collection of short stories, *Las palabras justas* (2007), which highlight injustices committed during and after the war on both sides, can also been seen as an example of a desire to collect together different perspectives on the past. So is *Partes de guerra* (2009), an anthology of stories by thirty-five writers published over a period of seventy years and which are chronologically ordered from just before 18 July 1936 until 1 April 1939. In the introduction, Martínez de Pisón said that he had wanted to provide a type of "choral novel" of the war, for this reason choosing male and female writers from both side of the civil war divide who were geographically dispersed and wrote in the different national languages, and who were situated both within and outside the mainstream ("Prologue" 11-12). The anthology thus betrays what will be a constant preoccupation of his—to break down the barriers between "them and us" and to provide a panoramic perspective on the past in which a veritable symphony of voices resounds.

implied author, but it must be stressed that they inhabit different chronotopes. The implied author is outside the work, and is responsible for shaping the material, organising the book into sections, deciding upon the tone, and so forth. Toni, on the other hand, is located within the novel itself, functioning as a kind of internal "double" for the implied author. This first chronotope is most likely early twenty-first century Barcelona because Toni mentions that he returned to live in the city in 1996 after a long absence. It is the latest date mentioned in the novel, and is historically critical because it marked the beginning of the current "memory boom" about the Civil War and dictatorship (see Chapter 2). In finishing his grandfather's investigations, Toni echoes the work currently being done by academics, organisations and individuals to uncover details about the country's divisive past. The novel which is the fruit of that investigation (that of Martínez de Pisón) will form part of the corpus of historical and cultural knowledge about the past, its chronotopes thus penetrating and exerting an influence upon the real world. The second narrative chronotope, or rather chronotopes, are those of the moments of narration by the homodiegetic narrators. These are the points at which they recall their relationships with Justo and divulge them to Toni. They are now aware of Justo's true identity as police informant, although most of them would have been ignorant of it before it was made public during the Transition, or before Toni's presumed divulgence of it to them. The final set of narrative chronotopes are those of the narrators' memories, which refer to the time/space of the Barcelona of the 1960s and 1970s. However, although the narrative is made up of characters' memories of the past, there is no real highlighting of memory's historical uncertainties and no attempt to construct a chronotope of memory. Neither is there a contrasting of memory and its processes with the practice of historiography. The speakers are sometimes unsure about the exact month in which a fictional event occurred, but they may remember accurately a historical date. However, these dates generally have some sort of personal significance, and Pascual Ortega, for example, remembers the date of the priests' protest against the regime's brutalities on 11 May 1966 "porque era el cumpleaños de mi madre y a la vuelta tenía previsto comprarle algo en una floristería de Urquinaona" (67). Historical events play

an important part in the lives of some narrators, most notably Eliseu Ruiz and Marc Jordana, who participate in the Montserrat sit-in of 1970.[224] This is because they are agents of historical change themselves, their private lives being bound up with the public events which they organise and witness.

The chronotope of Justo's life is filtered through the memories of the characters, but it is organised and made coherent at the chronotopical level of Toni Coll, and ultimately, the implicit author. It is the latter who provides the five-part structure of the novel, which is designed to correspond to different periods of Justo's life, as well as of Spanish history, once more linking public and private life together. There is an overall forward chronological progression, although the narrators' stories sometimes begin at simultaneous or earlier points in time from where the previous narrator left off.[225] The first part of the novel deals with Justo's arrival in Barcelona, the year probably being 1962 or 1963 because Carme relates that she first met him in 1964, after he has finished his second job as a door-to-door salesman (33). This was also a period of economic and demographic transformation in Spain, which was finally modernising after decades of sub-development. Part Two begins in 1968 and is concerned with Justo's attempts to insinuate himself among the upper middle classes.[226] 1968 was, of

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[224] The sit-in took place in the monastery of Montserrat near Barcelona on 12 December 1970, and was organised in order to highlight the injustices of the Burgos trial, where sixteen ETA militants were to be collectively judged for the murder of the head of the Brigada Social in San Sebastián, Melitón Manzanas, as well as for a number of other crimes. The sit-in was attended 287 people, many of them artists and intellectuals of national and international renown, such as writer Gabriel García Márquez and artist Joan Miró. Although the monastery was soon surrounded by police, the meeting went on for two days, and a manifesto was issued calling for the abolition of the death penalty, the institution of liberal democratic freedoms, and the right to regional self-determination. The presence of so many public figures helped draw international attention to both the trial and the regime's excesses, and probably contributed to Franco's decision on 31 December to commute the nine death sentences that had been passed.

[225] There is one date which two speakers do not agree upon, the questioning of Chantal/Loreto by the policeman Mateo. Her ex-boyfriend, Marc Jordana, says that she called him in spring 1971 to tell him about the event, while Mateo refers to it as happening in 1973. This is the likelier date because Mateo discovers then that Justo had betrayed her and others in order to wreak revenge upon them for personal reasons. It is also just after this that Mateo starts to suspect Carme Román of anti-Francoist activities, and cannot understand why Justo protects her, a woman who took him to court, when he has given up others who wronged him. It is possible that Marc Jordana's memory failed him and he confused the dates of the call, but it seems most likely to have been an error on the part of the author rather than a case of narratorial unreliability, as there are no obvious cases elsewhere in the novel.

[226] Pérez-Boutamante divides these first two periods of his life into 1960-66 and 1966-70, but follows the same divisions as this thesis for the remaining periods (9). She does not state why, although 1966 may have been chosen because Justo's mother dies in 1966. While the death of his mother is

course, a key year in Spain and Europe, as it marked the zenith of student rebellions against the establishment. This second period of Justo's life ends when he is rounded up in a police raid of a bar along with a group of young anti-Francoists and he learns he has been charged with fraud. In an attempt to save himself, he offers to become a police informer, thus initiating a third period which stretches from 1970 to 1974, the height of his spying activities. During this time, many of the opposition and student movements were severely weakened by the successful repression against them, only returning to strength in 1974 when Franco's death was impending. The fourth section more or less spans 1974-6 and sees Justo continue with his undercover work while studying law at university. On the day of Franco's death, Justo has a serious car accident which will leave him permanently scarred. The fifth and final part of the novel begins at this point, Justo's role becoming that of mediator between the police and the right-wing paramilitaries who seek to foil the democratising processes. He eventually turns on the financiers of the far right, who retaliate by having him murdered in 1978, the year in which the democratic Constitution is finally signed.

The choice of the novel's title, "El día de mañana," also makes an important point about history and the dictatorship's place within it. Franco's famous last speech in the Civil War began with the phrase "En el día de hoy, cautivo y desarmado el ejército rojo [...]" and "el día de mañana" thus became a common phrase signifying what would come after the dictatorship (Senabre). The dictatorship, in its attempts to halt and reverse the process of modernity represented by the Second Republic, tried to place Spain within a vertical chronotope that was akin to the Biblical and medieval conception of history as being shaped at all times and in all places by the design of Divine Providence. In the vertical chronotope, the usual temporal markers such as "before" and "after" which govern the horizontal of normal human time are replaced with extra-temporal, hierarchised and interpretative ones. In this way, the Spanish Golden Age could be posited as a *figura* of the dictatorship, both periods existing simultaneously in history and being a fulfilment of one another. If the dictatorship had any place on the vertical chronotope, however, it was at the bottom, in hell, and not

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undoubtedly a major event for him, part two of the novel begins in 1968 and nothing much is told to us about the intervening two years.

in glory above (as will be seen in section three of this chapter). As Bakhtin notes with relation to Dante's *Divine Comedy*, the vertical chronotope is in constant tension with the horizontal, seeking always to burst out of the restraints which the vertical artificially places upon it (*Dialogic* 156-7). In Dante's work, the form of the whole, which is governed by the vertical chronotope, ultimately wins out, but Francoism, being an earthly manifestation, ultimately succumbs to the vicissitudes of human time and comes to a mortal end.

6.2 Representing the Late Francoist Period

The 1960s Boom

As with *La larga marcha,* the stories in the first section of *El día* show the emptiness of Francoist claims that the regime had improved the lives of ordinary Spaniards and led to unprecedented peace in the country. The uprising against the Second Republic had been justified with the promise that there would be an end to disunity and a restoration of the imperial wealth and glory of the Spanish Golden Age. However, unity entailed the total physical and mental destruction of the Movimiento's opponents, while the economic policy of autarky only served to lengthen and deepen the economic stagnation of the immediate postwar years (Tuñón de Lara 21-22). When the elites finally accepted the need to open the economy in the late-1950s, enabling Spain to benefit from a worldwide economic upturn, propagandists used the success to bolster the legitimacy of the dictatorship. Nevertheless, the boom could be said to have happened in spite of, rather than because of, the regime's management of the economy (cf. Powell 30-41; Sartorius and Sabio 52).

In the novel, the story of Pascal Ortega reveals the nefarious effects of autarky and the struggle of ordinary Spaniards to feed and provide for their children during the first two decades after the war. In her fight to give him a better future, his mother called on all her resources, making use of "la ropa vieja de mi padre, dándome la parte tierna del filete que tomábamos a medias, pagándome un colegio que estaba por encima de

sus posibilidades" (57). As a reward for her sacrifices, she expects him to become a lawyer, but the pressure is too great for him to bear, and he goes blank every time he sits the exams. To her disgust, he opts to become a civil servant instead, although she is mollifed when he manages to secure a job, a wife, and an apartment—in short, a place among the new middle classes who would benefit from the modernisation of the country. However, if the middle classes grew, so too did inequality (cf. Vilar 290; Powell 37; Sartorius and Sabio 52-3) and corruption was still rife.

The novel also makes use of a Spanish literary figure which emerged during the Golden Age, the *pícaro,* to expose the hypocrisy and corruption of Francoist society, a particularly fitting device given the regime's identification with this period in Spanish history. According to the classical definition, picaresque novels

> usually figured a child growing up under sordid conditions and making his way through the world where everything is hostile and dangerous. He has no arms but his mother wit: by using it he becomes a criminal, but essentially he is innocent and well-intentioned and it is the wickedness of the world that corrupts him. Conversion and submission to the church will enable him at the end of the book to be saved [...]. (Brennan 174)[227]

Most classical picaresque novels, such as the anonymously-authored originator of the genre, *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554), are comic and satirical of the society they represented (although its successor by Mateo Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1599), has been read as a pessimistic, cautionary tale on the wickedness of humanity cf. Parker 38) . There is little or no comedy in *El día*, but Justo resembles in many ways

[227] The classical understanding of the picaresque can be further amplified to include four common assumptions as identified by Alexander Parker: that picaresque literature arose during the 16th Century "because Spain at that time was a country in which social conditions were most conducive to the production of delinquents in large numbers [...] picaresque novels are essentially comic, since their authors turned to the real-life phenomenon of the delinquent in order to produce a satirical counter-blast to the romances [...] since the novels were born out of the prevailing social conditions, the society they portray is more important than the individual characters they present as protagonists [...] since the novels are essentially humorous and deal with unsavoury material, they have no real moral interest, any avowed moral intentions being hypocritical, or at best, lip-service to social propriety" (Parker 9). The classical definition is disputed by Parker among others, but such arguments are beyond the scope of this thesis. For a comprehensive overview of the different approaches taken by scholars to the study of the picaresque, see Wicks *Picaresque Narrative, Picaresque Fictions* (1989). For the purposes of the current analysis, the common assumptions about the picaresque suffice, for it is these that have informed the picaresque's inheritors.

the roguish figure of the *pícaro* who stumbles through a thoroughly corrupt world, clinging always to a hope of redemption. He is of extremely low origins, and is forced to leave the Aragonese countryside in search of his fortune in the city, his father dead, and his mother in a vegetative state. He attempts to use his wit in order to advance himself socially and materially, but is gradually corrupted by the world, becoming as much its victim as its scourge. The huge influx of rural immigrants to cities like Barcelona and Madrid during the 1950s and 1960s caught the authorities unprepared, and their response was characteristically crude: if relatives did not claim them "los obligaba a subir de nuevo al tren y los devolvía a su tierra. O directamente los encerraba en el castillo de Montjuic. Como si fueran delincuentes" (10-11).[228] It was no wonder, then, that many felt they had no option but to turn to crime in order to survive. Like many other immigrants, Justo and his mother arrive in a piteous state: "Él, flaquito y pequeño y como desnutrido, y la madre con la cabeza torcida y los labios llenos de saliva seca, con ese aspecto de trastornada que se le había quedado desde que le dio el arrechucho" (9). Justo's initial motives for earning money and bettering himself are well-intentioned—he wants to find a cure for his sick mother. Martín is impressed by the way Justo cares for her, repeating a number of times in his testimonies that "el mozo tenía buen corazón" (10). Unfortunately, though, the corruption and inequalities of Francoist society mean that despite Justo's initially pure motives, he becomes corrupted and implicated in the regime's dark side. His initiation onto the crooked path seems to occur during his period as a door-to-door salesman, where his colleague Pere Riera describes him as "un chico listo y trabajador. Era el típico que parecía que llegaría lejos" (24). What is more, Pere adds, "él sabía que nadie le regalaría nada y que debía luchar para ser el mejor en lo suyo. Y lo suyo era vender, se veía a la legua" (25). However, there is a certain dishonesty in their work, and when they sell fake Duralex the salesmen lie and say that their product is stronger and better than the French brand. Pere also saw Justo as elusive and not entirely trustworthy:

[228] John Hooper suggests that immigrants were forced away because migration to the cities ran counter to the Falangist dream of a populous countryside inhabited by peasant farmers owning a modest, but adequate plot of land. It was an ineffective measure, and was later substituted with a more sophisticated approach, which was to limit the number of shacks in the burgeoning shanty towns by assigning them with a license. Those who did not have one were liable to be torn down by *piquetes* when the men were away looking for work (14).

> Ese interés suyo hacía que te sintieras a gusto a su lado. Pero luego, cada uno se iba a su casa y te dabas cuenta de que él sabía bastantes cosas de tu vida y tú no sabías nada de la suya. Por eso no tenía amigos, amigos de verdad. ¿Cómo va a tener amigos alguien que no suelta prenda sobre su manera de vivir o de pensar? (25)

While working for that company, Justo has the idea of matching advertisements in the "wanted" section in one newspaper with "for sale" advertisements in another. He then secretly uses the company telephone to buy and sell between them, earning a profit for himself. One day, he mysteriously disappears, and Pere does not know if he was fired because their employer discovered Justo's use of the telephone, or whether Justo decided to leave of his own accord. Whatever the reason, it can be assumed that it is around this time that he sets up a postal sales business with the eighteen-year-old Carme Román. She renounces her initial salary at his request, later also investing her inheritance when he complains that they are not making enough money to grow the company. When Justo disappears a year later, Carme discovers that he had defrauded both her and their creditors, and she will be subjected to angry letters from the latter for several years after. However, Justo himself is also a victim of fraud, and the money he deceitfully takes from Carme (and borrows from others) goes to quack doctors and faith healers. One of these experiences is recounted by María Antonia Mir, who used to accompany her own mother to the monastery of Sant Miquel del Fai in the hope that the healer there would cure her sick brother. María's father tries to prevent them from going, arguing that: "sólo son unas estafadoras que buscan sacarle el dinero a la gente desesperada" (49), a fact which seems sadly confirmed to them when Justo says that he was asked by the healer to make a small economic sacrifice. Justo, as we have seen then, is like the classic *pícaro*—both victim of the world and perpetrator of crimes in it. Treated harshly by a society that seems to be rigged against him, he believes that his only path lies in joining the forces of corruption. Yet this mistake leads him into a downward spiral of degradation which he will never reverse.

The Faces of the Opposition

Two main opposition groups appear in the novel, that of university students and liberal young members of the Catalan upper classes (commonly known as the *"gauche divine")*, and that of the Communist Party.[229] Within the first group, there are varying shades of anti-Francoist activity, ranging from the superficial to the more dedicated and audacious, while the second group is represented by the figure of Eliseu Ruiz, who operates in clandestinity and will pay a high price for his militancy.

Some time after his mother's death and his defrauding of Carme, Justo attempts to insinuate himself among members and followers of the *gauche divine*. According to Alberto Villamandos in his study of the movement, the term was first used by Joan de Sagarra in his *Tele-eXprés* column to ironically describe the group of liberal artists and intellectuals who attended the opening of the Tusquets editorial in 1967 (17).[230] The term denoted their provocative attitude and cosmopolitanism, "gauche" being the French for "left"—indicating their opposition to Francoism—while "divine" signalled them apart from stern-faced, traditional Marxism, which was hostile to the sexual revolution and anarchism of May 1968 (18). Says Villamandos:

> Su frivolidad, enarbolada casi con orgullo frente a la seriedad de los militantes de los partidos clandestinos o la vulgaridad del franquismo, se convirtió en una declaración de principios. Fuera disfrazándose de novias para pasearse por las calles del Eixample o practicando nudismo en las calas de la Costa Brava, su puesta en escena se convirtió en una estrategia carnavalesca con la que pretendía dejar en suspenso, aunque fuera temporalmente, el orden discursivo franquista. Sus actores estaban protegidos por la

[229] One other major form of opposition is touched upon briefly in the novel—that of a sector of the Catholic Church—and as noted above, there is a mention of the priests' protest against the mistreatment of prisoners in Barcelona in 1966. The Montserrat sit-in, also treated in the novel, was, of course, organised with the aid of the monks of that monastery. The Church and its relationship to the dictatorship will be treated more fully in section three of this chapter.

[230] *Tele/eXprés* came into existence in 1964 as a result of a relaxation in censorship laws, and was the first privately owned newspaper since the Spanish Civil War. The good relations between its owner, the wealthy industrialist and banker Jaume Castell Lastortras, and the regime were also important in facilitating its authoriation. However, after he sold half of it to the owner of *La Vanguardia* in 1968 it came into its own as the mouthpiece of the *gauche divine,* counting among its contributers illustrious figures such as Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, Joan de Sagarra, Terenci Moix or Montserrat Roig (cf. Josep Maria Sòria, "El aire fresco de *Tele/eXprés"* in *La Vanguardia,* Sept. 2004). Two other important magazines which were associated with them were *Triunfo* and *Cuadernos para el diálogo* (Villamandos 16).

> fama de sus obras y la solera de los apellidos de las familias que forjaron la Barcelona burguesa, industrial y modernista. (15-16)

In this, there is something reminiscent of the antics of the left-wing intelligentsia such as Rafael Alberti and Maria Teresa Leon during the Spanish Civil War, who were disdained by political leaders such as Azaña (see 4.2 of this thesis). The *gauche divine* acquired a somewhat mythified status which their actual participation in the resistance did not truly warrant, and they were (rightly) accused of elitism and exclusivity on account of their largely Catalan upperclass make-up. They have been famously satirised in Juan Marsé's *Últimas tardes con Teresa* (1966) and Manuel Vázquez Montalbán's *Los alegres muchachos de Atzavara* (1988), the first covering the inception of the *gauche divine* and the participation of its future members in the 1956 university disturbances, and the second treating them at the end, in 1973 when the political "desencanto" had already set in (more of which will be discussed below). Although both Marsé and Vázquez Montalbán were accepted members of the group, their more lowborn origins set them apart, and it was this outsider status which gave them their critical eye. Nevertheless, while many of the criticisms levelled against the *divines* were quite valid, the existence of an enlightened, cosmopolitan bourgeoisie with a strong desire for political and cultural freedom would provide the kind of strong support for democracy that helped ensure Franco's regime would die with him.

In *El día,* the leader of a group of friends connected to the *gauche divine* is the dashing Quim, son of the wealthy businessman Nebot. He and his friends regularly meet at the Café Taita to smoke hash and talk politics and will later frequent the legendary nightclub, Boccacio, which was set up in 1967 by the poet Jaime Gil de Biedma. The description of Boccacio by the dramatist, Josep Muñoz Pujol, sums up the kind of atmosphere that reigned there:

> Aquest sí que era un lloc de reunió perfectament legal, una discoteca cara que s'havia posat de moda, on abundava el luxe, es consumien combinats, s'exhibien les gogós, la freqüentaven els famosos i mai no havia estat inspeccionada o clausurada. I és clar que, de motius, n'hi havia. Tants, que un es pregunta: ¿com pot ser que ningú no se n'adonés i que la policia fos incapaç d'entendre que allà s'estaben rebentant les

> estructures del sistema sostingut amb tant d'esforç y contundència per les autoritats militars, civils i religioses? (13-14)

Mateo Moreno's disdainful response to this question occurs on page 139 of *El Día:* "¡Qué me importa a mí que unos niños de papa se fumen unos porros y se pongan a decir que si Franco esto o si Franco lo otro! ¡La risa que me daban a mí esos comunistas de salón que se reúnen a emborracharse en Boccacio!"

The narrator who imparts most information about Justo's involvement with the *gauche divine* is Elvira Solé, an ordinary employee in Nebot's company who also frequents Taita, but is not one of the "in-crowd." As an outsider, she is thus well-placed to act as observer of Justo and his attempts to insinuate himself among their ranks, her lucid gaze throwing light upon the actions and pretensions of both parties. She begins her narrative in 1968, a crucial year which saw the radicalisation of the student resistance to the regime, as well as some of the heaviest repression by Francoist forces. At first, Elvira thinks that Justo is "el típico jovencito de la zona alta" (79), but soon sees him for the imposter that he is: "Esas cosas se notan: un gesto inadecuado, una sonrisita servil, una pequeña vacilación...." (85). She also notes that "lo suyo era una constante estar alerta, al acecho de la oportunidad como los perros cazadores" (85). He is similar to Luis in *La larga marcha,* who is also of low birth and manages to attract the attentions of the rich Catalan student, Gloria. Both characters are manipulative in their use of others, and are quick to turn coat when captured by the police. In an interview, Martínez de Pisón has acknowledged Justo's similarity to Pijoaparte (also commented upon by a number of critics (cf. Prieto; Fuentes)), the working-class imposter who is adopted by the wealthy young Teresa Serrat in Marsé's *Últimas tardes con Teresa* ("El pasado" 91). Pijoaparte, like Justo, has picaresque characeristics, but Martínez de Pisón goes on to say that while Justo initially elicits sympathy in a similar way to Marsé's character, he is later more reminiscent of the collaborator Lucien Lacombe in the eponymous French film directed by Louis Malle, *Lacombe, Lucien* (1974). Like Lucien, "lo que nos interesa de él es su inagotable capacidad para degradarse, envilecerse" (91). Justo's similarity to Pijoaparte is important, however, for it calls to mind Marsé's criticism of the *gauche divine* in his

novel. A similar character, Paco Muñoz, also appears in Vázquez Montalbán's *Los alegres muchachos de Atzvara,* having a very similar function: to highlight the yawning gulf that exists between working-class aspirations, which were essentially consumerist, and the intelligentsia's political and revolutionary rhetoric. While the former cannot comprehend the anti-materialist spoutings of a class which is firmly embedded in the global capitalist market, the ideological contradictions of the latter, not to mention their naïvety, makes them an easy target for satire. Both characters, along with Paco's gay friend, Vicente (who gets them access to the group through his affair with the jeweller, Rafa) are *xarnegos,* poor immigrants from outside Cataluña who are by definition excluded from Catalan society.[231] In the end, Pijoaparte, Paco and Vicente will all find themselves excluded by the upper class grouping, who are ultimately unable to overcome their own class prejudices.

In *El díá*, Elvira cannot understand why these members of the upper classes would have communist inclinations, and when her friend Araceli reports this, she replies sharply: "¡No seas ingenua! ¡Ésos tienen de comunistas lo que yo de obispo!" (91).[232] Araceli replies in confusion: "Si no son comunistas, anarquistas. No sé. Son...algo." It is Elvira herself who, in the following lines, provides the explication for the seeming paradox of wealthy bourgeois Catalans taking up radical left-wing ideologies. As can be seen in her use of the first person plural, this understanding came at a later date, when she herself had started to adopt some of their thinking and ideas: "Entonces, lo de fumar hachís y hacerse comunista o anarquista (o, como decía Araceli, algo) era un poco lo mismo. Como escuchar discos de grupos extraños o prestarnos los libros del marqués de Sade o ver películas polacas. La cuestión era estar en contra, hacer lo que nuestros padres no querían que hiciéramos" (91). Thus, as we have seen in *La larga marcha,* adolescent rebellion and a fascination for all that was foreign accounted for much of the young people's political beliefs, and they were heavily influenced by the

[231] According to the Enciclopedia Catalana a *xarnego* is a "resident a Catalunya i no adaptat lingüísticamente al seu nou país" (Villamandos 142). It had pejorative connotations of foreignness and poverty and poor education, but has now generally fallen out of use. The word "murciano" was used as a near synonym (as it is in *Útlimas tardes*) because most of these immigrants came from the province of Murcia, although there were also plenty from Extremadura and Andalucía.

[232] Later, in observing Justo and Quim plotting business ventures, Elvira also thinks disgustedly to herself "¡Menudos comunistas estáis hechos!" (94)

radical New Left rhetoric which animated student revolts in Europe and the USA in 1968.[233] The events of May 1968 in Paris had particular resonance in Spain, travel to the French capital being frequent among members of the opposition since it was also the home of numerous Spanish parties in exile. There was therefore an important cosmopolitanism to the young people's outlook, and if they chafed against the restrictions of the authoritarian government, it had perhaps more to do with an unconscious desire to benefit from the fruits of entry into the global market than Marxist principles. As Teresa Vilarós says:

> [...] la voluntad social que exige una restauración democrática pasa sobre todo por la querencia de integración de la sociedad española en el aparato económico global impulsado por el capitalismo tardío [...]. No me es posible de otra forma entender el brutal desencanto—conocido también en los primeros años de la transición como pasotismo político—con el que la población española (y con ella gran parte de la izquierda) dio la espalda a los proyectos políticos que pasaban por el historicismo marxista. (62)

Later, the young intellectuals and student leaders would become the new leaders of Spain, many of them joining the ranks of the Socialist Party, stripped of their former radicalism but adept at the use of political rhetoric and democratic negotiation. *El día* draws attention to the importance of being able to manipulate the appropriate language, to how the ability to form and express ideas sets apart those who will govern from those who remain at the bottom of the social ladder. Elvira learns this when she begins a relationship with a more educated activist called Lluís. From him, she appropriates a language of resistance, with the consequence that

> me fue distanciando de la gente que hasta entonces había sido mi gente, personas todas ellas a las que podía seguir queriendo pero con las que difícilmente podía ya mantener una conversación. Mientras ellos continuaban viviendo en el mundo de los lugares comunes y los saberes recibidos, yo había conseguido hacerme un hueco en el

[233] These included Herbert Marcuse, Henri Lefebvre and Albert Camus, and especially the French philosopher, writer and essayist, Jean Paul Sartre, the father of existentialism. This movement became so fashionable that it even influenced the clothing the young people wore, as Elvira informs us: "María Jesús decía que iban disfrazados de existencialistas franceses: siempre de negro, con pantalones estrechos, con jerséis de cuello de cisne" (89).

> de la gente con opinión propia y entre esos dos mundos sólo cabía el enfrentamiento. (130)

Again, however, there is a sense of superficiality and transience—that what counts is not genuine idealism, but the ability to pretend and manipulate—and Elvira says that while she used "expresiones como solipsismo, autocomplacencia, torre de marfil, alienación," the opinions are no longer ones she holds. Nor does she think this matters (129-30). She recognises also that she was not as original or as adept at expressing herself as Luís, and that the vocabulary she used "no era el mío en absoluto." Another student narrator, Marc Jordana, will also confess that "a veces ni nosotros entendíamos lo que decíamos [...]. Utilizábamos expresiones como discurso promocional del hipertexto, performatividad y aleatoriedad de la creación, comunidad cooperativa de expresión..." (188). The varied and confused meaning attached to rhetorical terms also emerges when Carme Román, who is not politically active, recounts how she was castigated by middle-class activists to "proletarizarse." She is rather taken aback: "¿Proletarizarme yo, que había perdido la casa y la familia, que vivía acogida en casa de unos parientes, que no tenía nada? ¿A qué más tendría que renunciar para proletarizarme?" (291). Here, there is a clash between their understandings of the word "proletarizarse." For Carme the word proletariat refers simply to the lowest class of society, to those, like herself, who have nothing.[234] For the activists, though, it is a word laden with political and theoretical implications. When they tell Carme to "proletarizarse," they are saying that she should adopt their Marxist principles and join the revolutionary class struggle. But Carme, like the majority of Spaniards, is terrified of the police and the repression, and more concerned with making her way in the world than with making revolutionary demands. While very admiring of the activism of her friend Clara, she says that the most she dared do was to help buy chickpeas for activists to throw under the feet of the horses so that it was difficult for the police to chase demonstrators.[235] When she

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[234] In truth, she belongs to the lower middle classes, for her aunt and uncle, by whom she was raised, own a printing shop, and she will have access to a university education.

[235] Martínez de Pisón, who drew the story from anti-Francoist memoirs, makes it clear that while such an act of resistance was a small one, "hablaba de la ética de lo posible. A nadie se le puede exigir que se comporte como el gran héroe solitario capaz de derrocar a un tirano. Pero, si una mayoría de españoles hubiera hecho lo mismo que Carme, Franco no habría muerto en la cama" ("El pasado" 93).

begins to involve herself in the theatre, she is bemused by the vanguardism of her fellow players, stating that she prefers the more conventional Russian dramatist Chekhov—whose style Martínez de Pisón himself admires and emulates (cf. "Escribir" 5; "De estos años")—to his radical French contemporary Jarry (whose play *Ubu Roi* her company puts on). She wonders if the former had also sought to challenge established social and cultural norms of his time, but feels she must keep her opinions to herself in case she is accused of defending "valores pequeñoburgueses" (this word belonging not to her, but to the revolutionary rhetoric of the others) (300-1). It is Marc Jordana who explains the rationale behind the vanguard movement:

> Nos parecía que el teatro era una herramienta tan eficaz como la que más. Digo el teatro igual que podría haber dicho la novela o la música. La cuestión era reaccionar contra los modos tradicionales de entender la creación, porque consagraban el autoritarismo que queríamos combatir. En vez de la novela de siempre, la antinovela y en vez de la música, el silencio y el ruido del caos. (188)[236]

Carme's doubts prompt the reader to reflect upon the relevance of vanguardism and its relationship to previously established conventions. The 1960s brought great experimentalism in artistic form, as well as ushering in the structuralist and post-structuralist revolution that would transform literary and cultural theory. While these theories have had an immensely important impact on the way artistic works are created and understood, their appropriation sometimes led to knee-jerk reactions against older, realist modes of depicting the world, dismissed by the vanguard as being outdated, bourgeois or otherwise inferior on account of being subject to the "referential fallacy." Martínez de Pisón has many times stated his own current preference for the realist mode, saying of the experimental Spanish writer Juan Benet, "Mi generación luchaba contra escritores como Benet, a pesar de que era muy influyente, tanto que entonces nos sentíamos obligados a juzgarlo constantemente"

[236] At some point, Carme will relate that she received courses in corporal movement from Marc, who had brought the discipline from Argentina to Spain. This link is one of many examples in the novel of how members of a society are bound together in an interconnecting weave of relationships, facilitating the spread of language and ideas which slowly infiltrate common everyday discourse. This also happens in *La larga marcha,* even in the first part of the novel, when the characters are more geographically dispersed. For example, Luis Coronado's wife Elvira goes to don Vicente Tabarca for an abortion, but their children will eventually meet at the university.

("Escribir" 4).[237] *El día* is, of course, a realist novel, and it is this fact, along with its polyphonic narratorial style, which enables it to incorporate numerous competing discourses and place them on an equal footing with one another. Carme's fellow players, on the other hand, are monologic in their rejection of all that is "pequeñoburgués" to them, silencing Carme and those who think like her by closing off the possibility of dialogue. There is therefore an implicit criticism of radical extremisim here, as well as a highlighting of the fundamental paradox between anti-Francoism/anti-authoritarianism and the espousal of essentially totalitarian Marxist doctrines.

One of the other main forms of opposition to the Francoist regime, was, of course, the Communist Party. From the end of the civil war, it was the only political organisation which actively continued to fight from within Spain, and initially attracted those who started to oppose Franco during the 1950s and 1960s. However, its power and influence began to wane during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The success of the new workers' syndicates, the Comisiones Obreras (CC.OO), in their fight for worker's rights, the radicalisation of the student movement in 1968 and constant internecine fighting within the Communist Party itself were all reasons for this decline.[238] It never ceased its determined resistance against the regime, however, its militants frequently acting with a heroic selflessness in the pursuit of their ideals.[239] This heroism is represented in the novel by the figure of Eliseu Ruiz. Like Justo, he is an immigrant from the countryside and helps his cousin distribute copies of the clandestine papers *Mundo Obrero* and *Treball* when he first arrives in Barcelona. He is caught by the

[237] Martínez de Pisón's earlier fiction leant more towards the fantastical, however, and in a 1988 article Robert Spires observed traces of Benet's postmodernist influence on Martínez de Pisón's first three works ("La estética 25-6).

[238] The party only received about 10% of the vote in the elections of 1977 and 1979, and was virtually wiped out after the elections of 1982. This was despite its long history of militancy and its rejection of Stalinism in favour of a more democratically palatable "eurocommunism." Another reason for its decline may have been that it had for too long been identified with a conflictive past that Spaniards now preferred to forget.

[239] As he recognises in an interview, Martínez de Pisón is much more favourable to the Communist Party in this novel than in *Enterrar a los muertos* (2005), recognising that "aquí quien cargó con la lucha [antifranquista] fue el partido comunista, que después hizo grandes concesiones y que en 1982, cuando ya no eran necesarios, fueron borrados del mapa" ("La clase media"). History, he believes, has not treated the party well, accounting for his desire to give voice here to an ordinary militant such as Eliseu.

police for writing graffiti in the Zona Franca in the early 1960s and is subjected to the full brutality of police interrogation:

> [...] me hicieron hacer la gallina: tenía que mantenerme en cuclillas con las manos esposadas debajo de las nalgas, si me caía o buscaba punto de apoyo, volvían a golpearme [...]. Yo decía que no conocía a nadie que fuera comunista y casi era verdad, porque el único al que conocía con nombre y apellidos era mi primo, y a él no pensaba delatarle aunque me arrancaran la piel a tiras. (174)

The police eventually release him, and because he maintains his silence, the Communist Party sees him as "un tipo duro" (175) and gives him more important tasks. His militancy will entail great personal sacrifices, and when his cousin is detained by Francoist police in 1964, he is sent into hiding in Paris without being given the opportunity to tell his girlfriend Teresa. He sends her letters through the party to tell her what has happened, but later realises that they were intercepted and never reached her. Eventually, he writes to her through the regular post, but she tells him that, as a result of the abandonment, she no longer wishes to see him, later informing him that she is pregnant and marrying the father of the baby. Eliseu is devastated and never recovers from his love for her, and when he returns clandestinely to Barcelona in 1970, cannot help himself from tracking her down and resuming their affair.[240] In doing so, he breaks the rules of clandestinity, although it is not the relationship that will lead to his eventual recapture, but Justo's information. Eliseu's job in Barcelona is to help organise the Montserrat sit-in in response to the "Burgos trial" of ETA activists on 3 December 1970. He is to establish contacts with prominent artists and intellectuals (the aforementioned *gauche divine*): "La idea era cederles [the intellectuals] el protagonismo: no debía parecer que los comunistas estábamos detrás

[240] Martínez de Pisón's sources of information about life in clandesitinty are the memoirs of the former PSUC leader Gregorio López Raimundo, *Primera Clandestinidad* and activist, Vicente Cazcarra, *Era la hora tercia*. Some similarities can be seen between López Raimundo and the character of Eliseu: he spent much time as a clandestine activist in Barcelona and also had a girlfriend called Teresa (Teresa Pamiès, the well-known Catalan writer), who broke off their initial relationship before the civil war. López Raimundo, like Eliseu, would never lose his love for Teresa, although the former is ultimately more successful and will eventually marry her, while Eliseu's Teresa marries another. Also, when Eliseu is captured and tortured by police the first time, he says that "Revuelta era la voz cantante," while López Raimundo says he was interrogated by a policeman called "Revuelto'"(272).
[I have unfortunately been unable to acquire a copy of Cazcarra's book].

de todo" (180). The *gauche divine* had previously been involved with another major anti-Francoist event in Barcelona, the so-called *caputxinda*, but their anti-Francoism was often viewed with a certain skepticism, as noted by Josep Muñoz Pujol:

> alguns joves puritans censuraven 'els reflexos burgesos dels divins, fruit d'una classe i situació privilegiada.' Els exhortaven a actuar més responsablement, a 'pensar en marxista,' a passar bastant menys estona a Carnaby Street o als encants de Portobello o a Salta i Parrar a la recerca d'extravagáncies per vesitr [...]. Tanmateix, la gran tancada seria una bona prova per saber fins on els divins eren capaços d'arribar a un enfrontament amb el sistema repressiu. (236)

According to Villamandos, their involvement in the sit-in "fue el [acto] más comprometido políticamtente de la *gauche divine*, y en el que sus miembros se expusieron al castigo más duro. Pero incluso en este contexto de represión política, lo lúdico y frívolo permanecía" (24). The presence of so many well-known figures at the monastery did draw unprecedented international attention, however, and no doubt helped increase the pressure on Franco to eventually commute the death sentences which had been placed on the Burgos defendants. Ultimately, though, it was the communist PSUC (Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya) which imposed its will upon the redaction of the manifesto, a fact which would not have been pleasing to many of the attendees, as noted by Marc Jordana in *El día* (191). Villamandos reports that, for the photographer Xavier Miserachs, this assertion of power by the PSUC highlighted the political limitations of the *gauche divine* and initiated its dissolution as a group (25).

Repression

In contrast to a generalised perception that the regime was only banally authoritarian towards the end of its existence, the novel shows how repression against the opposition continued until the very end. Justo's handler, Mateo Moreno, reveals much of the workings of the police system in his narration, especially of the nature of the

relationship between informants and the Brigada Social.[241] As police spy, Justo participates in the "panoptical" system that was generated at the end of the civil war, where the country's citizens were subjected to constant scrutiny by the authorities and their fellow neighbours.[242] It is he who (fictionally) alerts the police about the Montserrat sit-in and who is instrumental in facilitating one of the major police successes of the seventies, the detention of 113 members of the Asamblea de Cataluña in October 1973.[243] The first incident of repression in the novel occurs when Justo and the young people are detained in a police raid of Taita. They are all released a few hours later—except Justo, who is detained for an extra day and put into solitary confinement.[244] The reason is his defrauding of Carme Román, for which the police had been seeking him for some time. It is then that he commits a second major error by offering to become a police informant in exchange for having the charges against him dropped.[245] His offer is accepted by Mateo Moreno, who promises to speak to the

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[241] Martínez de Pisón's source of information was a former policeman of the Brigada Social, and it is his description of the relationship between the police and their confidants that the novelist draws upon to depict that of Mateo and Justo ("Interview 15/08/13"; "Interview 11/04/2004").

[242] According to Foucault, the panopticon emerges from the desire to control which is characteristic of societies in the stage of late capitalism. Álvarez Fernández argues that the Francoist regime initially made use of two forms of discipline identified by Foucault. The first type is segregatory, a closed institution on the margins of society whose functions are to arrest the evil, prevent communication and suspend time. At the other extreme is panopticism, a mechanic-disciplinary system which is lighter, faster and more effective and replaces extreme discipline with generalised vigilance. At first, the regime used both forms, but over time switched to an almost exclusive reliance upon the second, requiring for its functioning a dense network of spies and informers (127-39). As a result of the panoptical nature of Francoist society, the figure of the "chivato" emerges as an obsession in the prison testimonies that Álvarez Fernández studies, and in *El día,* Mateo will also remark that "los comunistas estaban obsesionados con los chivatos [...]. Sospechaban de todo el mundo, en todas parte veían infiltrados" (204).

[243] The existence of the assembly was of great significance to the opposition movement, and Jaúregui and Vega have argued that it would not be possible to understand the full implication of "la posterior unidad de las fuerzas democráticas españolas en el último tramo del franquismo sin tener en cuenta las repercusiones de la Asamblea de Cataluña. Este organismo unitario, empezado a gestar nada más iniciarse la década, al calor de la asamblea de intelectuales de Montserrat con motivo del proceso de Burgos, irradió a todo el Estado un espíritu unitario que acabaría dando frutos" (687). The first meeting of the assembly took place in November 1971, with the police remaining in complete ignorance until after the fact. For this reason, Mateo Moreno would have been particularly pleased with the Brigada Social's success in rounding up the attendees at this second convocation. Indeed, the detention was so significant that Mateo knew it was the end of Justo's usefulness as a confidant, "que le desenmascaren era sólo cuestión de tiempo" (208).

[244] The repression usually fell much more harshly upon workers than it did upon the middle classes, whose family connections could be called upon to free them from the inconvenience of a beating or a prison sentence. This is not specifically raised in *El día,* but is hinted at in *La larga marcha,* (see 5.3).

[245] According to José Álvarez Fernández, most collaborators were in fact recruited from among the common prisoners, although some were also recruited from political prisoners who had broken under torture (141).

judge on Justo's behalf, although he has no intention of doing so. When Justo is eventually tried and sentenced, the policeman laughs at his ingenuousness: "Hacía falta ser muy cándido para creer que colaborando con nostoros podía alguien librarse de una condena judicial. Y Justo era precisamente eso, un cándido" (147). Once more then, Justo commits a morally repugnant act in the belief that this is the only way to get ahead, and once more, he is outsmarted by those who are better able to manipulate the system in their own favour. As he had feared, the conviction puts an end to all his hopes for material and social advancement. His wealthy girlfriend, Elena Castellnou, ends their relationship, and her businessman father refuses to have further dealings with him. Mateo has developed some compassion for him by this stage, however, and organises a small salary in exchange for further espionage activities. Through this Faustian pact, Justo is caught completely, his soul bought and paid for by the regime; and he becomes a type of perverse Sherezade (from the *Thousand And One Nights*) who tells tales about others in order to save his own life (and later that of Carme), a fact which is noted sarcastically by Mateo (273).[246]

El día de mañana is somewhat unique among Spanish novels in offering a detailed, and even quite sympathetic, portrait of an oft-reviled figure, the Francoist policeman.[247] While certain aspects of Mateo's thinking and actions may arouse repulsion, Martínez de Pisón has said he wanted to avoid the obvious portrayal of the classic Francoist torturer. Thus, the policeman is not presented as being sadistic or

[246] Curiously, Ana Pérez also sees Carme as a Sherezade figure whose "doz dormida" is awakened by Toni Coll's investigation along with those of the other narrators (10). The analogy is more convincing for Justo himself, however, and it is one with which Martínez de Pisón has himself agreed in an interview ("El pasado" 90)

[247] The only other notable example of an inside portrayal of a member of the repressive forces which is known to me is that of the torturer, Guillermo Majon in Chirbes' novel, *La caída de Madrid* (2000). Orsini-Saillet has shown how, as is common in Chirbes, the character is constructed in an ambiguous manner which shows a human side to a reviled figure. From the perspective of one of his prisoners, Enrique Roda, Guillermo appears to the reader as "una bestia, la encarnación de la violencia del poder" whilst some of his pronouncements in direct discourse, as well has his part in the cover-up for Roda's murder, "hacen de él un agente concienzudo y dócil que obedece ciegamente" (84). However, when Guillermo later watches a cat playing with a decapitated mouse, he is reminded of Enrique's torture and feels suddenly horrified: "Cabrón de gato pensó y se sintió como un cabrón él" (*La caída* 271). Yet, while this may make the reader think he is capable of evolving, Orsini-Saillet points out that "ignoramos si duda por remordimiento, por sentimientos humanos o porque sabe que la situación está a punto de cambiar y que el estatuto de verdugo y de miembro ejemplar de la Brigada Político-Social le puede costar care en el futuro" (85), amplifying the ambiguity. The latter was a real fear felt among the members of the Francoist police, as Mateo Moreno will make plain in his testimony.

intrinsically evil, and "se hizo franquista no por un fervor fascista, sino porque era lo que había" ("Interview Qué Leer").[248] Mateo's loyalty to the regime can be understood as a result of his institutionalisation and indoctrination at a very young age. Abandoned by his mother, he spent most of his early years in the Hogares Mundet, a charitable institution run by religious orders which housed those who had no family to care for them, including orphaned children and old or disabled people.[249] It was founded in 1957 in order to replace the old "Casa de Caritat" in the city of Barcelona (where Mateo was initially placed), and at its peak housed 5,000 people including internees and workers. Located in an isolated region outside the city, the institution was a paradigm of the type of paternalistic and segregatory social intervention practiced during Francoism: "el de ciudades asistenciales, grandes macroinstituciones asilares, autosuficientes, concebidas a manera de grandes municipios totalizadores, que vivían de manera paralela en microsociedades aisladas y diferenciadoras" (Sánchez-Valverde Visus 135). All internees were subjected to a rigid Catholic morality and indoctrinated in Francoist ideology. It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that Mateo says: "¿Cómo no íbamos a ser franquistas si fue Franco el que nos sacó de la calle y nos dio cama, comida, educación, trabajo...? [...]. Para los chavales de familia bien, para los que tenían padre y madre y casa propia era muy fácil ser antifranquista" (114). For him, doing military service was like a continuation of the Hogares, involving the same authority, discipline and camaraderie, with the police service being a further logical extension.

He had just arrived at the headquarters of the Brigada-Social in Via Layetana when Justo was taken in. It was already 1969, and the regime had softened somewhat; there was an awareness that the end was coming, and that traditional methods could no longer be applied, although the previous generation maintained their old attitudes to opponents: "Para ellos la violencia seguía estando justificada: [...] hasta entonces se había empleado libremente contra los enemigos del régimen [...]" (121). He does not deny that "en esa época [...] se practicara la tortura [...]. Lo que sí digo es que ya no se

[248] See also "Diálogo con Ignacio Martínez de Pisón" in *Revista de Letras,* 31 Oct 2012.

[249] In this, Mateo forms a trio of orphans along with the other two main characters of the novel, Carme and Justo, example of "un motivo autobiográfico de gran arraigo en Martínez de Pisón" (Pérez-Bustamante Mourier 11).

podía practicar impunemente, y cada cual era responsable de sus actos" (121). Moreno mentions two of the most infamous torturers of the period, the Creix brothers.[250] "Pregunta, pregunta a cualquier viejo comunista y ya verás lo que te cuenta..." (121). They left Layetana in 1969 for the Basque country, because while their methods were no longer acceptable against political enemies, they continued to be so against terrorists. Still, communists were pursued with a single-minded determination until the very end, as Mateo indicates in his account of the detention in 1975 of an old activist who had fought in the war:

> El hecho de que fuera comunista nos ponía las cosas más fáciles. En aquella época pensábamos que las cosas podían cambiar, pero no tanto como para que los comunistas llegaran a ser legalizados, y mucho menos para que llegaran a ocupar algún cargo importante o gobernar algún ayuntamiento. (278)

Although Mateo admits resorting to violence during interrogations, he is neither sadistic nor gratuitous in his use of it, and furiously prevents one of the policemen from shooting the communist in question when he tries to escape. In addition, he is greatly angered when he learns that Justo had falsely accused some people in order to avenge himself upon them: "A él no podía decírselo, pero con algunos de esos tipos, creyendo que se resistían a colaborar, habíamos sido más persuasivos de lo habitual, algún toquecito con la porra, algún tirón de pelo, algún bofetón" (216). Mateo almost withdraws his friendship from Justo at this point, shouting at him that "tú no eres como los otros confidentes. Eres peor. Tú esto no lo haces por dinero o por desesperación. Lo haces por venganza." This reaction to Justo may be partly motivated by injured pride at having been deceived by his own confidant, but it is primarily due to the violation of Mateo's ethical system. He prizes order, discipline and authority, and disdains the political games played by people such as the police chief Revuelta. Before this time, he had not questioned an attitude to justice which

[250] The Creix brothers spent twenty years in the Brigada Social in Barcelona, an institution responsible for the persecution of "tot allò que en democràcia no és perseguible, tots aquells drets la prohibició dels quals defineix per passiva una dictadura: pensament, ideologia, expressió, reunió manifestació, vaga...i la violació dels drets a la vida i a l'*habeus corpus*" (Batista 7). Antonio Creix specialised in communists, while his brother Vicente focussed on students and nationalists. In Vázquez Montalbán's words "gozaron de justa fama subterránea en unos tiempos en que el franquismo podía ocultar las hazañas de su policía política" ("Los Creix").

presumed guilt before innocence, and is now forced to realise that he had mistakenly mistreated innocent men and women.

The repressive role played by fear is also highlighted by Mateo. It had become so ingrained among the population that violence was frequently not needed to extract a confession: "Sabían que Vía Layetana era un sinónimo de torturas, malos tratos, palizas...Llegaban todos acojonados, la verdad, y eso siempre facilitaba las cosas. ¡Si supieras la cantidad de figurones de la izquierda que lo cantaban todo antes de que hubiéramos llegado a preguntarles nada...!" (122). The chronotope of the detention centre at Layetana was often sufficient to break a captive with its "pasillos oscuros, las ventanas cegadas, los muebles incómodos, las paredes manchadas de humo de tabaco, las escaleras estrechas, el olor a zotal..." (122). Mateo also explains that a suspect was usually left stewing for a few hours before being questioned, and if necessary, put in solitary confinement for twenty-four hours to intensify his fear. Chaining a detainee to a radiator for long periods of time was common, but even a comparatively mild technique such as this could have tragic consequences, as Mateo discovers when he applies it to a man who fell on the street while running from the police. When he returns to his suspect, the man has died, possibly from an injury sustained during the fall. Commissioner Revuelta helps Mateo to cover up the incident and the man's body is callously thrown into the sea (202). Very little remorse for the death is shown, the only concern being to protect the public reputation of the force. Indeed, the man's death is instrumentalised by Revuelta, who requests access to the information provided by Justo in exchange for his protection of Mateo, thus furthering his own reputation.

The Violent Transition

El día is also one of the few novels of the fourth wave to expose the violent aspects of the Transition, particularly of the attempts made by sectors of the police and far right paramilitaries to prevent a democratic outcome (another example is Benjamin Prado's *Operación Gladio* (2011)). This lack of novelistic treatment has been paralleled by a paucity of academic investigation into the subject, although one notable exemption is

Sánchez Soler's *La transición sangrienta,* acknowledged as a source in Martínez de Pisón's bibliography. Sánchez Soler shows how terrorism, dirty tactics and the use of penal measures reminiscent of the postwar years were used to control the street during the period 1975-1982. The result was 591 deaths and thousands of injuries, about which there has been a continued silence, echoing "la política de olvido aplicada a las víctimas de la Guerra Civil y de la represión franquista" (20).[251] In the novel, Mateo Moreno criticises the classic portrayal of the Transition as peaceful and idyllic:

> Dirán lo que quieran, pero aquélla fue una época dura, muy dura, dice Mateo Moreno. Un día sí y otro también nos desayunábamos con la noticia de un nuevo atentado mortal o un secuestro o un tiroteo callejero...Luego, en los años ochenta, cuando los políticos viajaban por todo el mundo explicando el modelo español de transición a la democracia, yo los veía por la tele y decía: ¡Espero que esos países no aprendan demasiado bien la lección, porque como tengan que aguantar lo que aguantamos aquí...! (340-1)

Mateo also informs us that there was little change in the police force after Franco's death. The Brigada Social was converted into the Brigada de Investigación, but the majority of its leaders continued to hold the same positions—and mentalities—as before.[252] A new police commissioner named Landa does arrive at Layetana, but it is soon clear that his appointment will not signal progress but rather an attempt to reverse change. Mateo suspects that Landa was responsible for selling Justo's identity to anti-Francoist groups in order to "quemarlo por completo como confidente,

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[251] José Luis Rodríguez also published extensive study of far right groups in 1994. Entitled *Reaccionarios y golpistas,* it is cited as a source in Martínez de Pisón's bibiography.

[252] One of Martínez de Pisón's sources here is an interview between the Catalan journalist, Xavier Vinader and a young policeman named Francisco Ros Frutos. The interview was originally published in *Interviú* in 1979 and reprinted in a book collection of Vinader's journalism. In the interview, Ros Frutos says that "la Policía no es una institución social apolítica, como los mandos quieren dar a entender, sino que sigue una línea política muy significativa, una línea política basada principalmente en los principios de instituciones oficialmente extinguidas, como la Falange y el Movimiento" (Vinader 186). He also claimed that members of the police were involved with organisations of the extreme right, having himself infiltrated one of the groups of "incontrolados" who acted against ETA in the Basque country (202). Testimonies like this did nothing to provoke any immediate reform of the force, however, and Diego López Garrido concludes in his 1987 study that "la cuestión policial española sigue siendo en 1986 la adaptación al *sistema político* democrático de unos Cuerpos de Seguridad concebidos, formados y utilizados durante décadas para reprimir cualquier tipo de actividad encaminada a que la democracia fuese una realidad en nuestro país" (167). Problems of police brutality continue even in the Spain of today, as reported repeatedly by Amnesty International on its Spanish website, www.es.amnesty.org.

encerrarlo en un callejón sin salida, no dejarle otra alternativa que ponerse al servicio de Landa" (305). As a result of the betrayal, "Wanted" posters with Justo's name and face appear on the streets of Barcelona, dashing his final hopes for redemption and binding his fate irrevocably to the old regime and its fortunes.[253] Mateo, who has always remained completely professional in his conception of his role, refuses to become embroiled in subversive activites and has also distanced himself personally from Justo. As a result, most of Justo's involvement with the far right is described by Manel Pérez, whose character was undoubtedly inspired by the Catalan journalist, Xavier Vinader.[254] Pérez explains that he became involved in ultra right groups such as CEDADE, "Fuerza Joven," and "Juventud Española en Pie" as a teenager, but stopped shortly after starting journalism studies at university. He says he was never a true ultra-rightist, and that his motives for joining in the first place were mainly teenage rebellion (320). Before quitting, however, he makes use of his insider connections to write a series of articles on the activities of groups with which he is involved.[255] In his testimonies, he refers to a number of violent attacks which occurred during the period, including the notorious attempt on the satirical newspaper *El Papus* in 1977 (336). He also describes his own participation in violent actions against persons and buildings, explaining how the police covered for them, although with care: "Por un lado amparaba la violencia ultra y por otro la tenía controlada por si en alguna ocasión necesitaba cubrirse las espaldas y ofrecer una imagen de profesionalidad y eficacia: así siempre tenía algún trofeo que presentar a la opinión pública" (332). Yet the police were still concerned to prevent attacks of left-wing terrorism, and when a Catalan separatist group named "Exercit Popular Catalan" murders the mayor, Joaquín Viola,

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[253] According to Martínez de Pisón, the presence of such posters was quite common at the time, giving the example of how lamposts near the home of Antonio Creix were papered with signs which proclaimed his status as a torturer when he was sent to the Baque Country in 1968 ("El pasado" 93).

[254] Vinader was never an ultra-rightist himself, but reported widely on the activities of Fuerza Nueva (a political party of the extreme right) and various other right-wing groups, as well as the Basque terrorist organisation, ETA. As with Manel, his early reports on the far right were published in *Tele/Exprés,* and he would later collaborate in the new magazines of the transition, *Interviú* and *Primera Plana.* Manel, like Vinader did, receives threatening phone calls after publishing an article in *Primera Plana* on the far right, and a bomb will be thrown at his family home (*El día* 348–9, *Xavier Vinader* 59).

[255] Manel Pérez's teacher notes that his writings on anarchist and far right clashes contained a double insider/outside perspective, causing him to reflect that "mis escritos revelaban algún oscuro desdoblamiento de personalidad. Yo era al mismo tiempo una persona que hacía y otro que miraba hacer" (329). The same might have been said of Justo, permanently in this insider/outsider state of watching and doing at the same time.

by strapping a bomb to his chest, Landa comes to Mateo, furious because people like Justo were supposed to prevent such atrocities from being committed (342). The latter has gone missing because he has now decided to complete his final revenge upon those he feels have wronged and used him, as will be seen in the section below.

6.3 Heaven, hell, the dictatorship and the Church

El día de mañana exposes the hypocrisy of the dictatorship's claim to be grounded in a Catholic Christian morality and shows how, far from being some sort of earthly paradise, it is a kind of hell which traps its citizens and corrupts even the pure-hearted. The novel is replete with references to Catholic religion and its repressive effects, particularly on those who did not fit the orthodox and strictly gendered Catholic/Francoist model of citizenship. At the same time, it shows how modernisation started to bring about a relaxation of attitudes, weakening the hold of the Church on the citizens and allowing new spaces to open up, particularly for women. Finally, there is an exposition of the link between the ultra right and esoterism, which Martínez de Pisón considers an essential element for a fresco of the Transition: "En muchos momentos la ultraderecha ha mostrado su querencia por el esoterismo, una forma pintoresca de la espiritualidad o de la religiosidad: recuérdese cómo grupos neonazis utilizaban organizaciones como Nueva Acrópolis para la captación de jóvenes" ("El pasado" 94). As we will see, this link is highlighted in *El día* through Justo's fascination with the fascist writer and student of the paranormal, Vintila Horia.

From the beginning, the Catholic Church was closely connected to the Movimiento, and as Julián Casanova says, "Obispos, sacerdotes y religiosos comenzaron a tratar a Franco como un enviado de Dios para poner orden en la 'ciudad terrenal' y Franco acabó creyendo que, efectivamente, tenía una relación especial con la divina providencia" (Casanova 9).[256] If Franco was treated like a "rey de la edad de oro de la

[256] Rafael Gómez also agrees that the Church provided an important moral support for the Regime, although their tie was pure political calculation on Franco's part and "el catolicismo fue utilizado a

monarquía española" (9), then the Church was a modern-day Inquisition which assisted in the vicious repression carried out against the heretical, priest-killing Republicans during the postwar period. Perhaps the most grotesque aspect of the Church's collusion with the dictatorship was its almost total failure to apply its own teachings of mercy, charity and forgiveness to the war's losers. They were "los 'hijos de Caín' eternamente condenados a ser perseguidos por la mirada escrutadora de un Dios omnipotente y cruel, con la complacencia de los 'hijos de Abel,' los 'ciudadanos de Dios'" (González Duro 34).[257] Religion worked together with psychiatry in order to control the population, and the theories propounded by psychiatrists of the regime provided it with

> [l]a cobertura ideológica o científica para penetrar en la sociedad española, despersonalizar al individuo y convertirlo en la parte de un todo organizado jerárquicamente. Fabricaron una suerte de psicología colectiva en favor del aislamiento, la segregación y la autosuficiencia empobrecedora, fundamentándose en un catolicismo conservador impuesto desde arriba. Lo que el nuevo régimen precisaba para mantener rígida y estrictamente controlada toda la nación. (González Duro 87)

Unorthodox behaviours and ideas were linked to moral degeneracy and mental illness, and one of the most influential psychiatrists of the regime, Vallejo Nájera, argued that Republican leaders were psychopaths who needed to be segregated from the general population (González Duro 49-53). From 1954 onwards, gay people and other social undesirables, such as vagrants, beggars and the mentally ill, were treated in similar fashion and sent to agricultural colonies and work camps. However, gay people were considered particularly dangerous and were segregated from the other prisoners, lest

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veces como ideología, como ámbito de las sublimaciones de las realidades y penalidades, sobre todo en la inmediata posguerra" (Gómez Perez 270).

[257] Many Church leaders would later have a change of heart, and from the 1960s onwards there was an increasing distance between the Church and the dictatorship, contributing to the latter's final crisis of legitimacy. The first tensions began in 1960, when 339 priests sent a letter to their bishops criticising the regime and the Church's alliance with it. This was an implicit criticism against the primate, Pla y Daniel, and in a closing of hierarchical ranks, the nuncio, Antoniutti, intervened to castigate the signatories for opposing their leader, and thus Christ himself. Open rift would not come until 1966 and the Second Vatican Council, when Franco refused to give up the right to approve new bishops. The new Pope Paul VI was also an enemy of the regime, although there were still plenty of conservative leaders within the Spanish Church who stood by the dictator and against the Vatican II reforms (Jáuregui and Vega 481). The equidistant position adopted by the Church between the conservative right and liberal left provided an important bridge that facilitated the transition to democracy (Pérez-Díaz 171).

their "disease" spread (comparisons with the treatment of the Republicans are obvious here). A new law in 1970 shifted the focus to rehabilitation and the "curing" of gay people through electroshock and aversion therapy, practices which were tantamount to torture.[258] In Martínez de Pisón's novel, Nebot's gay son, Quim, is forced to undergo such torments after drugging and hypnosis have failed to "straighten him out," and Martin Tello reports with satisfaction that he emerges as "un chico sano y normal", "fuerte y viril" like a proper Spanish male (99). The issue of homosexuality in Francoist Spain also emerges in *La larga marcha* and *Los alegres muchachos de Atzvara.* In Chirbes' novel the first sexual encounters of José Luis are somewhat furtive and sordid, and there is a sense that his battle for freedom against Francoist authoritarianism will also become one for his own rights as a gay man. Meanwhile, the gay holidaymakers in *Los alegres muchachos,* are tolerated by the members of the *gauche divine,* but when one of them, Rafa, breaks social taboos by openly declaring Vincent, the friend of working-class Pablo, as his lover, it generates a great deal of consternation. Fear of reprisal finally wins over, and Rafa has sex with one of the women while Vincent is present, and later marries another.[259]

The Church and the regime were also eager to eliminate prostitution, but hypocrisy and moral double standards made this task impossible. The loss of husbands to war, imprisonment and execution, along with restrictions placed on women's rights to work, meant that many Republican women were forced into occasional or full-time prostitution in order to support themselves and their families (a theme also treated in *La larga marcha* with the Pulido family). There is a hint that Mateo Moreno's mother

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[258] Aversion therapy consisted of either injecting victims or forcing them to ingest substances that would cause them to vomit while being shown homosexual stimuli. In electroshock therapy electrical charges were placed at the bottom of the victim's feet, this location being preferred because the burn marks would not be as clearly seen as if applied to other parts of the body (Pérez-Sánchez 30).

[259] *Su cuerpo era su gozo* (2005), by Beatriz Gimeno, is another recent novel in the "mimetic" mode whose central premise it is to recuperate "la memoria histórica de aquellas personas que sufrieron represión por causa de su orientación sexual durante el franquismo, especialmente las lesbianas, invisibles hasta para la memoria." Inspired by a true story, it is a harrowing exploration of the psychological effects of a repressive society on two women, Luz and Ali, who fall in love with one another in the 1950s. Ali is twice incarcerated in a psychiatric institution by her family, where she is submitted to the same therapies of electoshock and enforced sleeping as Quim is in *El día.* The cumulative effects of social stigma, family rejection, repeated incarcerations, and dangerous therapies eventually break her mind, and at her request, Luz eventually assists her to die.

was one of these unfortunate women, and Mateo the fruit of a sexual transaction. Ironically, he himself visited prostitutes as a young man because the women of the time, schooled in rigid Catholicism were "estrechas" (142). It was not before the 1960s that women began to acquire more power and autonomy, but even then, a profoundly macho culture prevailed, and Elvira Solé remarks, "En aquella época, los hombres todavía se burlaban de las mujeres que conducían. Nos silbaban, nos tocaban el claxon, nos llamaban desertoras de la cocina" (79). Carme also wonders whether her uncle would have taught her the family trade had she been a boy (30), and when she announces her decision to become Justo's business partner, it is initially frowned upon as she is a woman (36). The influx of foreign tourists and ideas (facilitated by the removal of visa requirements for Western European holidaymakers in 1959) helped to accelerate the process of sexual liberalisation from the late 1950s onwards, the discourses of free love and equality between the sexes enjoying popularity among educated students and being enthusiastically espoused by the *gauche divine*. However, Villamandos writes that "la pretendida liberación de la moral tradicional resultaba más superficial de lo esperado, y dejaba tras sí sus propias víctimas: ruptura de relaciones sólidas, disputas, celos y proyectos profesionales bloqueados" (31). The discordances and contradictions of the group with respect to gender politics finds echo in some of their texts, he adds, giving rise to lonely, misunderstood female characters such as Elia in Esther Tusquets *El misma mar de todos los veranos (1978)* or Montse Graupera in Vázquez Montalban's *Los alegres muchachos.* These contradictions are also made manifest in *El día,* where university student Marc Jordana and his girlfriend Chantal attempt to live by the new codes of behaviour. At the Montserrat sit-in, Chantal will have sex with Justo in their room, leading to a row with Marc, who claims he wants to sleep. She accuses him of old-fashioned macho possessiveness, which may indeed have had a part to play in his feelings of anger towards her, although he does not admit it in his narrative (190-5). Chantal's liberal ways will be short-lived, however, because Justo, who cannot abide her rejection of him as a more permanent partner, will vengefully betray her to the police. As a result of rough treatment at Layetana by Mateo Moreno, she will abandon all pretence at

rebellion, return to Salamanca and marry her childhood sweetheart.[260] She also readopts her Spanish birthname of Loreto (263), Chantal having been a French alias she had chosen to symbolise her adherence to the new French sexual mores. Although an ironic gaze falls upon Chantal (and her counterpart, Gloria, in *La larga marcha*), the very existence of such a language of resistance did help to loosen the stranglehold of the church on sexual conduct and to open the way for the vindication of women's and gay rights in Spain.[261] Martínez de Pisón has also indicated that their sexual promiscuity should be seen as an act of political resistance, as it challenged the rigid moral codes of the regime, which, it must be remembered, informed the restrictive laws surrounding women's rights ("El pasado" 92).

There was also a high degree of hypocrisy when it came to the practice of Christian virtues in areas outside the sexual domain, and in *El día* a culture of selfishness and betrayal seems to permeate every level of society.[262] Justo, influenced by his surrounding environment, opts for the quick way to success and soon becomes as degraded as the regime itself. His acceptance of dishonesty as a means of advancement begins when he is a door-to-door salesmen, and it is his employer, one of his elders, who instructs him to lie about the products. When he commits a much more serious fraud against Carme, it is partly because he has also been defrauded by the numerous quack doctors who are either greedy or as desperate to survive in a society where benefits are not distributed equally. His later attempts to ingratiate himself with the Catalan upper classes arise from a recognition that the only way to succeed in the realm of big business is to take advantage of insider contacts, and the two businessmen with whom he has dealings, Nebot and Castellnou, both make use of political ties with the regime to win their fortunes. Nebot went to university with the notoriously corrupt mayor of the time, Josep María Porcioles, who grants him

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[260] Of her experience at Layetana, Marc says disdainfully: "Aquello debió de ser un auténtico trauma para ella. La señorita de provincias, la chica de familia bien, acostumbrada a la deferencia y el servilismo, no podía ni imaginar que unos policías pudieran ultrajarla como lo hicieron" (264).

[261] It was not until 1981, however, that Francoist laws against homosexual practices were overturned (Pérez-Sánchez 15).

[262] The novel is not unremittingly bleak, and gems such as Carme Román shine amidst the filth. It is people like her who provide the hope for a future Spanish democracy and who believe they deserve more than Francoism has given them.

whatever planning permissions and contracts he requires. Castellnou, meanwhile, is a former Carlist *requeté*, "un empresario que no necesitaba ocupar ningún cargo oficial porque era él el que nombraba y destituía, un oscuro personaje de cuyas influencias se decía que llegaban hasta el mismísimo palacio de El Pardo..." (146). Nebot is extremely religious, however, and attends mass every day, while Justo deliberately goes to the same church as he and other regime elites in order to join their insider network (85). It is particularly ironic that Justo's schizophrenic friend, Hilario, mentions the sins of Envy, Greed and Avarice when he recounts how he took part in competitions of catechism as a child (240)—these are the principal sins of the corrupt capitalists, who use institutionalised religion as a cloak to hide their lack of genuine Christian virtue (a point often also made in picaresque novels).

Justo is not entirely without a conscience, and even at his lowest points there shines through a desire for moral redemption. This hope is primarily centred on Carme Román, who becomes a type of Beatrice figure to him. There are some hints that Justo was in love with Carme even at the time that he was in business with her. For example, he says to Pascual Ortega that the person whom he genuinely loved is not Aurora (whom he uses for money), but Carme (whom he has already defrauded) (71). On the day of the trial, Carme is also surprised to discover that "[e]n sus ojos, sorprendentemente, había asombro y homenaje, y por un momento me pregunté si la verdadera razón por la que me había arreglado como me había arreglado no sería una absurda coquetería: me había llegado a sentir atraída por Justo en la desdichada época en que fuimos socios?" (164). In 1970 he starts to build a house/theatre for her with, Hilario, who is so amazed when he discovers the truth that he swears not to masturbate again until the theatre is finished: "Aquello era sucio y pecaminoso, y no quería que mi suciedad y mis pecados impregnaran de ningún modo nada que tuviera que ver con Ella o con el sublime amor que Justo sentía por Ella" (259). There is, of course, an element of farce to this, and Ana Pérez-Boutamante has remarked that in the theatre

> podría cifrarse el símbolo y la metáfora que ofrece la novela: nos hallamos de nuevo (como en Shakespeare, como en el *Quijote)* con el Teatro del Mundo, en versión

> estrafalaria, sí, pero que no oculta la gran ironía del destino, de los destinos. Cuando Hilario cuenta la función a la que le lleva Justo (*La lección* de Ionesco), un "disparate" del que no entiende nada y que Justo le explica en términos académicos ("Es una fábula sobre la incomunicación") nos parece percibir un eco de *Macbeth* (el gran traidor): 'la vida es una fábula contada por un idiota, una fábula sin sentido llena de ruido y furia. (11)[263]

Justo also tries to protect Carme and her friends from the police when Mateo learns that the latter are involved in subversive activities. At first, Mateo believes Justo is playing a double game, for he cannot imagine that someone like him was capable of any sentiment at all (270). It is only when Justo has his accident that the policeman begins to comprehend the meaning she has for him. Justo begs him to look after her while he is in hospital, saying that he is more than just in love with her: "Ella es lo único limpio y puro que ha habido en mi vida. ¿Entiendes lo que eso significa? ¡No, no puedes entenderlo! Para mí es como una rosa, pero una rosa que nunca va a marchitarse" (284).

Justo also becomes obsessed with the writings of the Spanish mystics, and Marc Jordana recounts seeing him purchase *Camino de perfección* by Santa Teresa de Jesús and *Las obras escogidas* of San Juan de la Cruz (262). Jordana asks Justo why he is reading them and he replies that "me gustan los escritores que saben purificarnos con las palabras" (264). Marc is repulsed, expressing the anti-Catholicism felt by many anti-Francoists:

> Era una frase extraña. Extraña en aquel contexto, y sobre todo extraña para alguien como yo, que desde jovencito me había dedicado a combatir la gastada y mugrienta retórica de los curas. ¿Me encontraba ante un fanático religioso? Si así era, ¿qué demonios pintaba aquel hombre en un acto de protestas contra ese régimen de tragasantos y meapilas? Lo que esta claro era que aquel tipo y yo no teníamos nada en común. (264)

Justo does not limit himself to the mystics in his search for greater spiritual understanding and also becomes an avid reader of the Romanian fascist writer, Vintila

[263] Here too we are reminded of the esperpento tradition, and Pérez-Boutamante's observation could also be easily applied to Mendoza's *Riña de gatos.*

Horia.[264] The extent to which these readings have influenced Justo is apparent in twelve-year-old Noel Leon's (rather distorted) appraisal of him as

> un hombre complejo, profundo, con algo de iluminado y santón. En mitad de una conversación sobre cualquier cosa, no era raro que de repente se pusiera trascendente y clamara contra la vida moderna, que a su juicio se había vuelto completamente materialista. La sociedad estaba enferma, y para curarse debía regresarse a los que Justo llamaba los valores del espíritu. (313)

Apart from his literary works, Horia also wrote on parapsychology, and Justo becomes particularly fascinated with the concept of "psicofonías" (psychophonetics), which Horia said could be captured on a cassette in his *Enquesta detrás de lo visible* (Horia 65). One day, Noel brings a tape recorder and suggests that Justo experiment with it. He is initially reticent and warns Noel that it is very difficult to record psychophonetics, but finally agrees. The subsequent scene affords a glimpse of the kernel of vulnerable humanity which remains within Justo despite his baseness. The person he calls out to is his dead mother, the woman for whom he ruined himself: "En su voz había algo que te sobrecogía, como si en realidad no estuviera hablando un adulto sino un niño, un niño asustado y desvalido, seguramente el niño que Justo había sido alguna vez, y en esa semioscuridad el efecto que la voz producía era desgarrador" (317). When there is no returning message, Justo becomes angered and gives up. Shortly after this, he has an argument with Mateo, sparked by the appearance of the "wanted" posters. Despairing because Carme will now learn his identity, he starts attacking the wall of the house with a pick, as if to tear it down. Mateo tries to stop him, shouting at him that he is a fool (299–300). After this, the policeman cuts his ties with Justo, and the latter drives Noel away and disappears from the house for a number of months.

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[264] After moving to Spain in 1953, Horia became an influential Francoist intellectual, sharing the regime's nostalgia for the Golden Age, which he saw as being the final attempt to create an earthly empire under the rein of Christ. His interest in parapsychology was secondary to his main occupation as a critic and novelist, and characters and events in his novels are filled with symbolism, particularly of Catholic/Christian origin. The trauma of exile is a fundamental theme for him, and a number of his works are centred on the figures of famous exiles who seek a new spiritual path (cf. Wagner "A writer in the cold war" 2004). As with Dante, (also an exile, and an edition of whose *Divine Comedy* Horia published), the woman who is loved plays an important part in this spiritual redemption. Here then, we may find the origins of Justo's desire to turn Carme into a similarly redemptive figure.

When he reappears, it is in the company of ultra right paramilitaries. The fact that what had originally been constructed in the hope of love and redemption should now be the site of hatred and violence is illustrative of the depths of Justo's degradation, and the change is written plainly on his features. No longer does he appear pathetic or ridiculous as in the first descriptions by Martin Tello and Pascual Ortega. The charisma which enabled him to win the trust of Carme Román and win over rich and beautiful young women has also disappeared. Now, says Manel Pérez, "su aspecto físico sugería una familiaridad con el delito y la violencia: el gesto endurecido por las cicatrices, esos labios que parecían no haber sonreído jamás, esos ojos pequeños que te atravesan al mirarte..." (331). Justo's involvement with the far right ends after a row with one of its financiers, and in retaliation, he starts to set fire their businesses. He contacts Manel Pérez to offer him information on his attacks, but at first does no more than quote fragments of the Apocalypse over the phone. When Manel tires of this, Justo finally tells him that he was responsible for an attack on a casino in Sitges and that the owner was a financier of the far right. Further attacks by Justo enable Manel to identify other financiers, and two of the properties belong to the son of the police commissioner, Landa. It is only after Justo burns down the casino Manila on the Ramblas that Manel finally understands Justo's biblic references:

> Todo encajaba: la ira pública de Justo, los fragmentos del *Apocalipsis,* el gran fuego purificador, una sed de venganza que iba dirigida, sí, contra Gómez Benet y sus socios, pero sobre todo contra el mundo, contra el mundo en general. Ahora sí que Justo había completado su venganza, y no tardé en intuir que, después de aquel último golpe, desaparecería para siempre y nunca más volvería a atacar salones de juego. (355)[265]

As Manel had predicted, there are no more attacks, and Justo returns to the abandoned house in Vallirana to await his death. He and Noel resume their friendship, and Justo continues to read fragments from Vintila Horia and to express his religious beliefs, indicating that he still clings on to some hope for divine intervention after death. For Noel "esa rara religiosidad suya y ese afán de trascendencia se avenían muy

[265] Gómez Benet was a major financier of the extreme right, and helped to fund the infamous attack against the satirical magazine, *El Papus* in 1977.

bien con su forma de vida, tan austera, tan ascética" (366). [266] Justo's death will not be long in coming at the hands of two Italian neofascist gunmen, and Noel realises that Justo went to the house to await his death in a manner similar to that of Burt Lancaster's character in the film version of Hemingway's *The Killers*. Just before they kill him, the gunmen place the broken end of a bottle on his head, so that he appears to Noel "como un Cristo con su corona de espinas, resignado, dispuesto para el sacrificio" (374). This final parodic image of a man so debased and unbecoming of the name Justo or of a comparison to the sacrifice of Christ reinforces the utter absurdity of the dictatorship's claims to have been an earthly paradise for Spaniards, whose hopes for a better life lay with "el día de mañana," when the seemingly endless present of the dictatorship had finally come to an end.

[266] Interestingly, Horia says that while the Catholic Church had traditionally been hostile to all spiritual phenomenology, members of the Church formed part of the most advanced groups in parapsychology (75). He also speaks of Rudolf Steiner, who founded anthroposophy, a philosophy which postulates the existence of an objective, intellectually comprehensible spiritual world accessible to direct experience through inner development. Steiner was greatly interested in the relationship between philosophy, science and religion, and was influenced by Goethe (himself greatly interested in science and mysticism). He even built a special theatre where the two parts of Faust were performed together for the first time (174-6). Dissatisfied with the limited human achievements in the fields of science, religion and philosophy, Goethe's Faust made his pact with the devil in exchange for access to branches of knowledge denied to the human mind. During his adventures, he falls in love with and seduces a young woman, but is ultimately the cause of her tragic death. While Marlowe's *Faustus* is damned for his pact, Goethe's Faust goes to heaven, as the Devil only wins half his wager. As already mentioned, Justo makes a Faustian pact with Mateo to save him from being put to trial for his betrayal of Carme, but is outsmarted and made into the slave of the hellish regime. Justo will also give up hope of saving himself in the earthly world, turning to the next for redemption instead.

Chapter Conclusions

With *El día de mañana* Martínez de Pisón has presented an original and insightful view into a volatile period in Spanish history, exposing the repression, corruption and hypocrisy that permeated society, especially in its upper echelons. Its choral narrative is particularly suited to the portrayal of a shadowy figure such as Justo, whose resemblance to the *pícaro* helps establish the novel within a long tradition of social critique in Spanish literature. The novel's affinities with social realism and oral testimony also reinforce its sense of political and social commitment to the ordinary people, cowed and silenced during "los años de plomo." Economic modernisation and the influx of foreign tourists inevitably weakened the dictatorship's ability to censor and control the population, but the novel emphasises the regime's continued success at supressing political opposition and maintaining itself in power. While many traditional histories of the Transition have tended to reconstruct its processes "hacía atrás" and thus privilege democratising dynamics that came from within the regime itself (Saz 88), in *El día* there is an emphasis on the liberalisation of civil society during the 1960s and 1970s, and on the crucial role played by opposition movements in weakening the dictatorship's legitimacy. The novel dispels myths which have portrayed the Transition as perfectly peaceful, showing how it was beset by violence and uncertainty, and how hardline proponents of the regime sought to foil the democratising process. At the same time, Martínez de Pisón is careful not to downgrade the Transition's successes and thereby establish a manichean view whereby the Francoists "won" at the expense of the left. By humanising Mateo and showing that even a figure such as Justo is capable of love, the writer presents us with a narrative which is essentially reconciliatory and which can be appropriated by all Spaniards, regardless of where they stood in relation to the Civil War.

6.4 A comparison of La larga marcha and El día de mañana

La larga marcha and *El día de mañana* both treat the long Francoist era, and the start date of both novels is almost identical to the date of birth of their authors: *La larga marcha* begins in 1948, with Chirbes being born in 1949, and *El día de mañana* begins in the early 1960s, while Martínez de Pisón was born in 1960. The time span of both novels also encompasses a period when the authors would have come of age. For Chirbes, this was the 1960s, when he was himself involved in the student opposition to the regime (his novel ending around 1973), while Martínez de Pisón reached adulthood during the transition to democracy (the end point of *El díá*). Due to the synchronicity of the author's lives with the narrated events, these novels are not classical historical novels, nor is there any attempt to make them appear to be so, although they are strongly imbued with historical sense. In many ways, they are the descendants of the social realist or testimonial novel of the 1950s, focussing their description on the lives of ordinary people and highlighting the corruption and inequalities that existed during the Francoist era. Both novels also contain picaresque characters (Luis Coronado in Chirbes' novel and Justo Gil in that of Martínez de Pisón), a figure whose presence Gonzalo Sobejano has also noted as being common in the testimonial novels of the 1950s (182). In addition, as with the social realist novels, there is a focus on the collective rather than on the individual, although *La larga* and *El día* are multi-voiced, while it was more common to use a single third-person narrator in the older novels. Also unlike the older texts, which were intensely focussed on the present to the exclusion of past and future, history is explicitly inscribed into the narratives of Chirbes and Martínez de Pisón: the narrator draws upon his own memory (in *La larga marcha*) and/or upon the stories he has been told by others (implicitly in *La larga marcha* and explicitly *El día de mañana)* in order to produce a narrative about a time that for him, has already passed by. The vanished dictatorship no longer has a monopoly over the future, "el día de mañana" having finally arrived. In addition, in their criticism of the left-wing bourgeois intellegentsia, they bear a resemblance to to Martín Santos' *Tiempo de silencio* (1962) and Marsé's *Últimas tardes con Teresa* (1965), novels which are associated with the demise of the social realist novel and the rejection of its pretensions of revolutionary transformation.

The story of the past is told by a narrator located close to the time of writing in both novels. In *La larga marcha*, the present is invoked only occasionally and indirectly during moments of narratorial prolepsis. Such prolepses often happen through the use of free indirect discourse, where a character's perceptions of the world are combined with narratorial commentary, throwing them into ironic relief. There are also frequent shifts between omniscience and internal focalisation, as well as a rich, and lyrical description of external space, the overall effect being the simultaneous presentation of history from both the "inside" and the "outside." Dialogue is established between these two views, as well as between the different perspectives of the characters, opening up a space for the reader to decide for themselves how history should be interpreted. The chronotopical structure of the novel also facilitates the sounding of different voices from the past, with different chronotopes governing the first and second part of the novel. In part one, the narration is fragmented among the stories of geographically dispersed families in the late 1940s and 1950s. Time is vague and imprecise, sometimes appearing to stand still (as it did in social realist narratives produced during that decade), although the theme of generational continuity also echoes throughout. For some families, this creates hopeful expectation for the future, but for the poor and the defeated Republicans, the future is bleak, and a new birth is but another mouth to feed on limited means. Rural environments are also governed by cyclical time, where farmers and peasants continue to conceive of life in terms of nature's rhythms rather than the hands of a clock. However, in the second part of the novel, time becomes more defined—although the narrative is still somewhat fragmented in being divided among different voices. The chronotope of the *bildungsroman* replaces immobility and cyclicity as the younger generation converge on Madrid and receive their first taste of politics and romance. Chirbes has claimed not to do any historical research for his novels, regarding them as the story of his own time, and therefore appeals to a different type of authenticity to that which is sought in historiographical texts—that which comes from lived experience and accumulated knowledge. He also obeys the injunction of his acknowledged master, Walter Benjamin to "brush history against the grain," presenting an alternative view of history to that of the victors. Thus, in the first part of the novel, the dominant discourse which is challenged is that of the Francoists, while in the second, it is that of

the Socialists, whose leaders were active in radical left-wing organisations as students, but who abandoned their ideals after the Transition to democracy in order to partake of the fruits of power. As with *La noche de los tiempos,* there is no narrative closure, and the novel ends with the central character, Carmelo Amado, languishing in a prison cell in an eternal present. This sense of infinite, static time evokes not only the immobilism of the dictatorship, but also those 1950s narratives of which *La larga marcha* is the inheritor. However, through narratorial prolepsis, we know that Carmelo will eventually be set free and become a respected film critic, reminding us that ultimately, the future will belong to his generation.

In *El día de mañana,* the link between present and past is more explicit, and we know that one of the homodiegetic narrators, Toni Coll, gathers the testimonies of the other narrators some time after 1996. However, the content of these stories refer exclusively the relationships of the characters with the police spy, Justo Gil during the sixties and seventies in Barcelona. Like *La larga marcha,* it is a polyphonic novel, but the heterodiegetic narrator's voice is completely silent, the characters speaking directly in an unmediated manner. The decision to tell Justo's story only through the voices of those who knew him means that the novel avoids the conventions of the spy thriller, as well as the clichéd device of a detective investigation into the past. Even though Toni is continuing his grandfather's inquiries about Justo, there is no suspense, and his focus is not on the uncovering and prosecution of the enemy but about understanding how he became a traitor. The lack of an authoritative narrator also means that history is not judged "from above," a common occurence which only serves to increase the polarisation about how the past should be interpreted and remembered. Although the use of the oral testimonial style entails an entirely subjective, inside view of history, Martínez de Pisón also provides a bibliography at the end of the novel, indicating that the historical detail provided in the novel is authentic and should be taken seriously. Structurally, there is a balance between linearity and circularity. The narrators' testimonies are organised to provide a view of Justo's life that progresses from the moment of his arrival in Barcelona in the 1960s to his death in 1978. However, the last line of the novel comprises the first words of Carme Roman's testimony, which is given a third of the way through the novel. In this way,

we are reminded that the dictatorship and the values that underpinned it continue to resonate in the present day and that it is naïve to think that the arrival of democracy implied a sudden negation of what had gone before.

La larga marcha and *El día de mañana* also betray some striking similarities in the way they portray the Francoist period and the student opposition to the dictatorship. Both of them challenge propaganda of the 1940s and 1950s that the dictatorship had provided a better and more prosperous Spain for all. In *La larga marcha,* poverty is experienced by people from both sides of the political divide, while the defeated Republicans had to deal with an added burden of fear and despair. Only opportunistic men succeed, and even a wealthy, upper-class "winner" like Gloria finds herself trapped by the rigid codes of conduct imposed upon women by the conservative Cahtolic regime. In *El día de mañana*, reference is made to the cruelty of the postwar years through the stories of Pascual Ortega and Justo Gil; Pascual's mother made enormous sacrifices so that people like him might have a better future than she did, while Justo arrives in Barcelona as a poor, half-starved, uneducated immigrant. Both *La larga marcha* and *El día* expose the corruption which existed at all levels of Francoist society, and criticise those opportunists who took advantage of the system for their personal gain. In *El día,* the degradation of Justo from a well-meaning young man to a hard-bitten, cynical traitor, is a powerful a metaphor for the regime's twisted values and its nefarious effects on its citizens.

Both novels illustrate the changes that took place during the 1960s and 1970s after the abandonment of autarky led to an economic boom and the creation of new working and middle classes. The increased social mobility of the 1960s is referred to by Carmelo's mother, Rosa, in *La larga marcha,* when she tells her husband that it is perfectly acceptable to introduce their son, a university student, to the uneducated labourer Gregorio, who has left the countryside to become a construction worker in the city (326). Meanwhile, in *El día,* Pascual Ortega successfully acquires a white-collar job that provides him with enough income to buy an apartment, while a working class girl like Elvira Solé begins to speak the language of the educated youth as a result of her relationship with her student boyfriend. The emblematic Seat "seiscientos," the

car of the new middle classes, also makes an appearance in the two novels, and it is ordinary professional women who are at the wheel in both cases (teacher Alicia Tabarca in *La larga marcha* (274) and office-worker Elvira Solé (78) in *El día*), another indication of the massive social changes that were taking place. The recentness of women's increased freedoms and the resistance that continued to be shown by a conservative, sexist society is illustrated by Elvira's comment that women drivers were still occasionally jeered at by men who called them "desertoras de la cocina" (*El día* 79).[267] While women enjoy greater freedoms, though, the same does not go for the gay characters, José Luis in *La larga marcha,* and Quim in *El día.* José Luis is conscious that a lonely path awaits him (362), while Quim is subjected to the full horrors of aversion therapy in order to "cure him" from his "disease" (99).

La larga marcha criticises the Falangist glorification of military prowess and portrays violence as a dead end, particularly through the ironic portrayal of Ángel del Moral. Although his father initially sees him as a prototype of the ideal youth who will represent the image of a virile Spain abroad he is little more than a drug-abusing thug who neglects his family, later becoming a member of Guerilleros del Cristo Rey. This was the largest of the violent far right groups which began to operate in the late 1960s, and its main activity was the assault of priests who supported clandestine syndicates (Rodríguez 221). This is the only mention of far right violence in Chirbes' novel, but it receives considerable attention in that of Martínez de Pisón, who highlights the disruption caused by radical groups during the Transition, in contrast to subsequent depictions of the process as having been entirely peaceful. It is a theme which has not yet been much treated in Spanish literature, and as Martínez de Pisón himself remarks, has not received much scholarly attention either. The roots of the future *desencanto* are also exposed in both novels, the left-wing political convictions of the students and young intellectuals of the 1960s portrayed as being somewhat shallow and naïve. The feeling of *desencanto* is much stronger in Chirbes, perhaps because he himself formed part of that revolutionary university movement, and

[267] The rigid codes imposed upon women's conduct, particularly those of the upper classes, had been keenly felt by Gloria Seseña in *La larga marcha,* and when we meet her in the sixties, she leaps forth into modernity, being the first mother to drive her daughter to work (187).

would see how the members of his own generation later "sold out." In his novel, there is a suggestion that it is those who are most cynical and manipulative who will come to power, such as Luis Coronado, or else those who already have connections and wealth, such as Ignacio Mendieta and Gloria Seseña. Chirbes is himself much more negative about the Transition than Martínez del Pisón is, and has argued that "no fue un pacto sino la aplicación de una nueva estrategia en esa fuerra de dominio de los menos sobre los más y donde si hubo poca crueldad fue porque, por entonces, los menos eran fuertes y débiles los mas" (*El novelista* 108). This is an attitude that aligns him with the more radical revisionist view of the Transition that was described in 1.1 of this thesis. Martínez de Pisón, on the other hand, has accepted that "acceder a la democracia partiendo de una dictadura militar que se había impuesto por la fuerza de las armas no era fácil y se consiguió, lo que tiene mucho mérito ("En la transición"), placing him among those those who, like Muñoz Molina, Mendoza, or historian Santos Juliá, believe that it was essentially a success.

Finally, in both novels, there is an exposition of the regime's brutally repressive nature, often glossed over in more nostalgic representations such as the TV series *Cuéntame Como Pasó.* Those members of "Alternativa Communista" who have been in imprisoned at the end of *La larga marcha* are subjected to severe beatings, while in *El día,* the Communist activist Eliseu Ruiz describes how he was tortured during interrogation. The policeman Mateo Moreno also bears witness to the existence of such brutal practices, even at the end of the regime when it was said to have softened considerably. The novel is unique in presenting a humanised portrait of Francoist policeman, and even the spy, Justo, is evokes a certain degree of pity. One could find it hard to imagine such a sympathetic portrait in earlier times, the "chivato" being the most hated of all figures in pro-Republican discourse.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

A Bakhtinian lens has been adopted in this thesis to investigate the narrative strategies used to inscribe, challenge or subvert discourses about the civil war and dictatorship in four novels, and to ask how they open up a dialogic space within which the reader can engage critically with the interpretation of the past. The novels—*Riña de gatos* (2010) by Eduardo Mendoza, *La noche de los tiempos* (2009) by Antonio Muñoz Molina, *La larga marcha* (1996) by Rafael Chirbes and *El día de mañana* (2011) by Ignacio Martínez de Pisón—form part of a recent surge of popular interest in these periods of Spanish history, and have achieved both critical and commercial success. Written by well-established authors, they represent significant attempts to provide a mature reflection on the divisive past, although due to their dates of publication they have not yet—with the exception of *La larga marcha*—received much scholarly attention.

Thus far, there have only been a limited number of academic studies on novels published since the mid-1990s, and. most of these have adopted the approach of "memory studies," first developed by scholars working on the legacy of the Holocaust and other twentieth-century European wars. Key ideas include Maurice Halbwachs' notion of "collective memory," Pierre Nora's *lieux de memoires*, and Jan Assmann's distinctions between "communicative memory" and "cultural memory," while psychoanalytic trauma theory has also been used to explain why the interest in the civil war has suddenly resurfaced after many years of supposed silence and repression. However, as we saw in Chapter 1, this approach, while yielding some interesting analyses, has a number limitations. Firstly there is a certain vagueness surrounding the defintion of "collective memory," while the word "memory" itself has become overused and is frequently employed without reflection. Secondly, the application of psychological phenomena to social collectives is not always appropriate, as individual experiences of trauma are unique to each person and cannot be extrapolated to an entire population, and even less to those who did not directly experience the war or

the suffering of the postwar years. Meanwhile, the political programme to "recuperate historical memory" in Spain is misleadingly named and has strongly normative associations; it suggests that a single version of the past—in which the defeated Republicans are unquestioningly vindicated—is somehow recoverable in its original form. While its ultimate purpose has been to bring about more genuine reconciliation between Spaniards, over-romanticisation of the Republic by some activists, coupled with a backlash from the neo-Francoist Right, has caused the debate to become even more polarised than ever. What is more, the term "historical memory" has now become little more than a marketing cliché that has drained the enterprise of its genuine impulses and hollowly validates all cultural references to twentieth-century Spanish history, whether or not they make a worthwhile contribution to our understanding of the past. For these reasons, the terminology of memory studies has been avoided in this thesis, although the Bakhtinian theory which has been employed is not incompatible with theories about collective or cultural memory,. The Bakhtinian concepts of dialogism, heteroglossia and chronotope were employed in particular because, as we saw in Chapter 1, they provide very useful analytical tools for the study of novels with a high political and historical content. In addition, the flexibility of Bakhtinian theory as a whole means that it is able to account for all types of narrative forms, whether classical or postmodern, without imposing a prior value judgement on one or the other. It therefore provides a valuable means of elucidating the varied strategies used by different novel forms to create an ambivalent, dialogic space which disrupts the expectations of the reader and prompts reflection upon the represented historical and political discourses.

All of the novels subvert the conventions of the classical historical novel and the nineteenth-century historiographical narrative structure on which it is based in order to create a critical distance from the represented past. The rupturing of historical unity and continuity in each of the novels is reminiscent of Walter Benjamin's modernist conception of history as montage and of Foucault's exhortation to read history backwards from the present in order to call up those voices which have been silenced by dominant narratives. Each novel uses a different set of narrative strategies to accomplish this effect. *Riña de gatos* invokes the chronotopes of the historical

novel, but combines them with those of the *folletín* and spy novel in order to create a hybridised parody which contains elements of farce and carnival humour, thus shattering generic expectations, and submitting teleologic master narratives of history, such as those of Marxism and fascism, to ridicule. At the same time, factually accurate historical digresssions on the part of the narrator, written in historiographical style, indirectly link the narrative to the time of writing, for it is there that all subsequent historical knowledge must be located. *La noche de los tiempos* links past and present more explicitly through the use of a first-person narrator who is chronotopically located in the 2000s. Through metafictional commentary, the narrator foregrounds the act of the fictional reconstruction of the past, and this, in combination with the use of a spiralling chronotope of memory, shatters the referential illusion and breaks up traditional linear plotting. In *La larga marcha,* meanwhile, Chirbes makes highly effective use of shifting centres of narrative focalisation and hybrid sentence constructions in order to create dialogue between different ideological and chronotopical perspectives, both within and outside the work. Here too, the present day is subtly invoked through narratorial prolepsis. Finally, *El día de mañana* adopts the formal structures of oral testimony to summon up the past and make it alive for the present. As in Chirbes' novel, the many different narrative voices combine to create a mosaic of Francoist society which resists the unifying impulses of traditional historical representation. Although the use of the oral testimonial style entails a subjective, inside view of history, Martínez de Pisón also provides a bibliography at the end of the novel, indicating that the historical detail provided in the novel is factually accurate.

As we have seen, all four novels are united by a common desire to provide a multi-perspectival view of the past which seeks to overcome the "two-Spain" dichotomy, and while they clearly identify with democratic values, there is no romanticisation of anti-Francoist combatants (during the civil war or dictatorship), while a certain amount of sympathy is even shown towards some of those who supported the Francoist side during the war. Condemnation is reserved for the corrupt and brutally self-interested, as well as those who are bound by rigid dogmatism and kill in the name of totalitarian ideologies. Through their denunciation of the political radicalism

and violence of 1936, *La noche de los tiempos* and *Riña de gatos* implicitly accept the decision made during the Transition not to allow the divisions of the past to affect the future. In *El díá de mañana* there is a somewhat more ambivalent attitude. On the one hand, the Transition's idealised status is questioned by drawing attention to the violent resistance that was presented by the far right in collusion with the police. On the other, by showing that a democratic outcome was not guaranteed and that it had to be negotiated from within the regime, the ultimate success of the process is reaffirmed, as is the need for the much-abused Amnesty Law. The origins of the *desencanto* are located in the *gauche divine* and the student opposition to the regime, both of whom adopted Marxist rhetoric, but were ultimately more interested in accessing the fruits of the global marketplace than implementing genuine social equality. *La larga marcha* is even more critical, and by ending with a prison scene, leaves the reader with a sense of pessimism regarding the future. Chirbes could be aligned with those who hold the more radical revisionist view of the Transition, and who believe that its processes did not lead to the establishment of a genuine social democracy. Thus, while the novels of Mendoza, Muñoz Molina, and Martínez de Pisón might be said to represent the continued tradition of what has sometimes been called the "Third Spain," the liberal democratic centre (of left and right), Chirbes, we sense, would have taken up arms for the left, and did indeed do so as a student activist in the 1960s, spending time in prison as a result. He never abandoned his ideals in the way that many of his co-activists did, and has dedicated much of his novelistic output to the exposure of corruption and cynical opportunism in both the Francoist and democratic eras, with supposed Socialists faring no better than the traditional right. Muñoz Molina and Mendoza also differ from the other two writers in the greater internationalism and cosmopolitanism of their outlook. Both have lived in the English speaking world, and it is this which has given their novels an added 'outsider' perspective, adding to their novels a richness and depth of understanding of the war's origins that is unmatched in other novels which treat the same period. Despite these differences, the four novels which have been the object of this study are all similar in their refusal to represent the war as an inevitable tragedy or to present the Republic as a traumatic absence which haunts the present day. They point instead towards the need for a re-invigorated democratic polity that is united against injustice, inequality

and corruption, and which accepts the presence of competing versions of the conflictual past, without allowing this past to paralyse the future.

It remains to be seen whether or not future novels will continue the trend of providing a more neutral, pluralistic view of the past, and whether there will be further literary and cinematic re-appraisals of the Republic's conduct during the war. If this happens, then it could be an indication that the over-defensiveness of those who identify with the Republic's values—a natural reaction in the face of the years of vilification by the Francoists—is finally waning, and that Spanish cultural discourse is ready to move beyond polarising debates about which side suffered the most. Similarly, future investigations will need to map how attitudes towards the Transition evolve, to see whether there is continued left-wing denunciation of its processes and outcome, or whether, as happens in *El día,* more voices rise to its defence, even while its imperfections are acknowledged. This study has been limited to the in-depth analysis of four novels, and there are many more which have received little or no academic attention at all. A recent trilogy by Oscar Esquivias, for example, which is comprised of *Inquietud en el Paraíso* (2005), *La ciudad del Gran Rey* (2006) and *Viene la noche* (2007), merits scholarly attention, but has been almost completely untouched thus far. It would be particularly interesting to compare these novels with *Riña de gatos* and *El día de mañana* on account of their use of grotesque realism, comic parody and Dantean tropes of heaven, hell and purgatory in their representation of 1936 Burgos and of the memory of the civil war in the present day. On the whole, an analysis of the chronotopes of further novels, and of the way they reflect historiographic trends and changing interpretations, would provide a better indication of how quickly literature reflects, responds to, or even instigates, new developments. In addition, it would be useful to map the reactions of the public to the various novels (and to compare them to those of professional critics), a task for which there was no time in this project, but which would tell us much about the kind of meaning that is constructed and derived from them. Finally, because this inquiry has been concerned with the relationship of the novels to historiography, public debate and other civil war novels, only limited reference has been made to the authors' other works, or to how the novel fits into their oeuvre, and this would certainly add to the understanding of them.

Nevertheless, it is hoped that the work undertaken in this thesis might provide a starting point for such further investigations.

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