The Road Not Taken: Portrayal of Women in Ten French Novels on The Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)

by

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Abstract

THE ROAD NOT TAKEN: PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN IN TEN FRENCH NOVELS ON THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR (1936-1939)

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Advisor: Professor William Sherzer

Scholars have remarked that World War I offered women possibilities that were not available to them prior to the war, and one can ask oneself if the same statement can be made about the Spanish Civil War. This thesis begins by exploring the question of the extent to which these options are and are not reflected in the representation of female characters in ten French novels written between 1938 and 1968. While Spanish literature has provided intricate, vibrant portraits of women and gender relations, the texts I will discuss maintained traditional, home-bound, nurturing, supportive and non-combatant roles for women, whose lives remained centered around domesticity and/or the men in their lives. This is what I refer to as "the road not taken" in these authors' works.

The use of force against undefended civilian targets during the Spanish Civil War, to an extent not seen previously in modern Western Europe, created a fundamental change in the landscape of war. One famous reaction to this was Picasso's well known painting *Guernica*, which was created in part to foment sympathy for the Republican cause. The painting depicts the bombing of a marketplace, and in it, Picasso provided the articulation through art of a suggestion that in this conflict, there were no boundaries left between the home and battle fronts. This perspective was not mirrored in the work of novelists such as André Malraux, Robert Brasillach, and Michel del Castillo, among others, who continued to

represent the war as delineated along traditionally established gender and combat boundaries.

In the analysis of “the road not taken”, this dissertation takes into account the biographical elements, personal, political, and intellectual, that underlie the connection between writer and work, and what light this might shed on the way authors have treated gender, and most significantly, what they have not said in their novels in this respect.

Dedicated to the Memory of my Mother, Olga J. Bralove, M.D. (1916-2008)

and my Father, Richard S. Bralove, M.D. (1921-1982)

You will always be part of everything that I do

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On a personal level, I could not have made it this far without the unconditional support of my amazing family: Alister Ramírez Márquez, Dana and Jacob Barak, David and Bob Bralove, Solmar Murta and my wonderful children: Richard and Alistair Ramirez. You all know that I could not have done it without you.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Illustrations

Engravings for *Solidarité:*

Known and Unknown Images of the Spanish Civil War:

Introduction

Scholars have remarked that World War I offered women possibilities that were not available to them prior to the war[1], and one can ask oneself if the same statement can be made about the Spanish Civil War. This thesis will begin by exploring the question of the extent to which these options are and are not reflected in the representation of female characters in ten French novels written between 1938 and 1968. Although Spanish women were able to break down certain barriers[2], many writers who wrote in French continued to portray women along clearly drawn, conventional battle and home front lines. For instance, while Spanish literature has provided intricate, vibrant portraits of women and gender relations, the texts which will be discussed here maintained a traditional, home-bound, nurturing, supportive and non-combatant role for women, whose lives remained centered on domesticity and/or men. This is what is referred to as "the road not taken" in these authors' works.

The corpus of novels chosen for this dissertation spans from two novels written and published during the war to works written three decades after the onset of hostilities. The novels were chosen on the basis of their depiction of women, and

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[1] For more on this topic, see M. Randolph Higonnet, J. Jenson, S. Michel, M. Collins Weitz, *Behind the Lines, Gender and the Two World Wars* Yale U P, New Haven and London, 1987.

[2] For more on women's roles in the Spanish Civil War, see Shirley Mangini, *Memories of Resistance; Women's Voices from the Spanish Civil War*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1995, and Mary Nash, *Defying Male Civilization: Women in the Spanish Civil War*, Arden Press, Denver, 1995.

the many shades of difference surrounding authors' ideologies, nationalities[3] and personal involvement in the conflict. In all of the novels, the writers characterize women according to roles that tend toward the traditional. Novels written during the war are the surrealist work *La pie voleuse* by Georges Limbour (1939), which remains the only one of its kind on the subject and *Les sept couleurs* by Robert Brasillach (1939), executed after World War II for his collaboration with Germany. [4] The 1940s saw the publication of Simone Téry's *La porte du soleil*, (1947), originally published as *Où l'aube se lève* in 1945. These four novels were written during and shortly after the war, however, the majority of the novels in this dissertation were written in the 1950s and 60s.

Jacqueline de Boulle's *Le desperado* was published in 1955. Four years later**,** Joseph Peyré's *Le pont des sorts* (1959) provides a unique perspective, depicting the Spanish Civil war from a crossroads between France and Spain, in the Basque region**.** Jacques Bureau's *Trois pierres chaudes en Espagne* (1958), is significant in that its protagonist, Jeanne, kills Francisco Franco. In contradistinction to Bureau's condemnation of fascism, other authors denounce leftist ideologies. Michel del Castillo's *Le Colleur d'affiches* (1958) is a scathing portrayal of the failure of

[3] All texts were originally written in French, by both French and non-French authors

[4] Although André Malraux's *L'espoir* was written during the war, and in fact, published before the outcome of the war was known, it was not included in the corpus because of its lack of women characters. The critic Susan Rubin Suleiman discusses this in "Malraux's Women, Visions and Re-visions" in *Witnessing André Malraux* Thompson, Brian and Carl A. Viggiani, eds. *Witnessing André Malraux: Visions and Re-visions*, Middletown, Connecticut, Wesleyan U P, 1984

communism from a man and a woman's points of view.[5] Ideology takes on lesser importance in Henri-François Rey's *La fête espagnole* (1959) because it is first and foremost a love story between a fighter in the International Brigades and an American journalist.

The novels published in the 1960s are Vladimir Pozner's *Espagne, premier amour* (1964), which is also a love story, written when the aftermath of Franco's victory was felt more drastically than in earlier works in the corpus, and José Luis de Vilallonga's *Allegro barbaro* (1968), which is a fictionalized account of many significant phenomena in Spanish history including the reign of Alfonso XIII, the government of Primo de Rivera, Azaña's reforms, the tragic week, the agricultural laws of 1932, Catalanism, the assassination of Calvo Sotelo, and the Sanjurjo uprising. The events are depicted through the protagonist, Sagrario, who is aligned with the military and the clergy. Vilallonga fought for Franco's army, and then claimed to have changed sides. He is the only author in this study who is both a Spaniard and a monarchist.[6] He is, however, not the most extreme right wing author since Robert Brasillach's political views were even more to the right than those originally espoused by Vilallonga.

In the analysis of "the road not taken", this dissertation takes into account the biographical elements personal political, and intellectual, that underlie the

[5] It is noteworthy that Michel del Castillo also wrote a novel which is profoundly critical of Francoism, called *La nuit du décret*, published in 1981, which was awarded the Renaudot prize.

[6] Boixareu, Merce and Lefere Robin, *La historia de España en la literatura francesa: una fascinación*, Madrid, Editorial Castalia 2002, p. 789

connection between writer and work, and what light this might shed on the way authors have treated gender, and most significantly, what they have not said in their novels in this respect. It will also examine the mechanisms of their narrative and ideological choices through a comparison of how the male and female authors in this study write about the war. Historians have indeed noticed the small number of women authors of texts on the Spanish Civil War. Shirley Mangini, for instance, states that: "Writing about war is apparently gendered; in the case of the Spanish Civil War, it is the Hemingways, the Orwells, the Malrauxs, and the Koestlers who had societal permission to document the tragedies."[7]

Fundamentally, this relative absence of women writers--women not at home in the language of novelistic writing, women kept at home from expressing themselves in public space through writing--mirrors the conventional configuration of space and politics in the novels: female characters restricted from the dangerous, violent spaces of combat and political upheaval, and constructed as bound to, or taking refuge in the home. Thus, the "road not taken" refers here not only to the ways in which they were moving in the future, but to the choice of not doing what Picasso, for instance, in the realm of art did, with *Guernica*. Picasso essentially visualized women as protagonists in the midst of a redefined war. Since the market place in *Guernica* is a non-military target, and women were killed in the process of procuring food for their families, it can be said that Picasso understood, on a

[7] Shirley Mangini *Memories of Resistance: Women's Voices from the Spanish Civil War*, New Haven, Yale U P, 1995, p. 70

profound and thorough level, that there was no distance between the home and battle fronts in the Spanish Civil War.

However, the writers in this dissertation did not follow Picasso's lead. By refusing to lend expression to the bursting asunder of boundaries between home and front, between inside and outside, interior and exterior, the novelists in my corpus--some more than others--apparently merged a reading of the war in which the concept of home plays a certain role. Perhaps they sought to contrast the women as the peaceful, reassuring line of last defense against the horrors of war; but in effect, the novelists effectuated what the politicized women of World War I feared and opposed: a silencing of them in which they became anything but what the realities of war had made of women (organizers, militants, activists, witnesses), and instead, amalgamated them with inert, material trappings of the domestic sphere. Women are depicted within a series of concentric boundaries, ranging from the affective to the romantic to the professional and political. By maintaining the conventional gender binaries of a time that was in the throes of a violent change, the authors in this dissertation made choices that deeply affected their aesthetic strategies, and, in the end, perhaps these strategies had a significant impact upon the sustainability of their narratives as works of art. This thesis will thus examine how this road not taken on so many different levels is tightly woven into narrative strategies and their failures.

Drawing from the several disciplines of history, fiction and gender expectation, this dissertation marks a point of departure from previous analyses

which have been more restricted in their perspectives, since they tend to focus more narrowly on one of the previously mentioned fields, but do not intertwine them. For example, Nancy Susan Masson's 1992 dissertation, *Female Characterization in the Works of Dolores Medio* discusses several works of only one author. Another example is Jorge L. Nisguritzer's 2003 dissertation, *La mujer en la España del siglo XX hasta 1977,* which devotes three chapters to relevant history, but is unfortunately not well documented. In this dissertation on women in French fiction from 1936-1968, the combination and interfacing of these three various disciplines thus result in a study which, like Picasso's artistic rendition of women in the marketplace of *Guernica*, sets women characters firmly at the center of the analytic stage**.**

It is noteworthy that despite *Guernica*, the artistic illustration of the drastically different methods of combat during the Spanish Civil War, scholars have paid scant attention to other portrayals of women's involvement in the Spanish Civil War.[8] However, two groundbreaking studies on women's participation in the Spanish Civil War- *Defying Male Civilization: Women in the Spanish Civil War* (1995) by Mary Nash, and *Memories of Resistance: Women's Voices of the Spanish Civil War* (1995) by Shirley Mangini- have cast a new and particularly feminist look at the phenomenon of a female paradigm operating actively in a modern war. One of Mangini's premises is that abnegation was "the most valuable quality of women on

[8] Paul Preston claims that twenty thousand volumes have been published about the Spanish Civil War, and less than one percent deals with the role of women. He makes this point in his work *Four Doves of Spain*, London, Harper Collins 2002

both the Left and the Right."[9] This thread of female submission and its many, complex manifestations, may be the common link binding several otherwise dissimilar portrayals of women in many of the novels I discuss. In fact, Mary Nash echoes many of Mangini's concerns by asking

> Were women involved in revolutionary activism and antifascist resistance on their own terms? Or were they politicized but channeled into supportive roles that did not challenge the prevailing forms of gender subordination? (1)

Additional scholarship that presents a nontraditional interpretation of women's participation in wars is found in *Caught up in Conflict: Women's Responses to Political Strife*, edited by Rosemary Ridd and Helen Callaway (1986), which highlights the insight repeatedly echoed in all the texts of this dissertation that "…conflict, however much it may be outwardly directed towards bringing about change in society, can be at the same time an inherently conservative agent", and that women are often represented as the custodians of a society's cultural values.[10]

The aforementioned texts focus on the historical aspects of the war, but informative texts on war and fiction were also consulted, such as *Arms and the Woman: War, Gender, and Literary Representation* (1989) edited by Helen M. Cooper, Adrienne Auslander Munich and Susan Merrill Squier. Three essays

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[9] Shirley Mangini, *Memories of Resistance: Women's Voices of the Spanish Civil War*, New Haven, Yale U P, 1995 p.43

[10] Rosemary Ridd and Helen Callaway, eds. *Caught up in Conflict: Women's Responses to Political Strife*, Macmillan Education in association with the Oxford University Women's Studies Committee, Oxford, 1986, p.3

particularly helpful for shedding light on the matter of female wartime activity are: "War and Memory" by June Jordan, "Arms and the Woman: The Con [tra]ception of the War Text" by the editors, and "Civil Wars and Sexual Territories" by Margaret Higonnet. This work is comprised of essays on wars from the Trojan War to the nuclear age, and thoroughly investigates and questions the traditional paradigm of an opposition between men who are depicted as lovers of war, and women who are depicted as lovers of peace, suggesting instead that women's roles in wars are much more complex than previously envisaged.

Many previous dissertations that focus on literature written in Spanish on the Spanish Civil War as a historical, literary or political phenomenon were useful as background material. Some, despite obvious differences of topic and emphasis, have been relevant to aspects of my research. Of particular moment to the novels written in French which I scrutinize is Gina Ann Herrmann's conclusion in *The Self Writing War: Memory Texts of the Spanish Civil War and the Antifascist Resistance* (1998) that, while her original area of interest was literature, in novels written in Spanish, the "fictionalization of historical memory would appear to be articulated through diversionary tactics*".*[11] Of particular interest to my topic were Herrmann's chapters The "Hermetic Goddess: Dolores Ibárruri as Text", and "Milicianas del 36: Voices of the Vanquished". Herrmann provided an extensive critical and historical bibliography as well.

[11] Gina Ann Herrmann *The Self Writing War: Memory Texts of the Spanish Civil War and the Antifascist Resistance*, 1998, Cornell University, p. 365, DAI-A 49/11 p. 4137 AAT 9910236

A post Franco work on a similar subject is Malcolm Alan Compitello's *Ordering the Evidence: The Vision of the Spanish Civil War in Post War Spanish Fiction* (1979), which provides interesting critiques of Armstrong and Lo Ré's dissertations.

The best known scholar of French literature on the Spanish Civil War is Maryse Bertrand de Muñoz, whose seminal work, *La guerre civile espagnole et la littérature française* (1972) discusses and categorizes an enormous corpus of fiction and nonfiction, and includes as critical criteria the importance of the war to each work. Muñoz, questioning whether the Spanish Civil War fuctions as a *leitmotiv* for the author, or whether it takes center stage, does mention the role of women in novels, but does not, however, undertake to examine female characters in depth. Muñoz' work is indispensable to my research, both guiding the choice of works and providing helpful bibliographies.

A more recent work in which Bertrand de Muñoz is a contributor is *La historia de España en la literatura francesa: una fascinación,* edited by Mercè Boixareu and Robin Lefere, published in 2002, is an important tool because it provides information on some works not included in *La guerre civile espagnole et la littérature française.*

Whereas Bertrand de Muñoz specialized in French literature, other scholars work across nationalities, including but not limiting themselves to French authors. A number of critical studies examine the effect and the influence of the war on both

Spanish and non-Spanish writers. For example, *Rewriting the Good Fight: Critical Essays on the Literature of the Spanish Civil War* (1989), Frederick Benson's book *Writers in Arms: The Literary Impact of the Spanish Civil War* (1975) and the more recent collection of essays edited by Janet Pérez and Wendell Aycock, entitled *Literature of the Spanish Civil War* (1990) take this approach. A particularly interesting critical work of this nature is *German and International Perspectives on the Spanish Civil War: The Aesthetics of Partisanship* (Costa 1992), which includes a chapter on Brasillach, a useful tool to interpret *Les sept couleurs*.

The approach for this thesis draws from historical, sociological and literary research on women in the Spanish Civil War. The preliminary stage toward a contextualization of the participation of women in the Spanish Civil War was to study works about war and gender. Joshua Goldstein's *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa* (2001) researches the problem of the tendency towards disappearance of the diversity of gender norms within war.[12] Goldstein's work provided a backdrop to Paul Preston's *Doves of War: Four Women of Spain* (*2002*), an account--which he calls an "emotional history"--of the lives of two Spanish women, and two British women whose participation in the war ranges from political activism to nursing. The book is a prism of several females' levels of awareness of their roles in the war. Preston's *oeuvre*, attempting as it does a female interiority and female voice in a period of polarized fascist/democratic tensions, is thus a stepping stone along the way to a more realized female consciousness in the

[12] Joshua Goldstein, *War and Gender*, Cambridge,Cambridge UP, 2001, p. 9

Spanish Civil War. The women Preston discusses are from both the Left and the Right.

In addition to Preston's work, the following articles on antifascist women were consulted: "Writing the Revolutionary Self: Dolores Ibárruri and the Spanish Civil War" by Kristine Byron, "Voices of the Vanquished: Leftist Women and the Spanish Civil War" by Gina Herrmann, "The Death Story of *Las trece rosas*" by Tabea Alexa Linhard, and "Home Front Heroines: Images of women in Revolutionary Spain" by Mary Nash. Jo Labanyi's "Resemanticizing Feminine Surrender: Cross-Gender Identifications in the Writings of Spanish Female Activists" was consulted for references about Spanish activists on the Right. An article which encompasses visual representations on women on the left and the right, is Frances Lannon's "Women and the Images of Women in the Spanish Civil War". Taken together, these articles and the aforementioned works provide ideas for approaches to textual and thematic analysis that range from reinforcing classical concepts of women's exclusion in war to innovative ideas.

Since critical works on the novels in the corpus are limited, it was necessary to turn to other critical studies that examined female characterization within the Spanish Civil War. Abby H. P. Werlock's chapter, "With a Man There Is a Difference: The Rejection of Female Mentoring in Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls"* in *The Erotics of Instruction,* was useful since Werlock describes Pilar and María in terms of their capacities as teachers and learners, which is a non-traditional model of understanding women's roles.

The study of female characterization within the novels in the corpus was greatly enhanced by examining how some of the female participants in the Spanish Civil War recalled their experiences. Two convincing examples of observations on gender expectation come to mind. The first was made during the war itself by Sara Berenguer, who made the comment that her "anarchist male colleagues assumed that any woman talking about freedom must mean that she was freely sexually available for them."[13] A second example of the perception of difference between male and female participation in the Spanish Civil War occurs when Militia-woman Leonor Benito "described doing guard duty at night equally with men, yet still being expected to do the washing up for them." [14] This persistence in imposing traditional roles in a nontraditional situation is reflected in many of the novels in this corpus. Josette in Simone Téry's *La porte du soleil* provides a clear example of this.

The study of the fictional women in this dissertation was also influenced by Gina Herrmann's research, in "Voices of the Vanquished," on how the leftist female activists that she interviewed lost interest in politics when they became mothers. She remarks on the results of her research interviewing Spanish Republican women,

> Those women who lost their male partners and whose children displayed disinterest or even disdain for their mothers' political beliefs and activism during the Civil War found it difficult to continue to narrate their life stories beyond the immediate postwar period or the birth of their child, even though the political and

[13] Lanon 220
[14] Lannon 222

> historical contexts of their lives offered a veritable register of communally identifiable sequential storylines and models of identity. (20)

Three of the characters in the novels in this thesis become mothers: Catherine, Mariana, and Isabel. They offer interesting possibilities in terms of utilizing a historical approach to interpret the literary depiction of the connection between motherhood and interest in political matters.

In order to generate a meaningful analysis of female characterization, the first step was to scrutinize how home and battle boundaries were defined, respected or comingled. The first chapter discusses this precise point in depth.

TABLE OF FEMALE CHARACTERIZATION

Novel	Author	Year of Publication	Character
La pie voleuse	Georges Limbour	1939	Gisèle
Les sept couleurs	Robert Brasillach	1939	Catherine
La porte du soleil	Simone Téry	1947	Josette
Le desperado	Jacqueline De Boulle	1954	Isabel
Colleur d'affiches	Michel Del Castillo	1958	Mariana
Trois pierres chaudes	Jacques Bureau	1958	Jeanne
Le pont des sorts	Joseph Peyré	1959	Hispana
La fête espagnole	Henri François Rey	1959	Nathalie
Allegro barbaro	José Luis Vilallonga	1967	Sagrario, Pura
Espagne,	Vladimir Pozner	1968	Pilar
premier amour			

Chapter I:

Female Characterization, Home and Battle Fronts in Two Novels

Synopsis and Criticism of Jacqueline De Boulle's *Le Desperado* (1954) and Joseph Peyré's *Le pont des sorts* (1959)

There is extremely little critical work available on either Jacqueline De Boulle or *Le desperado*, so it is not surprising that efforts to find critical material on Isabel, the female protagonist of the work, are unrewarding. In *Lettres Françaises de Belgique, Dictionnaire des Oeuvres* (1994), published by De Boek Université, the following entry about *Le Desperado* appears:

> [S]on histoire est celle des causes perdues…[F]ait prisonnier par les troupes de Franco, il est condamné à mort, et s'attend à être exécuté lorsque son père, pourtant incroyant, porte la croix dans la procession de Bilbao. Miraculeusement, sa peine est commuée. Lorsqu'il sort de prison, il se retrouve désadapté des réalités du siècle. Sa quête devient celle d'un paria ; il erre solitaire dans les groupuscules de la résistance royaliste, avant d'exercer divers métiers plus ou moins humiliants à Paris. La jeune Isabelle, son premier amour, l'y rejoint. Le bonheur, enfin, est à sa portée. Mais une nostalgie complexe et violente le poursuit : celle de l'Espagne, de la fierté perdue, et de Dieu. L'exceptionnel courage dont il a fait preuve devant la mort le coupe de l'existence ordinaire. [I]l doit

> rentrer en Espagne, pour affronter son destin. Lorsqu'il retourne enfin au chevet de sa mère condamnée, il sait que la mort sera à nouveau au rendez-vous. Sautant d'un train en marche pour échapper aux policiers qui le poursuivent, il meurt sur le sol natal, réconcilié avec lui-même et avec le Christ…
>
> [C]e Léon Marin rouge ne manque ni de grandeur, ni de puissance. Malgré un romantisme un peu échevelé et une trame narrative inutilement éclatée, Le Desperado présente des scènes poignantes, comme la description du condamné à mort ou celles de certains sacrifices.
>
> Jacqueline de Boulle est aussi l'auteur d'un roman policier, Lilo (Paris 1961), et de nombreux livres pour adolescents publiés sous le pseudonyme Tim Timmy. (100)[15]

Although *Le desperado* spans more years than just the war, the war is present throughout the work. The novel is divided into two almost equal parts, *Le feu* and *La cendre.* The first few pages are devoted to Luis Miguel being sentenced to death, and then the rest of the intrigue unfolds in a strictly chronological and linear manner, as follows.

[15] The attribution is : Le Soir, 18 Mai 1961, G. Parmentier-De Cant, Livres d'auteurs belges de langue française pour la jeunesse. Essai de bibliographie de 1945 à nos jours, Bruxelles, 1978 [P.A.] This is quite confounding as it appears as though the dictionary combined two reviews. Furthermore, in this instance, the Le Soir date of 1961 predates Franco's death by fourteen years, and the publication date of the essay is three years after Franco's demise.

While Luis Miguel was away during the war, Isabel, whose parents were both killed by Franco's bombs, was raped, became pregnant, and had a child. The novel then covers his time in jail and his relationship to Isabel, as well as that with another woman, Dolorès. Isabel never wavers in her love for him, and upon his release, Dolorès and Isabel help him make the transition to civilian life. Despite many troubles, he eventually marries Isabel, and forms a significant bond with Pilli, her daughter. After the marriage, he has relationships with other women, and although Isabel is unhappy on a certain level, she stays with him, and the marriage appears to be functional. One day, he receives word that his mother is dying, and decides to return to Spain to see her at all costs. He dies on the way while escaping from a train after he has been recognized by the authorities.

Luis Miguel is undoubtedly the protagonist, and Isabel is also an important character. Pilli is significant because of what she represents, although she is more a presence than a voice. Other minor characters appear, such as Conchita, who is romantically involved with a supporter of Franco.

In addition to the dictionary entry, in her 1972 work, Bertrand de Muñoz provides a more thorough plot summary than the one previously cited.

In a footnote, Bertrand de Muñoz writes about Jacqueline De Boulle, "Docteur en droit. Activités dans le monde des affaires, du travail, du journalisme, du cinéma… " (198) In an odd parallel of the female road not taken in female characterization of the literature under examination, one cannot help but notice

that there is a road not taken in biography as the Dictionary entry makes no mention whatsoever of De Boulle's education.

While it is true that there is minimal critical information about Jacqueline De Boulle, the same can be said about Joseph Peyré, the author of *Le pont des sorts.* This might be unremarkable except for the fact that Peyré was awarded the esteemed Goncourt Literary Prize in 1935 for his work *Sang et Lumières.*

Once again, it is Bertrand de Muñoz who provides a more detailed account of Peyré's *Le pont des sorts*.

> [S]on protagoniste, Jean Olçomendy…vétéran de la Grande Guerre, [d]écide un jour d'aller chercher en Espagne l'amitié et la chaleur humaine dont il a besoin, tout en s'occupant des « *Pêcheries du Nord* » ; et il trouve en Ramiro Arocena, un fils de pêcheur de Guetaria, devenu médecin et chef de clinique à Madrid, un ami sincère.
>
> […]il devient « Juan » et il avoue qu'il ne retournerait jamais en France s'il le pouvait. Aux charmes de l'Espagne s'ajoutent les charmes d'Hispana, la fiancée de Ramiro ; sur la demande de celui-ci, il devient son professeur et ressent pour elle une tendresse de père : quand, à la veille de la guerre civile, Ramiro lui demande de conduire Hispana au pays basque chez ses parents. Jean éprouve un plaisir particulier à rendre ce service.

La révolution le rejette dans son pays et il décide de faire maison à part, avec sa vieille bonne espagnole, au grand scandale de tout son milieu : il reste cependant en contact étroit avec ses amis espagnols et ne s'intéresse toujours qu'à la situation du pays voisin…[P]uis au printemps de 1937, à la grande joie de Jean et d'Eugenia, sa servante, Hispana arrive enfin sur un bateau d'exilés espagnols qui fuient, repoussés par les Franquistes. La jeune fille a été infirmière de la « *ceinture de fer* » et « *un émouvant mûrissement l'avait changée* » ; la gamine maladive qu'il avait menée à Guetaria était devenue « *une femme, une épouse digne d'un Basque, et prête à lui donner de beaux enfants* ». Fille d'athée, elle devient peu à peu chrétienne et Jean craint de même qu'elle n'entre au couvent. Ramiro a complètement changé de façon de penser et de voir et il est devenu séparatiste basque ; Jean prend le parti de Ramiro, car il est pour lui un frère, mais il n'a aucun parti-pris politique. Ramiro se bat sur le front catalan et meurt en confiant sa fiancée à Olçomendy, comme il l'avait fait jusque-là.

Jean s'empresse de faire sa femme et quand la guerre mondiale se déclare contre l'Allemagne, c'est Hispana qui l'aide à se retrouver, a redevenir Français ; il redécouvre la solidarité avec ses compatriotes et, en 1940, il invite les gens dont la situation est difficile à passer en

> Espagne. Il est fait prisonnier et envoyé au camp de Tarnow, mais il ne rejette pas cette expérience.
>
> [S]a femme Hispana, qui souffre dans sa chair de la défaite des siens en Espagne, l'aide dans cette voie de la découverte de soi-même : elle l'entraîne avec elle et il retrouve sa propre identité et en même temps la souffrance universelle qu'il faut soulager. L'amitié de Ramiro, l'amour de Hispana, l'exode du peuple espagnol le rendent solidaire de l'humanité tout entière : « *Je pense aux hommes* » nous dit-il une fois revenu du camp de travail. Au lieu de garder ses idéologies désuètes et de s'épuiser en débats périmés, l'homme devrait inventer « *des sagesses à l'échelle d'un univers* ». (139)

In a work entitled *La historia de España en la Literatura Francesa*, published three decades after her seminal work, Bertrand de Muñoz contributed an essay which deals with the perception of the war during the conflict, as well as a second essay about the perception of the war after the conflict. She then follows with a short list of works considers noteworthy, and *Le desperado* as well as *Le pont des sorts* both appear there. (675) Her essay discusses the reception of works during and *after* the war. In writing about the decade of the 1940s, although the writing itself covers five pages, she focuses almost the entirety of her discussion on Sartre and Camus. Moreover, she limits her comments to works published in the 1950s to

a mere two paragraphs. Her final entry is on works from the 1960s and what she calls “el Posfranquismo.”

Commentary

The use of force against undefended civilian targets during the Spanish Civil War, to an extent not seen previously in modern Western Europe, created a fundamental change in the landscape of war. From now on, the general and non-military population would not escape the ravages of modern war. In addition, in the case of the Spanish Civil War, photographers were able to take pictures of particular moments of some of these attacks because cameras were lighter than in previous wars, and this meant that photographers could transport their apparati closer to the areas in which the war was unfolding than in preceding conflicts.[16] Therefore, not only was there a different type of warfare; there were also new ways of documenting it.

Although it is tempting to believe that war photographers immortalize that which they see, and that which their lenses are able to capture, the Spanish Civil War brought with it some staged photographs. The possibility of manipulating images which were thought to be mere mirrors of an objective social reality meant that in addition to representing the merging of home and battle fronts, the people responsible for creating the images could, to a certain degree, actually choose to emphasize this phenomenon. In the Spain of the 1930s, medium became the

[16] *Robert Capa Photographs:* Foreward by Henri Cartier-Bresson, Remembrance by Cornell Capa, Introduction by Richard Whelan, New York, Knopf, 1985, p. 11

message as a prelude to the latter half of the twentieth century in Europe and the Western world.

One of the best known photojournalists who availed himself of these new possibilities was Robert Capa. Richard Whelan comments in his introduction to *Robert Capa Photographs*, "Some of his photographs manifest a lyricism,…and others are…decisively constellated." (10) In addition to providing an innovative type of testimony to the Spanish Civil War, Capa noticed the fact that the war was a particularly virulent one for civilians. He remarked that, "Nowhere is there safety for anyone in this war. The women stay behind but the death from the skies finds them out." (29) This observation was also echoed by Martha Gellhorn, the war correspondent to whom Ernest Hemingway was married for five years, who said that, "What was new and prophetic about the war in Spain was the life of the civilians, who stayed at home and had the war brought to them. The people of Spain were the first to suffer the relentless totality of modern war." [17]

Photographers and journalists took notice of these changes in warfare and its effects, as did artists. One famous artistic reaction was Picasso's well known painting *Guernica*, which was created in part to foment sympathy for the Republican cause. [18] Responses to *Guernica* were polemic as well as aesthetic. Jean Paul Sartre questioned the success of the use of a painting as a recruiting tool. In

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[17] Martha Gellhorn *The Face of War*, New York, The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1988 p. 16

[18] For more on the reaction to Guernica, see "Committed Painting" by Susan Rubin Suleiman, in Denis Holler, ed. *A New History of French Literature*, Cambridge, Harvard U P, 1989 pp. 935-949

fact, he stated in his 1947 work *What is literature?* "And that masterpiece *The Massacre of Guernica*, does anyone think that it won over a single heart to the Spanish cause?" [19]

Although the answer to that question may never be realized with absolute certainty, apparently the painting was powerful enough to generate a fear in certain sectors, of its potential as a possible "weapon" of propaganda. In her discussion on Picasso's political radicalization, Gertje Utley claims that,

> The Spanish government, disappointed with Picasso's insufficiently partisan approach, even considered removing the canvas from the pavilion, a step prevented only by their fear of adverse publicity. Still, *Guernica* did not totally fail as an instrument of propaganda. The Germans, while dismissing it alternately as the work of either a lunatic or of a four-year-old, were sensitive to its damning message and regarded it as a provocation in form and content. (72)

Other scholars, such as Edward Baker, have commented on *Guernica* being "virtually the only historical painting of the 20th century which evokes something approaching universal recognition" (Baker 86). Baker also states that this is odd

[19] Susan Rubin Suleiman, "Committed Painting", *A New History of French Literature*, Denis Holler, ed Cambridge, Harvard U P, 1989 pp. 938

because of Picasso's "indifference to historical subjects" (86), and he concludes that,

> In a sense, Picasso does find a way to paint history, although we are not likely to find it if we examine *Guernica* in search of the historical event, the bombing of that Basque city. Rather, it can be found in the form of circulation and reception of the event, that is to say, as news, concretely, as photographed news. (89)

Whether it swayed public and individual opinions or not, the painting provided the articulation, through art, of a suggestion that in this conflict, there were no boundaries left between the home and battle fronts. In Picasso's representation of a particularly horrific moment in the Spanish Civil War, women occupy a central position when home and battle fronts become intertwined as one single arena of attack. Fernando Arrabal also juxtaposes Guernica and the coming together of the home and battle fronts in his play *Guernica*, in which an old couple is buried under the rubble during the bombing, yet manage to have a conversation. This perspective, however, was not mirrored in the work of this chapter's novelists, Jacqueline De Boulle, and Joseph Peyré, who continued to represent the war as delineated along traditionally established gender and combat boundaries. This authorial choice is central to the phenomenon that one sees repeatedly in the characterization in the Spanish Civil War novels studied in this thesis that war is a fundamentally different experience for women than it is for their male counterparts.

This chapter will explore, through the analysis of female characters, two phenomena. The first is the question of the extent to which the battle front and the home front are represented as an often fused, almost single, entity, or as two separate worlds. The second exploration examines in detail the role of women within these worlds. In Jacqueline de Boulle's novel *Le desperado*, which first appeared in manuscript form in 1954, and which was awarded the Rossel prize, some sixteen years after *Guernica* was displayed to the public at the World's Fair in Paris, the home and battle fronts are depicted as merged for the main female character, Isabel. Yet in spite of this recognition of a changing landscape of war, De Boulle's literary vision of women in the Spanish Civil War remains conventional. The female protagonist, Isabel, as well as the other female characters in De Boulle's novel maintained mainly traditional, home-bound, nurturing, supportive and non-combatant roles for women. In fact, these fictional characters' lives remained centered around domesticity and/or the men in their lives. This is one of several convincing examples of an alternative feminine road not taken in these authors' works.

In *Le desperado*, De Boulle was careful to represent the merging home and battle fronts as a product of a civil war as opposed to another type of war, and in fact, she makes concrete and specific references to the Spanish Civil War. After her parents are killed by Franco's bombs, Isabel is forced to submit to multiple sexual assaults as a means of survival. When she recounts her experience to Luis Miguel, the male protagonist of the novel, De Boulle's choice of images to convey gender

expectations with respect to the war is noteworthy for its charged irony and unspoken allusions to traditional female dependency:

> Au fond, être curé, c'est lâche. On n'a plus de difficultés, le chemin est tout tracé, et l'on sait où l'on va. Mais pour les filles comme moi, qu'est-ce qu'il reste à faire? Quand le vieux Juan Aranja m'a dit: «Tu coucheras avec moi ou je te chasserai de ma ferme». Que devais-je faire? Dis? J'avais quinze ans, et tu m'avais confiée à lui. Tu m'avais dit d'attendre là, jusqu'à ce que tu me reprennes, quand la guerre serait finie. Que devais-je décider, dis-moi Luis Miguel Pereiro? (62)

Although on the surface Isabel appears here as outspoken in her honest, direct response to her devastating experience, (and by the way in which she also candidly states the inevitability of her situation together with a condescending remark about her opinion of the cowardice of choosing the priesthood), a more thorough analysis reveals the extent to which she is bound by conventional ideas. On a certain level, Isabel blames Luis Miguel for not having prevented her sexual abuse. Furthermore, her reference to Luis Miguel's having entrusted her care to another male reiterates the convention whereby a woman is dependent on a man. De Boulle makes no direct or ironic suggestion here of female independence. This may be partially attributable to Isabel's young age at the time of becoming an orphan. However, it is also possible that the decision to present a young woman as dependent on a man emanates from a desire on the part of the author to

perpetuate a traditional model of relationships. There is, without a doubt, irony in the idea of men continuing to be "responsible" for women during the war. It is logistically challenging for any man to be on a battle front, and at the same time to be accountable for the care of a dependent at the home front, yet de Boulle, through Isabel's words, neither challenges this social model nor suggests an alternative one.

However unfeasible on a practical level, the idea of men taking care of women and the war simultaneously also appears in the second novel examined in this chapter, *Le pont des sorts*. This manner of visualizing women as bound to the home front and far from the battle front is persistent in both novels. What is also prevalent in both works is that the men can exercise domination or control over both fronts, and that their physical presence is not necessary to maintain their authority and dominance in the home arena. Male authority holds firm, in absentia, over the domestic realities of war torn Spain of the 20th Century, as surely as that of the departed Crusaders did in the 12th and 13th centuries in Spain and other participating European locales.

It is necessary to clarify exactly what is meant by *Le desperado*'s battle front in the characterization of Luis Miguel. During his incarceration, Luis Miguel Pereiro was not depicted on a battle front for significant periods of time in the war, but his connections to the war, through political activism, which resulted in his confinement, kept him from the home front. Furthermore, his own conflicts between his perceived duties and desires made his self, to quote Catherine Savage

Brosman, "become the ultimate battleground." (61) De Boulle makes the reader keenly aware of this conflict quite early in the novel:

> Mais le séminariste était prisonnier de son éducation, et rien ne pouvait empêcher l'incessant combat intérieur qui se livrait entre l'expansion de l'instinct et la formation religieuse. (22)

Luis Miguel is portrayed as having choices upon which to act throughout the novel**,** whereas Isabel is the polar opposite: she was forced to become a mother, and she felt forced to remain a mother. She never wavered in her love for Luis Miguel. On the contrary, Luis Miguel is depicted as suffering the agonizing self-generated and self-driven conflicts of internal debate. The resulting complexity of his character and of his choices serves to cast Isabel in a more simplistic and one-dimensional light. Isabel is never torn by her choices as Luis Miguel is. This begs the question of why Luis Miguel's characterization is so much more layered than hers. It is possible that through the characterization of Luis Miguel, De Boulle indicates that, while Luis Miguel is the prisoner of a theological education, Isabel is equally imprisoned by her simpler, dependant, emotional tie to him. De Boulle is thus incorporating into her novel her own views with respect to the clergy and the Church and is connecting these to her central narrative and character concerns. These views are encoded in the nickname, "*le prêtre rouge"*, which de Boulle bestows on Luis Miguel, thus making him simultaneously answerable to an affiliation both to Catholicism and to politics of the left. While Isabel is shown to be

more bound to the traditional role of woman as dependent, and Luis Miguel's unusual combination of affiliations distinguish him as a more non-traditional example of a wartime male protagonist, neither Isabel nor Luis Miguel escape their reliance on traditional gender roles, although de Boulle has been careful to allow Luis Miguel some idiosyncratic leeway, since she never challenges him about this; she does however, challenge him about other matters.

Bertrand de Muñoz attributes this unusual pairing of affiliations to immaturity and the lack of habit or experience in taking decisions (198), as opposed to choice. In other words, Luis Miguel's involvement in Catholicism was more dictated by his parents' desires than his own, and the same can be said of his political allegiance. In spite of the fact that De Boulle creates a life for Luis Miguel with more open boundaries, and therefore less adherence to tradition than that of Isabel, both characters are portrayed as succumbing to fate, or circumstances which are or are perceived to be beyond their control.

This subtle distinction results in Isabel's greater reliance than Luis Miguel on her ancient prototype, in her case, that of a dependent woman. Isabel constantly divides her meaning between individual character with her emblematic status as woman suffering sexually in war and woman as grand principal of fertility and maternity. Isabel's body is thus as much an arena of battle as the Spanish soil itself; yet she also takes on the ensuing, life-bearing properties of human procreation. De Boulle has thus provided, in the Luis Miguel/Isabel relationship, a paradigm of male involvement in participative warfare and professional, theological activity set

against the female assaulted by warfare and consequent devoted, unquestioning maternal dedication. De Boulle's heroines, therefore, are not presented as classical military co-warriors with men in *Le desperado,* but occupy supporting roles, primarily as nurturers. De Boulle reiterates this point in unambiguous terms when, upon his release from prison, Luis Miguel is escorted by Isabel and Dolorès, who accompany and nurse him for the first few days, Conchita, Dolorès's sister, remarks, "Ces deux femmes vont te rendre malade à vouloir trop bien te nourrir" (109). These words constitute one more instance of a conventional depiction of women within the war context who continue to exercise their ancient roles of nurturers, healers, and maternal guardians.

The role of women in *Le desperado* with and that found in Ernest Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* yields useful comparisons. In De Boulle's oeuvre, women tend to the physical, emotional and sexual needs of their "heroes", but they, the women, do not usurp male heroism as one might define heroism in military terms. This is not the case in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. Gail Sinclair points out in "Female Foundations and 'The Undiscovered Country' in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*" that

> Both Pilar and Maria exhibit a stoic courage we might hold up to that of the young male Hemingway protagonists- Robert Jordan, Jake Barnes, Frederic Henry. The women exhibit greater inner fortitude while participating in the same essentially male-dominated world waged in brutal war and rugged survival. (96)

In De Boulle's novel, women are not actively involved in war the same way that men are; yet Isabel's life is dominated, to some extent, by a missing male, away following the serious business of war: the unknown father of her child. This paternal mystery takes place in addition to having to suffer the sudden loss of her parents, repeated rapes, and the absence of the young man she loved. Although the novelist never reveals the identity of the father of Isabel's daughter Pilli, the reader *is* told that the girl's father is not Luis Miguel. Isabel does have a notion that the child's father comes from a particular family, secretly hoping that the father is the young grandson, as she feels less antipathy toward him than toward other generations of the same family. "Je ne connais pas son père, dit Isabel. Je ne peux même pas deviner qui. Je crois, j'espère qu'il s'agit du petit-fils de Juan Aranja, celui qui avait seize ans." (64) The very fact that the father of her child is someone she knows as opposed to being a complete stranger underlines the civil war contours of her situation. The information that Isabel knew her rapists underscores the fact that, in theory, any person or neighbor could be the father of Isabel's child. The pregnancy and child are, one could argue, public evidence of events that were brought about by the civil war: the very access that these men had to Isabel was brought about by the loss of her parents. She was politically unprotected, so to speak**,** not only from foreigners sweeping in on an invasion, but also from the assaults of her compatriots and neighbors. One might ask if De Boulle was creating the quintessential civil war victim through Isabel: an orphaned rape survivor who will have a lifelong reminder -

her child- of the ordeal. If so, one wonders at De Boulle's adherence to convention in her depiction of women. One obvious answer is that the real and present danger to vulnerable women lies not only at the boots of foreign invaders, but in the roots of social relations themselves. As such, De Boulle's emphasis on female vulnerability to friends and community is an overture to a consciousness of later decades in the Western world, where societal order itself, and not external enemy forces, came to be seen as the very core of the problem of female parity and full female participation. It would be during these later decades that the arena of domestic violence became a focal point for the healing and revolutionary aspects of various women's movements in diverse European and American writings and social actions. From a literary and moral point of view, the brutality visited on Isabel is all the more chilling, coming as it does from those compatriots whose fraternal and protective instincts have been corrupted and so thus become for Isabel emblematic of the enemy. Luis Miguel, on the other hand, never has to deal similarly and directly with the enemy within. He is much more clearly delineated as having to face the "other", a clearly named and defined enemy, the fascists, with any dissenting and complex voices coming from his own, internally divided nature. Isabel's fractured struggle is one that is involved with her community, which has turned against her. Again, more weight is thus given to Luis Miguel's internal nature than is to Isabel, whose self and self transformations--of pregnancy and child bearing--are bound up with her external societal life. Isabel, then, simply cannot, because of the procreative situation de Boulle has created, achieve as much rich, nuanced, independent

selfhood as Luis Miguel. One is also reminded that Maria, Hemingway's character, is also an orphan because of the fascists, and a rape victim. However, Maria does not become pregnant and is thus spared the complications of Isabel's deeper civil war involvement and more complex relationship with her community. Luis Miguel's complex intricate inner turmoil is generated by his own complex nature; Isabel's derives from the crimes committed against her by "friend" and neighbor and is therefore less dependent on her own psychology than on the socially abhorrent actions of rapists taking advantage of women's vulnerability during the war.

Thus, there are certain definite associations between rape and war**,** and these have captured the attention of scholars of literature. In analyzing how forced sexual relations are depicted in war literature. Margaret Higonnet makes the following remarks:

> It is my thesis that civil war, which take place on "home" territory, have more potential than other wars to transform women's expectations. In all wars roles traditionally assigned to women are political in the sense that to maintain the hearth takes on ideological coloration. Yet *nationalist* wars against an external enemy repress internal political division and with them feminist movements. *Civil* wars by contrast may occasion explicit political choices for women. Once a change in government can be conceived, sexual politics can also become an overt political issue; thus in the legend of Lucretia,

> her rape and suicide precipitate the revolt of Brutus against the Tarquins. The sexual struggle lays bare political tyranny. Inversely, civil war serves as emblem and catalyst in the social prescription of sexual roles. (80-81)

The roles in Isabel's case are as victim of her rapists, and shortly afterwards, as protector of her child. Motherhood is a role she takes seriously, as she tells Luis Miguel in no uncertain terms that in spite of clearly articulated ambivalence about her feelings for her child, she emphatically wishes to prevent her from undergoing the same type of trauma that she did.

> Je la haïs parce qu'elle n'est pas ton enfant, Luis Miguel, et si tu le veux, je l'abandonnerai, parce que je t'aime et que je t'attendrai treize ans. Je l'abandonnerai, et lorsque je me la rappellerai, mon cœur crèvera, parce qu'elle sera seule, abandonnée et orpheline, et quand elle aura quinze ans, le grand-père de la ferme couchera avec elle. (65)

It is curious that even though the novel spans many years in Isabel and Luis Miguel's lives, at the end of the work**,** Isabel does not appear to have been seriously or profoundly transformed by the war, with the exception of her motherhood. One wonders whether De Boulle did not express greater changes in Isabel's character as a tribute to her resilience or as an oversight. Isabel's consistency throughout the novel is in stark contrast to Luis Miguel, who becomes a "*desperado*" when he

achieves what he had believed to be his objectives. De Boulle might be suggesting here that in contradistinction to Luis Miguel's complete dissatisfaction with his life and circumstances, Isabel adapts to her roles with considerable grace. One speculates whether De Boulle is hinting that women can somehow conform to motherhood--i.e., that it is a "natural" state for them, whereas fatherhood does not take on the same significance. Luis Miguel is dear to Pilli, Isabel's daughter, and he is fond of her, but this fondness is not enough to stop him from knowingly risking his own life in order to see his dying mother. In De Boulle's novelistic world, Luis Miguel's wishes are permanently unfulfilled, and somehow unattainable**;** yet by his leaving, De Boulle assigns Luis Miguel's immediate needs greater importance than Isabel's and/or Pilli's combined emotional needs. By making Luis Miguel so emotionally independent and making Isabel so dependent on such an independent man, De Boulle is emphasizing the long term emotional ravages and consequences of the war on undefended civilians. All of these aspects of the characterization of Isabel reiterate the road not taken: De Boulle could have created a more autonomous female, yet she chose otherwise.

In addition to depicting Isabel and Luis Miguel as having different needs, De Boulle portrays them as dissimilar in the way they perceive and assimilate the immediate. This idea of women having superior vision to men is echoed in many of the texts studied in this dissertation. Robert Crozier, S.J. studies the question of the symbolic structure of the later Hemingway works, whose symbolic structure Crozier describes as "a combination of realistic action reinforced by symbolic allusion and

interpretation" (2). He claims that Pilar and Maria (as well as Renata, who will not be discussed here)

> [a]re not just didactic figures. They do live the reality suggested by their symbolic sources and associations. The qualities they possess as women and share with, reproduce, or draw out of men can be reduced to six: 1. a way of seeing hearing and knowing; 2. a special sense of time; 3. an ability to love truth, and, therefore, to face death squarely; 4. an exceptional understanding of the possible and with it a capacity for tenacious fidelity and endurance; 5. a hope for a better world and a desire to create and raise children for that world; and 6. a subtle, realistic sense of human brotherhood. These are the basic feminine characteristics seen by Hemingway as distinctive in themselves and yet communicable to and needed by men. (2)

This theoretical model presents some intriguing points, as well as some problematic ones. For example, there is persistence here of a conventional association of women and childbearing. In addition, Crozier does not explain how he arrived at the idea that women have "hope for a better world". However, in spite of these limitations, one does see the applicability of some of these qualities in French novels on the Spanish Civil War. One convincing example occurs in Jean Pierre Simon's novel *Terre de violence* (1959), which is equally divided between the Spanish Civil War and World War II, suggesting that there is a strong connection between the two. When the author describes a conversation between two

characters, Pépita and Jean, she looks up at the sky, and he remarks upon the beauty of what he believes to be a shooting star. Her interpretation of what they are observing is much more complex.

> -Regarde, Pépita, une étoile filante!
>
> -Mauvais signe!
>
> -Pourquoi?
>
> -La Purisima dit que les étoiles filantes sont des larmes du Christ. Et puis, le village a pris un aspect insolite. Je sens qu'il va bientôt se passer quelque chose…Les vieux ont peur, au fond de leurs maisons. Le soleil est plus lourd que d'habitude, et le viel Aranja a vu trois corbeaux survoler le côté gauche de l'église. Tu comprends ce que cela veut dire?
>
> -Une vieille superstition latine.
>
> -Des mots…
>
> -Tu vas trop souvent chez la Purisima.
>
> -Vous autres, vous expliquez les choses avec les mots. Nous, nous voyons ce qu'il y a derrière les choses.
>
> -Et que vois-tu derrière les corbeaux?
>
> -Les Maures. (46)

Later in the novel, Pépita will be proven right. The Moors do indeed attack, and the "shooting star" was in fact enemy gunfire. This is an example of woman's vision

and, to use Crozier's terms, female "assimilation of the immediate in the metaphysics of warfare" as superior to a man's assessment of the same situation.

Another example of this type of interaction, in which a woman has a way of seeing and hearing that she expresses, but does not "share, reproduce or draw out of a man" occurs in *Le desperado*, when Isabel visits Luis Miguel in jail after he has been condemned to a lifetime of imprisonment for supposed treason. When they have the following conversation, Isabel reveals her belief that her dreams of marrying have been shattered because of the war. "Maintenant qu'ils t'ont condamné, tu ne pourras plus m'épouser, dit Isabel. – Je ne te l'avais jamais promis. – Il se reprit aussitôt.- Que tu es folle, il n'en a jamais été question. – Tu sais bien que si, dit-elle" (20) Therefore, Luis Miguel's sentence and jail term have become, in de Boulle's presentation**,** means through which the battle front invades the home front in her life.

Although she is a fictional creation, the characterization of Isabel embodies many of the issues that plagued women in Spain during the 1930s. According to some historians, women were fighting to change several of these issues. In her 1995 work *Defying Male Civilization: Women in the Spanish Civil War*, Mary Nash offers one viewpoint:

> Indeed, from an anarchist or socialist perspective, the dominant ideology of domesticity was so pervasive that gender values continued to be internalized by women. But Spanish women cannot be considered as mere passive victims; they were active

> agents in promoting social transformations that questioned existing gender relations. Nevertheless, the overwhelmingly powerful, coercive mechanisms of gender control in an already conservative society made it extremely difficult for Spanish women to attain a collective social and feminist consciousness and to struggle to improve their lot. (14)

Therefore, although there is evidence that some Spanish women were trying to combat the prevailing "ideology of domesticity," De Boulle does not make her main female fictional character, Isabel, identify with that sector of society that was struggling for change. By portraying her thus, De Boulle alludes to the impossibility of a positive social change or a change in status. This choice of portraying Isabel as conventional is a direct reflection of the idea expressed by Rosemary Ridd**,** that "war can be an inherently conservative agent for women", and that "women are often presented as the custodians of a society's cultural values" (3)**.** The questions of exactly what these values were in prewar Spain still remains the subject of lively debate.

Another observation with respect to a traditional depiction is that Isabel is described as somewhat uneducated whereas her great love, Luis Miguel, is highly educated. One wonders why Jacqueline de Boulle chose to represent Isabel as loving and loyal, yet unsophisticated. This is another example of a deliberate decision, or a road not taken. On the one hand, female illiteracy rates were higher than those of males at that time (Nash 19). On the other hand, since this was a

work of fiction; the author was not compelled to represent women in a way that was *vraisemblable* or believable. One wonders why De Boulle portrayed Luis Miguel as having a monopoly on knowledge acquired through study. It is clear that this knowledge was of a theoretical, as opposed to practical, nature. Moreover, it was of extremely limited value to him on an affective or personal level, as he was unable to adapt to life outside prison in a successful manner in the long term.

In this question of male and female education, the two novels, *Le desperado* and *Le pont des sorts* have much in common. After all, Juan, the World War I veteran, first has contact with Hispana in *Le pont des sorts* as her tutor. She wishes to be, in her own words, a more fitting or suitable companion to her fiancé Ramiro, a doctor. In the beginning and middle of the novel, the narrator makes references to Hispana's lack of formal knowledge. Yet, by the end of the novel, she is worldlier, even conversant in Basque. Peyré utilizes Hispana's connection to the Basque language as a mirror of Juan's measure of Hispana's identity, because as she acquires more competence in the language, he also sees her in an increasingly positive light. Furthermore, throughout the novel, Hispana's acquisition of Basque ties her identity to both the Church and the war. The reader's first exposure to the competing pressures on Hispana occurs fairly late in the novel (p. 178), but after that, references to her acquisition of the Basque language are quite frequent. In the

following quote, the reader understands that the Church and an acquaintance are wrestling for control over a woman.[20]

> Le musicien s'émerveillait de voir Hispana, fille de la capitale pourtant, éprise de la terre natale de son novio au point de vouloir en apprendre la langue, ce qui n'arrivait jamais à un étranger. Cette résolution insolite d'Hispana avait du reste donné lieu à un combat assez sévère entre moi et l'abbé Altolaguirre, dont j'estimais déjà suffisante l'influence du confesseur. Je n'avais pas voulu lui laisser de surcroît l'avantage d'instruire sa pénitente en langue basque, et c'était moi qui assumais l'initiation de celle-ci, dans mon dialecte de basque français de Labourdin. (178)

A mere nine pages later, the reader is once again reminded of the barometer of the Basque language as a measure of Hispana's conformity to Juan's prescribed roles for her. "C'était aussi l'heure de la leçon de basque. Car la plupart du temps, Hispana était prise par notre centre d'accueil et l'ouvroir. Dans la rue, je lui parlais donc basque, et elle arrivait déjà à m'entendre un peu". (187) Unlike Isabel in *Le desperado*, here there is a transformation in a female character. Juan

[20] The idea of male domination and control of women's knowledge will be discussed in depth in Chapter III, "Women, Men and Ideology", which discusses Simone Téry's *La porte du soleil* (1946), and Michel del Castillo's *Le colleur d'affiches* (1958). In these novels, both female protagonists become exposed to leftist ideology through their relationships with men.

and Hispana's relationship is depicted as more harmonious when Hispana conforms to Juan's definition of an ideal identity for her. Isabel, on the other hand, is always seen as somehow falling short of an ideal, somehow missing the mark. Towards the end of *Le pont des sorts*, the phenomenon of Hispana's mastering the Basque language takes on greater significance as it is here portrayed in an even more positive light than earlier in the novel.

> -Pourquoi voulez-vous me séparer de vous? Nous ne faisons plus qu'un.
>
> Elle n'ajouta pas qu'elle était heureuse de m'aider à me racheter, mais je savais qu'elle partageait mon sentiment. Elle s'avéra d'ailleurs d'autant plus efficace qu'elle parlait déjà suffisament le basque pour traiter avec les passeurs, et elle fut en toute circonstance aussi courageuse que sûre. (253)

The choice here of the word "*courageuse*," brave, to describe Hispana when she does what he wants, serves to emphasize the narrator's assessment of the quality of Hispana's will. Both authors, Jacqueline de Boulle and Joseph Peyré, one a woman, and one a man, portray their male and female and characters in a similar manner within the context of the Spanish Civil War, during which neither female character competes with a man in terms of knowledge and intelligence. However, in spite of this non-competition between the sexes, Hispana has "courageously" learned and expanded her intellectual and communicative abilities.

An analysis of men consistently depicted as monopolizing knowledge lends itself to multiple interpretations. There is a suggestion here that knowledge cannot be transferred in a war the same way it can be transferred outside of the war context. Had Ramiro *not* been killed, Hispana would have "received" knowledge through him, *and* through Juan, in his capacity as her tutor. Clearly this world view has implications for a war's aftermath as well. If, according to this paradigm, men are more knowledgeable than women, and men are killed in theoretically greater numbers than women, then war will permanently alter the intellectual landscape. It is disturbing that, given the choice of where to place women's intellect with respect to men in their novels, both authors insist on roles of superiority for the men, and inferiority for the women. In light of the significance in the novel on of Hispana's learning Basque, attention must be paid to the educational ramifications surrounding the emancipation of women: Peyré makes the point lightly, but the reader is left wondering about the role of Hispana's newly acquired linguistic skills. The birth of her language competency is thus juxtaposed against the impending birth of her child, and points to the larger issue of the future of educated women in a future, post-bellum Spain.

The characterization of Hispana is quintessentially traditional, but what is not immediately apparent is just how much more traditional Hispana is than other Spanish women depicted in Spanish Civil War fiction. An interesting picture of Hispana emerges in a comparison of her to Maria in *For Whom The Bell Tolls.*

One characteristic that Maria and Hispana have in common is that Hispana readily accepts the idea that she is somehow supposed to "belong" to a man, or that only a man can offer a woman a degree of fulfillment. Like Hispana**,** Maria sees herself in terms of her belonging to a man, in this case, Robert Jordan. However, Maria is "within a few hours of her arrival, a willing sexual partner" for Robert Jordan**,** as Gail Sinclair remarks (95). This is in contradistinction to Hispana, whose relationship with Juan is platonic until Ramiro dies and entrusts Hispana to Juan and vice versa. When Juan receives a letter that Ramiro has written while wounded, and before he dies, the letter clearly states: "Je n'ai plus la force d'écrire…. Je n'ai plus que deux choses à te dire…Et que je te confie Hispana." (200) And to Hispana, a different letter from Ramiro, written at the same time, states: "Il te reste Juan. Aussi, je pars tranquille" (200).

Hispana is in essence a virginal or blank slate upon which Jean can impose his intellectual and sexual desires. In other words, Hispana can be categorized as the personification of what Sinclair would call "Hemingway's undeveloped, blank, embryonic female whose idealized selflessness fulfills male sexual fantasy" (95). This is reinforced throughout the novel. Peyré repeatedly makes mention of Hispana's desire to improve herself in order to become more desirable to men in various capacities, such as becoming more cultivated, and being the perfect Basque housewife; yet she only expresses her own needs once: when she believes that Ramiro may be facing danger.

- Cette fois, j'ai failli partir.

- Partir où?

- Rejoindre Ramiro.

- Tu sais bien que c'est impossible.

- Je suis à bout, Juan. Je ne peux plus supporter d'être à l'abri alors qu'il est exposé et il souffre. ..(191)

One might, at first, visualize the relationship between Hispana, Ramiro and Juan as a triangle. Nevertheless, Hispana's presence in the triangle is so debatable, that one could really see the trio as a straight line with one man on either end, and the woman as a floating presence somewhere in the middle of the two of them. In fact, the author's emphasis is more on the friendship and trust between Ramiro and Juan than on anything else. Also, Ramiro bequeathing her to Jean like so much mere chattel and goods is surely relevant here as a conventional attitude of a male possessing a woman as property.

In this unlikely relationship, a dead man's wishes are given value, yet a live woman's wishes do not even form part of the design. In terms of male patriarchy, it is a nearly perfect system of the perpetuation of life: a man dies, but leaves instructions, which are followed to the letter, as to who should take over. The woman's wishes are never even considered. There is a suggestion that if this were a competition, Juan was the superior warrior, since he did not lose his life, whereas Ramiro did. Peyré seems to be proposing that Hispana was Juan's prize or reward for his superior combat survival skills. It is also possible that Peyré was making a

statement about the fact that a World War I veteran survived, and a combatant in the Spanish Civil War did not. There is an implication on the part of Peyré that combat in the Spanish Civil War was more lethal than that of World War I.

It is also possible that Peyré, by structuring a relationship**,** then another relationship and then certain favorable circumstances that allow a relationship to flourish, and de Boulle, by structuring a novelistic marriage that works in the beginning, are attempting to circumnavigate the war's devastating effects. In other words, there is a continuity of life**--**one thinks of Isabel's child--in spite of the devastation. However, an alternative interpretation is possible: this fraternal sharing between Ramiro and Juan glorifies the war in that it accentuates human behavior normally associated with positive traits: cooperation, collaboration, loyalty. Certainly the reader realizes that the relationship between the veteran and the warrior is given greater value than the relationship between the veteran and the warrior's fiancée. There is a suggestion that lies beneath this constellation of relationships: the veteran and the warrior have more in common than do the veteran and his friend's fiancée or, for that matter, do Ramiro, the soldier, and his fiancée.

The intellectual differences between Ramiro/Juan and Hispana also underscore crucial differences in self appraisal of both male and female protagonists. It is interesting that the author portrays his female protagonist as someone who perceives herself as intellectually inferior to her partner. After all, he is self-taught and is a doctor, which leads the reader to believe that the male is an

example of someone who overcame academic limitations. Therefore, Hispana is being held to a male standard of achievement even though society placed other demands on her as well. However, one characteristic sets her apart from Ramiro: she always sees herself in self-effacing terms whereas Ramiro is confident about himself and his opinions. One sees this repeatedly in the first half of the text, when Ramiro is frequently involved in political discussions.

In both novels in this chapter, *Le desperado* and *Le pont des sorts*, the authors perpetuate female victimization as opposed to female empowerment, and exemplify this in both the characterizations of the two female protagonists, Isabel and Hispana. By drawing such uncompromising lines between the home and battle fronts, De Boulle and Peyré reinforce a traditional model of relationships whereby men enjoy greater control over their own lives than do women. In fact, men, even while absent from the home front because they are engaged in the battle front, can still exercise control over both Isabel's and Hispana's lives. The examples previously discussed are Isabel's rape (and Luis Miguel's initial rejection of her as a result of it), and Hispana's widowhood and forced courtship with Juan.

An additional example of men exercising control over the home front, even while not physically there, occurs in *Le pont des sorts*, when Ramiro's wishes are essentially echoed through his mother when she comments about some of Hispana's wartime activities of taking care of the injured:

> Dans la capitale basque assiégée, sous des pluies de fjord norvégien, Hispana s'était employée à soigner les blessés, et elle avait fait là son

> apprentissage de femme. « Le ménage viendra plus tard, lorsque nous retrouverons nos maisons, commentait la mère de Ramiro. Mais il est bon qu'une novia apprenne, pour pouvoir un jour soigner ses enfants et les siens. » (148)

It is essential to bear in mind that both of these novels were written in French, and that the female characterization in a novel written in English by Hemingway is completely different from that of either De Boulle or Peyré. Critical work by Robert Crozier on Hemingway's characterization points out that his female characters possess superior vision to that of the men, and at the same time are able to *willingly* act alongside men in battle. Isabel and Hispana**,** despite their occasional superior vision, remain nonetheless guardians of certain traditional values whereas Maria, and other women in Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* hold out hope for a better, new world. There is thus recognition in Hemingway's vision that the present world is flawed. Hemingway's male and female characters are, on some level, different yet equal. On the other hand, De Boulle and Peyré's male and female characters are different and unequal.

De Boulle and Peyré's stringency with respect to the separation of the home and battle fronts is not always in agreement with some historical accounts of what some historians believe actually took place**.** Women's involvement during the war might have been more nuanced than what De Boulle or Peyré depicted in writing about the war after two decades had passed. Mary Nash, in her article "Milicianas

and Home Front Heroines: Images of Women in Revolutionary Spain (1936-1939)", writes:

> The massive mobilization of the population and the general broadening of people's activities signified, to a varying degree, a breakdown in the traditional confinement of women to the home and gave way to their heightened visibility in the public arena. Of course such a breakdown was not generalised throughout all of Republican Spain and there were steep differences in the patterns of female mobilisation and protagonism throughout all the different regions. Nevertheless the war needs and the initial impulse of the revolutionary process provoked a significant degree of discontinuity with regards to views on the social role of women, although a redefinition of social relations between the sexes and a total questioning of women's social role was not to be attained. At any rate the scenario had changed, the antifascist war and a revolutionary dynamics constituted an exciting ambience and a new context for potential change for women. Despite traditional constrictions, many women were to adapt swiftly to this changing setting and eagerly partake in the struggle against fascism, breaching traditional constraints to women's protagonism beyond the confines of the home. Female marginality from the public sphere came to be questioned although the gender boundaries of social roles were re-

> defined on the lines of female mobilisation at the homefront and male resistance as soldiers in arms at the battlefields. (241-242)

It is worth noting that Mary Nash uses the word *potential* with respect to possible change in women's roles during the war. In analyzing the road not taken with respect to De Boulle's characterization of Isabel, it must be recognized that De Boulle deprives her young protagonist of choice in determining the roads she can follow: her pregnancy precludes any further active battle involvement on her part. Her destiny at this point simply cannot be divorced from her biological condition, and she thus becomes a tragic victim of her circumstances, one unable to exercise any meaningful choice. Another equally plausible interpretation is that Isabel was not particularly interested in change. It is difficult to argue either case with absolute certainty, as she was so young both when she was orphaned and when she gave birth. In choosing to create a character whose adolescence, orphanhood and maternity coincide with the war, De Boulle is simultaneously creating an amalgamation and a strict division between the home and battle fronts. On the one hand, the absence of both parents and the existence of a child, Pilli, are permanent reminders of the war. On the other hand, since Isabel must take care of her child, De Boulle restricts her access to the battle front, yet, at the same time, reinforces her presence at the home front. Furthermore, given that the pregnancy was a consequence of rape, De Boulle sets up a situation in which her female character is essentially forced to stay at the home front. Isabel's tragedy derives from her vulnerability at home, a vulnerability induced by the wartime murder of her

parents. She is a casualty of the home front but is then required to remain on this battleground. Unlike the wounded, male soldiers of the actual battleground, who are removed from the arena of fighting, Isabel has no recourse but to remain in uniform at the site of her battle. In this sense, her role as eternal female and as guardian of the home and hearth is reinforced at the expense of any other more active, displaced and far-ranging troop mobility of which the male protagonist can partake. The opportunities outlined by Nash are simply not available to Isabel, whose lack of choice about her pregnancy becomes one more element of a traditional, Catholic landscape of rural Spain. Her ability to transform this landscape is thus limited. Isabel *is* the land of Spain- a raped and violated Spain--while Luis Miguel is permitted to work as a catalyst for the husbandry of this land. In this way De Boulle intertwines the immediate narrative concerns of her characters with those of larger, older sociopolitical and archetypal threads. Such complexity lends resonance to the stories of both male and female protagonist and at the same time delineates their potential and actual possibilities. In this novel, only the male protagonist is granted the ability to actively work in and on a different, crucial and dangerous terrain, beyond the immediate and domestic world to which Isabel is bound. While Isabel has faced assault and dangers on this territory, she is not forging or creating any new social realities. Her creative energies are tied to her motherhood: in this sense, her maternity incorporates renunciation of further political or military action, while Luis Miguel will be able to address himself to both. Therefore, Isabel's political involvement remains at the level of potential.

One mechanism for analyzing this insistence on conventional women characters in *Le desperado* is to turn to a woman writer who indeed did create autonomous female characters, and to compare them to Isabel. Carmen de Burgos (1867-1932) is a case in point. She is not particularly well known by her birth name, but rather her pen name of *Colombine.* She was an inexhaustible author of both feminist treatises *and* fiction. In a recent review of her work, Leslie Turano comments,

> What marks out Burgos as worthy of particular attention is that, as a writer of fiction, she used melodrama, normally a conservative genre, to subversive effect as a weapon of attack on a legal system which perpetuated injustices against women. (411)

Therefore, it is not surprising that Carmen de Burgos's fiction provides numerous examples of archetypes of less conventional female characters. In commenting on the development of her characterization, Maryellen Bieder, offers some remarks worthy of note:

> To counter the weight of prevailing gender construction, Burgos's fiction often takes as its point of departure the dominant cultural paradigm: woman as daughter, wife, and mother, shaped by the example of her own mother. To open up space for gender redefinition, especially for lower-middle class working women, Burgos

> makes her protagonists motherless, orphans, or, if married, childless. This allows them to tread their own moral, economic, and social path without a model to follow, thus creating the work's dramatic tension. Novels and the example of other women also exercise an influence on the choices a character makes, as does, disastrously, her own romantic idealism. The woman who violates gender norms, even under legal protection, ends up isolated and alone. (254)

Although there are some circumstances in Isabel's life that meet certain criteria according to this prototype of gender redefinition, others are absent. As the reader knows, she is an orphan. However, she is obviously not childless. Because De Boulle's perseverance in the use of convention in Isabel's identity is tied to the question of motherhood, as Bieder's theory suggests since the consequences of Isabel's pregnancy narrow her opportunities, it becomes useful to consider Hispana in this regard. Hispana, is also unmarried and childless throughout most of the novel. Evidently, Hispana's motherhood impinges less on Peyré's unfolding of the drama than Isabel's does to de Boulle. Hispana is thus closer to Hemingway's Maria for most of the novel and can make purer, more unimpeded choices than Isabel ever can. Although De Boulle and Peyré depict motherhood very differently for Isabel and Hispana, both of them finally adopt for their characters traditional and devoted attitudes toward their children's upbringing. For Isabel, in many ways, *single* motherhood is the crux of her sense of self, and as stated earlier, she does

not experience much transformation outside of motherhood. Hispana, on the other hand, experiences several changes in identity before becoming a mother, yet Peyré tends to delineate her in terms of her relationships with men. It is likely that both authors viewed Spanish women in a context that could be defined as picturesque. Lisa Vollendorf made some significant observations which provide a possible explanation for this,

> While it may seem odd that Spain does not figure prominently in an international intellectual economy that sees the developed West as the primary producer of feminist thought, this marginalization is part of the larger phenomenon of treating Spain as an anomaly in western Europe. Spain's cultural makeup (Christian, Jewish, Muslim) and geographical location (at the edge of Europe) have contributed to its unique history. This cultural and historical specificity has led to a tendency among non-Spanish academics to treat all things Spanish as separate, different, even disconnected from the rest of Western Europe. (2)

The falling into traditional roles of both Isabel and Hispana appear to bear this out, while an American version of this in Hemingway opens more space for his female character, Maria. Both *Le desperado* and *Le pont des sorts* reserve only one, traditional destiny for their female protagonists. On the other hand, one may argue that Hemingway's whining about his own bodily damage lends male self-absorption

much credence: at least De Boulle and Peyré have allowed much consideration for the bodily destinies of their women- or have at least given them equal time.

In his work *The Rhetoric of Fiction,* Wayne Booth discusses the function of chance in novels,

> Most writers who have tried to make their *subjects* real have sooner or later found themselves, like James and Sartre, also seeking a realistic *structure* or shape of events, and wrestling with the question of how to make that shape seem a probable reflection of the shapes into which life itself falls. To some it has seemed unrealistic to show chance at work in the fictional world; to others a careful chain of cause and effect is forbidden, since in real life chance plays an obviously great role. Some have developed conclusive endings or soaring climaxes or clear and direct opening expositions, since they are never found in life. Most deprecations of plot are based on the claim that life does not provide plots, and literature should be like life. (56)

When de Boulle creates a character like Isabel who encounters chance in the form of rape and pregnancy and whose continuing wartime activities are thus curtailed, it is this same chance which thereby delivers to another character, Luis Miguel, the onus and burden of further active resistance. The gender differences and different destinies thus embroiled in the narrative of civil war are finely drawn

out in a novel like *Le desperado*, while the different directions of gender and female destiny in *Le pont des sorts* point to fascinating differences between these male and female writers' characterizations.

Thus, this masculine and the feminine treatments of women characters during the civil war serve as an introduction to subsequent chapters in which the gender-based nuances of a novelistic approach to the vagaries of a destructive civil war will be explored from other perspectives.

Chapter II:

The Domination of Tradition in the Depiction of Female Warriors

Synopsis and Criticism of Jacques Bureau's *Trois pierres chaudes en Espagne* (1958) and José Luis de Vilallonga's *Allegro barbaro* (1967)

It is a daunting task to find criticism of Jacques Bureau's novel, and it is also equally challenging to find out more about him other than his interest in jazz. Some of the impenetrability of information about his life may be partially attributable to the fact that his name is so common. The year of his birth, 1912, was on a New York Public Library entry for *Trois pierres chaudes en Espagne*. Furthermore, according to the Worldcat database, a total of eleven libraries own this work. In spite of repeated efforts, I was unable to find any synopses and/or reviews other than that of Bertrand de Muñoz,

> [L]es trois premiers chapitres et les sous-chapitres du premier commencent par quelques pages en italique et présentent une situation actuelle et par la suite Jean nous parle de sa vie passée. Cette structure s'avère assez ingénieuse et l'auteur retient l'attention du lecteur qui jusqu'au dernier moment ne peut dénouer l'intrigue. Chaque chapitre, sauf le dernier, s'ouvre sur la mort imminente de Jean en Espagne…[A]près ces introductions, nous revoyons avec Jean toute sa vie depuis son enfance, selon un ordre rigoureux : ceci ajoute à

> l'embarras du lecteur, car normalement on imagine un moribond passant d'un épisode à un autre sans ordre logique. Nous apprenons que Jean est originaire d'un petit village près du Puy-de-Dôme et que sa mère mourut quand il avait dix ans : nous voyons défiler les maîtresses de son père, un riche industriel, les oncles, les cousines, les amis, le grand père, les voisins, les ouvriers et les filles de l'usine, les aventures amoureuses de l'adolescence. Puis Jean commence à fréquenter les étrangères qui visitent la ville et un soir une d'entre elles lui dit :« *Jean…on va se battre en Espagne ».* ..
>
> [D]ans le reste du roman, la confusion augmente et le lecteur ne sait plus à quoi s'attendre…[J]ean fait le récit de la vie de Jeanne, beaucoup plus succinctement que de la sienne jusqu'au moment de leur encontre, et ensuite de leur vie commune : ils se sont aimés pendant douze mois : ils vivaient pauvrement, exerçant tous les métiers, mais ils étaient heureux. Le monde était plein d'infamies, on ne parlait presque plus de la guerre d'Espagne. (163)

Muñoz' initial synopsis is followed by some commentary which refers to Jeanne's assassination of Francisco Franco,

> Il suffirait que quelqu'un invente ce geste pour que le monde connaisse enfin la paix. Jean mourait en Espagne dans un village près de Madrid, il est mort et a laissé les empreintes de sa tête, de ses bras sur trois pierres chauffées par un soleil torride… [L]'auteur nous dit dans une note antérieure au roman qu'il connaît beaucoup d'hommes comme le héros de son roman. (164)
>
> La réalité se mêle à la fiction tout au long du roman, la réalité d'un garçon qui grandit dans une atmosphère trouble mais pour qui les choses s'embrouillent de plus en plus et la fiction d'un jeune homme qui meurt en Espagne : la fiction finit par dépasser la réalité du cauchemar de la guerre, on passe au rêve d'un monde où tout ne serait que joie, plaisir, innocence et liberté. Tout cela est dit dans une prose souvent poétique : l'évocation du passé, de la nature, de la tendre et amoureuse Jeanne, les sentiments de Jean le moribond en Espagne, l'assassinat du général Franco ont à la fois la réalité du vécu et la saveur de l'illusion. (164)

In contrast to the paucity of critical information about Jacques Bureau's novel, Vilallonga's novel, *Allegro barbaro*, as well as other works of his have been more extensively reviewed. *Allegro barbaro* is part of a series, and the sequel to it is

Fiesta. The following review of *Fiesta*, which includes some comments about Vilallonga's writing, in general, appeared shortly after its publication in 1971,

> José-Luis de Vilallonga est un aristocrate espagnol, exilé volontaire en France depuis la prise de pouvoir franquiste ; membre à part entière de cette classe de noctambules impénitents et d'invités permanents que l'on nomme le Tout Paris, il promène de temps en temps sa haute silhouette racée à l'écran dans des rôles secondaires, et régulièrement, fait publier au Seuil un roman que la critique accueille avec bienveillance. Il faudrait pourtant se garder de ne voir en lui qu'un amateur gentiment doué faisant de la littérature un passe-temps intellectuel. *Les Ramblas finissent à la mer, Les Gens de bien, L'heure dangereuse du petit matin, L'homme de sang, L'homme de plaisir, Allegro Barbaro* et *Fiesta* forment une somme cohérente qui sans constituer une œuvre de premier plan tient, néanmoins, dans la production actuelle une place fort honorable. Vilallonga est un écrivain en marge des problèmes littéraires. Il a un thème qui lui tient à cœur, l'Espagne : il nous en parle ; un certain type de personnage l'intéresse : il nous le montre. (Lorris 905)

There is also critical work which addresses the type of female characterizations that one can find often in Vilallonga's writings. For example, a work for which he wrote the preface, *El donjuanismo femenino*, places special emphasis on the construction of female *"Dames Jeannes",* characters who insist upon the separation of physical pleasure and love. The concept of *Dame Jeanne* is constructed on the premise that there is a female counterpart to the traditional *Don Juan.* In other words, there are females who enjoy sexual encounters and have no interest in emotional ones.

Muñoz comments' on *Allegro barbaro* are as follows,

> [**A]llegro barbaro,** dont le titre est tiré d'un mouvement musical de Bela Bartok, raconte la vie d'une famille de la noblesse espagnole dans les dernières années de la monarchie espagnole et les années de la République jusqu'à l'éclatement de la guerre civile. Cette famille illustre toutes les déchéances de l'aristocratie espagnole avant la guerre : déchéance physique causée par la consanguinité et la syphilis, déchéance morale, sexualité outrée et anormale, concessions honteuses pour sauvegarder l'honneur de la famille, déchéance intellectuelle et religieuse des gens qui se vautrent dans leur égoïsme et ne savent plus penser en dehors de leur propre bien-être ni croire en une religion dont les prélats ne sont plus dignes.
>
> L'intrigue se déroule a Barcelone de 1920 a juillet de 1936, dans le palais des Cobos. La famille se compose de plusieurs membres tout

> aussi dégénérés les uns que les autres : la grand-mère, Sagrario, le chef de la famille ; Juan, colonel de l'armée espagnole et héritier du titre et de Luisa, sa femme et cousine germaine ; Paulino, l'homme à peau de lézard et sa femme, Zo, qui doit l'enduire d'huile tous les matins pour amollir sa peau rêche ; deux enfants, Rafael, officiellement fils de Juan et de Luisa, mais dont Paulino est vraiment le père, le seul homme physiquement sain de la famille, Nono, fils de Paulino et Zo, monstre avec un œil au milieu du front, lucide et triste, mais charmant ; A cette liste s'ajoute le cousin Carlos qui s'est fait mourir moralement par amour d'une femme de chambre et physiquement par l'onanisme. (175)

Commentary

Like De Boulle and Peyré, Jacques Bureau (1912-?) and José Luis de Vilallonga (1920-2007) also construct portraits of home and battle fronts in which gender and physical distances are, for the most part, depicted as separate entities. However, Bureau and Vilallonga's female characters present an extreme manifestation of transgression of social norms and yet still maintain traditional male/female roles despite their extreme and abnormal, murderous actions. Both Bureau and Vilallonga present the reader with the female as assassin, unlike the faintly non conformist yet finally defeated Isabel and Hispana from the preceding chapter. In spite of generating narratives in which women characters carry out

extreme actions, Bureau and Vilallonga remain faithful to conventional elements in the creation of female characters who transgress traditionally delineated home and battle front borders. Bureau's *Trois pierres chaudes en Espagne* and Vilallonga's *Allegro barbaro* thus provide two more examples of a female road not taken.

Although there are several strongly demarcated female characters in *Allegro barbaro,* the two most poignant ones are Sagrario and Pura, her killer. Although very different, both women are examples of Vilallonga's quintessential female characters who, in addition to perpetuating established stereotypes, also vehemently reject the social status quo in Spain, albeit for different reasons. Sagrario rejects what she perceives to be a social upheaval on all fronts, and Pura embraces the "revolution", yet both of them are imbued with aspects of habitual roles for women.

Multiple interpretations of Vilallonga's stance in his novel must lead to agreement that Sagrario is an alter ego of Vilallonga. In fact, Bertrand de Muñoz mentions this: "Par ses nombreuses réflexions et paroles sur l'Espagne, elle semble le porte-parole de l'auteur" (176). In Sagrario, Vilallonga expresses an aristocratic and right wing view of prewar Spain. Sagrario's perceptions of the underprivileged class reinforce the extent to which she is traditional, and the degree to which she is attached to her situation, as she unwaveringly tries to prevent changes from taking place. The diverse aspects of Spanish history to which Vilallonga refers are, in the words of Robin Lefere,

> [l]a figura de Alfonso XIII y el gobierno de Primo de Rivera, la Semana Trágica, la ley agraria de 1932, el catalanismo, las reformas de Azaña, el asesinato de Calvo Sotelo, el levantamiento de Sanjurjo…(789)

Vilallonga thus emphasizes the frequently abusive relationship between the upper and lower social strata. This class divide is similar to the class struggles in Spain of the 1960s as portrayed in Miguel Delibes's *Los santos inocentes*, later adapted as a film of the same name. However, unlike Delibes's novel and Camus's film, Vilallonga crafts and develops the revenge of the more oppressed individuals in the situation he portrays. Therefore, Vilallonga's oppressed class is not necessarily confined to its own victimization, but does rise up to right the historical and entrenched wrongs of his class. This active and self conscious rebellion prefigures the engaged stance Pura will later adopt.

Vilallonga's view of the oppressed classes as including both lower class members and women speak to his aristocratic origins. Since the source of his views may have contributed to his adherence to tradition in his female characters, it is worthwhile examining the possible foundation for these opinions. Vilallonga's identification with the political and social views of the characters in the upper classes in his fiction is somewhat predictable, as that is the world which he knew first hand. He was born into an upper class family, and served as an officer in Franco's army during the war. He later claimed to have changed sides, and in 1946, having been declared an "enemy of the régime", fled Spain for nearly three

decades, and lived mostly in France. In spite of changes in his ideological perspective, Vilallonga consistently attributed the war to the collapse of the monarchy.

This pro-monarchy stance is considered reactionary, even within the extremes of politics during the time of the war. Robin Lefere noted:

> Así pues, las novelas abarcan y plasman mucho material histórico, pero además, al multiplicar los narradores y los personajes las consideraciones sobre el país y su devenir, se va elaborando de forma explícita una reflexión socio-histórica que no deja de ser sugerente. Lo más interesante al respecto no está en la representación rotundamente crítica del régimen franquista- totalitario y cruel, corrupto y sin honor, reino de los mediocres y de los arribistas-, ni siquiera en los episodios llamativos de la Guerra Civil, sino en la visión global del devenir de España que sustenta y condiciona todas las evocaciones. Esta visión cuaja en la trilogía Allegro barbaro, Fiesta y Les gangrènes de l'honneur,…Intentamos apuntar y articular sus aspectos esenciales. España se nos presenta como un país tradicionalmente injusto y cruel, donde familias aristócratas en mayor o menor medida explotan, desde hace siglos y con la complicidad remunerada de la Iglesia, a masas sumidas en la miseria y la ignorancia. La República y la Guerra

Civil se interpretan básicamente desde esa perspectiva, como la revancha más o menos caótica de los pobres, y el correspondiente contraataque de los ricos, una vez más victoriosos, y despiadados en la victoria. La paradoja es que los aristócratas más "raciales" e ilustrados de Vilallonga- en especial las figures seductoras e incluso conmovedores de Doña Sagrario, la matriarca de la familia de Los Cobos y la perfecta encarnación de los valores de su clase,…- reivindican orgullosa y cínicamente esa España tradicional: sin duda por defender sus intereses, pero sobre todo por su elitismo a la vez ideológico y ético, y aún por su afición a las relaciones de fuerza, violentamente elementales y generadoras de pasiones como la envidia y el odio…el drama profundo de la España moderna consistiría en que ha pasado de un mundo aristocrático, fundamentado en las instituciones gemelas de la Monarquía y del Ejército, a un mundo mediocre y pequeño burgués donde se confunden los Azaña y los Franco….la paradoja culmina…donde la ética proclamada es de inspiración cristiana, y donde han triunfado los idearios democráticos- con el hecho de que esos aristócratas llegan a constituir figures heroicas, con las cuales es evidente que

> simpatiza el autor. Ahora bien, por muy clasista y reaccionaria que parezca esa visión, resulta original. (791)

Unlike Vilallonga, who wrote extensive memoirs, Jacques Bureau's life remains largely mysterious. Bureau's interest in jazz music, surrealism and politics have been documented, but not copiously. The title page of *Trois pierres chaudes en Espagne*, his other works are listed simply as a novel, *Coldie, ou La part de l'eau* (1957), and *Encyclopédie du jazz* (1958).

Both Bureau and Vilallonga wrote works in which ultimately a member of the favored sectors of society is killed by a female character. Vilallonga's character Pura, in *Allegro barbaro* (1967)[21] creates a battle front in another character's palatial country home during the war itself. Pura, a friend of a former employee of the Los Cobos family, kills Sagrario, the Los Cobos matriarch. Bureau's Jeanne in *Trois pierres chaudes en Espagne* (1958), produces a battle front in a public square several months after the end of the war. She does so by "killing" Francisco Franco. Both acts are radical, and both acts are carried out in such a way as to express allegiance to a man with whom the character is romantically involved.

Both Pura and Jeanne's connections to the war reveal their respective authors' attitudes to the war, and it becomes clear that the authors were highlighting certain aspects of the war through their characterizations of these

[21] Vilallonga's literary production about the war consists of a total of seven novels and one collection of short stories. The novels are *Les ramblas finissent à la mer* (1953), *Les gens de bien* (1955), *L'homme de sang* (1959), *Allegro barbaro* (1967), *Fiesta* (1971), *Furia* (1974), *Les gangrènes de l'honneur* (1977), and the short stories are "*L'heure dangeureuse du petit matin*" *(1957).*

women. Vilallonga uses Pura and Sagrario as vehicles to criticize the rigidity of the social structure, the extreme distances and resentments between social classes, and the questionable existence of a middle ground, or middle class. On an allegorical level, this assassination was the reactionary right's vision of a new Spain destroying the old one. The two versions of Spain were worlds apart, and completely irreconcilable.

Similarly, Jacques Bureau, in his female character Jeanne, highlights both the horror of the war as well as the ideological connection between the Spanish Civil War and World War II. One common Republican argument was that if left unchallenged, fascism would spread. Bureau's text alludes to this idea as a tangible possibility. Both Pura and Jeanne illustrate women's role as optional, not forced participation. However, there are significant differences in the way in which the authors describe the genesis of these preferences. Furthermore, both Pura and Jeanne are portrayed as making irrevocable decisions at a time when inaction was also an alternative. Therefore, not only was their participation a choice, but it was a choice that was reiterated several times. This is so much the case that Jeanne's killing is described as a planned event for a specific occasion. Her assassination of Franco is undertaken as a birthday gift because she wishes to give her boyfriend, Jean, an unforgettable gift. "C'est ta fête Jean. Je veux te faire le plus beau cadeau du monde." (244)

A birthday gift in the form of an assassination may seem somewhat implausible, but the very fact that Jeanne is trying to comply with what she

perceives to be Jean's wishes--and the extent to which she is willing to go in order to fulfill them--constitute a traditional female depiction in which the male's wishes are assigned priority in a hierarchy of needs, whereas her needs are not expressed in any way. Upon committing the murder, Jeanne steps out of her traditional role for a moment, to commit a murder that is fantastic in the way in which Tzvetan Todorov defined it. Since the reader clearly knows that Franco's death is a fictional construction, the novel fits quite exactly into Todorov's theory,

> Ultimately, the fantastic text may or may not be characterized by a certain composition, by a certain "style." But without "uncanny events," the fantastic cannot even appear. The fantastic does not consist, of course, of these events, but they are a necessary condition for it. Hence our attention to them.
>
> We might deal with the problem in another way, starting from the *functions* which the fantastic has in the work. Suppose we ask: what do its fantastic elements contribute to a work? Adopting this functional viewpoint, we find three answers. First, the fantastic produces a particular effect on the reader- fear, or horror, or simply curiosity – which the other genres or literary forms cannot provoke. Second, the fantastic serves the narration, maintains suspense: the presence of fantastic elements permits a particularly dense organization of the plot. Third, the fantastic has what at first glance appears to be a tautological function: it permits the description of a

> fantastic universe, one that has no reality outside language; the description and what is described are not of a different nature. (92)

In his depiction of a fantastic woman who is larger than life and certainly more powerful than a male, Bureau presents a road not taken. Jeanne's power reinforces the fact that the author chose not to place her alongside male counterparts either within the war or shortly after it**,** but on a higher and exponentially more ambitious mission than any of them had dreamed of. Jeanne has increased all stakes both by the scope and the fulfillment of her extraordinary feat. She, unlike all male insurgents, has gone right to the heart of the matter, to the root of the problem in a way that makes all their efforts and sacrifices appear mere skirmishes. They have supplied the diversion, she the reality of a meaningful thrust which will end all conflict. A woman has been the decisive factor, the males only accessories, who, moreover, lack her single minded and altruistic driving motivation: a gift for the man in her life. She has, of course, provided every living soul in the novel and the implied masses of the Spanish peninsula with the immeasurable gift of freedom. Her cutting off the dragon's head, her liberation of her people and her very name itself suggest that other Jeanne whose aim was to serve her Dauphin.

Another aspect of Jeanne's assassination of Franco that is traditional is the fact that Bureau never depicts Jeanne as having any interest in politics. Since politics appear to be of minimal importance to her, and she considers her

boyfriend's political ideas crucial, Bureau is more, as opposed to less, traditional in his creation of a female assassin whose boyfriend's wishes *and* political preferences were given greater weight than her own. In contrast to Bureau's refusal to infuse Jeanne's character with ideology. Vilallonga *does* establish ideologies throughout the novel, which are in alignment with social class, irrespective of gender. The lower classes are identified with leftist causes, while the upper classes are identified with the right. Therefore, while Pura's assassination of Sagrario may be extreme and cruel, since Sagrario is already on her deathbed, it is the continuation of an extreme expression of animosity that the reader has already witnessed between social classes throughout the novel. The same cannot be said about Jeanne's act. In fact, the reader is completely unprepared for Jeanne's assassination of Franco, which reinforces its fantastic contours. Jeanne appears to be living a harmonious life; there is no reference to class struggle, and certainly no preparation for committing such a violent act. Furthermore, there is never a mention of Jeanne's political views; her single political action of killing Franco bursts into the arena of the novel's plot, into her life and into the reader's consciousness as an incomparable and climactic explosion, unrepeatable in the scope of the novel, and indeed, in the history from which it sprang and in which, of course, it never occurred. The author's attribution of such a miraculous act, a "consummation devoutly to be wished" is actualized only within the realm of the quotidian, easily understood context of a woman wishing to give her boyfriend an unforgettable gift. Exactly what is being trivialized and undeniably examined here? Both the fantastical

nature of the deed and the real failure of any male in history to have actually performed the *summum bonum* are juxtaposed and ironically presented in one of literature's most complex birthday gifts, wrapped as it is in layers of both gender and social contexts.

The role of the connection between political allegiance and social class in the war is a subject that captured historians and scholars' interest**,** yet there is disagreement about how it affected certain layers of society. For example, Raymond Carr, who sees consistent patterns across political and social lines, remarks,

> For the nationalists, (whose cause is more easily defined in negatives- what they were against) the war was a class war against Marxists, a religious war against Masons and free-thinkers, and a war against separatists. The lines of class allegiance were crossed by religious conviction or regional loyalties. Thus the Catholic Basques fought for an 'atheist' Republic which had granted them the self-government the Nationalists were committed to destroying. Respectable Catalan bourgeois, horrified by the assassinations of the 'uncontrollables' of the CNT,[22] for some reason, supported a government dominated by working class parties. Nevertheless, where they were free to choose, the working classes chose the Republic, and the upper classes were, with few exceptions, fanatic

[22] CNT stands for Confederación Nacional Del Trabajo, an anarchist workers' union.

> Nationalists. It was the loyalty of the middle class that was in doubt. (136)

The historian Gerald Brenan might beg to differ with this rendition. He takes a somewhat longer historical view in which he emphasizes his belief that Modern Spain "owes her existence as a nation to the Reconquista" (Brenan b xiii), and states,

> …[a]t the beginning of this century, a general decay of religious faith set in. The middle classes fell off first and after them the working classes, but religion had meant so much to the poor that they were left with the hunger to replace it. And this something could only be of the political doctrines, anarchism or socialism, that they found waiting for them. They adopted them therefore in the same spirit, with the same crusading ardour and singleness of mind with which in previous ages they had adapted Catholicism. (Brenan xiii)

Allegro barbaro paints a picture of the decadence and abuses of the upper class, and the power struggle for the middle class, all within the parameters that Carr sets forth, although one can certainly see aspects of Brenan's vision in Vilallonga's female characterizations as well. For example, Sagrario *is* a fanatic nationalist, and Pura's loyalty lies with the Republicans. Sagrario's refusal to leave Spain underlines her fanaticism, as do her comments: "Je crois qu'il faut savoir mourir là où l'on est né." (145), and later upon her deathbed, she refuses an

injection in spite of her doctor's insistence, claiming "Mon pays est entré en agonie, docteur. Laissez-nous souffrir ensemble." (194)

Other scholars do not agree with the inexorable political and social class blueprints that Carr described, particularly when gender expectation is incorporated into the optic.

> The 1930s was a period of increasing polarization but it is important to recognize that many cultural issues cut across political and class divisions. Positions on gender, religion, and regional autonomy did not correspond in a straightforward manner to political or class allegiances: there were liberal Catholics, at least to start with; bourgeois and working-class Catalan nationalists; clerical-conservative Basque nationalists who opposed Franco's 'Crusade'; and the right mobilized women to protest against the Republic, while anarchist attempts to liberate women did not always question traditional definitions of femininity, and not all socialists supported giving the vote to women. (Graham and Labanyi 95)

Since neither author describes his female assassin as articulating a specific ideology, it is all the more surprising that both these women acted on political ideals. However, even though the novels share this characteristic, the amount of space in each novel that the writers devote to Pura and Jeanne varies significantly. The reader of *Trois pierres chaudes en Espagne* is granted many pages to learn

about Jeanne. On the other hand, Pura first appears surreptitiously in the novel near the end, where she is introduced as one of several women:

> Trois femmes qui les accompagnaient, jeunes, brunes, plutôt grandes, bien bâties. L'une d'elles, très belle, sorte de bête en liberté, dangereuse, violente. Deux yeux pers, des lèvres lourdes, la peau lumineuse. Doña Sagrario la devina nue, sous le bleu de travail largement échancré qui laissait percevoir la naissance des seins aux pointes fermes, sous la toile délavée. Elle avait de grandes taches de sang sec sur la cuisse droite. A la main, un panier d'osier, qu'elle déposa à ses pieds, sitôt entrée dans la pièce. Ce fut elle qui parla la première. A son accent épais, Doña Sagrario sut qu'elle était valencienne. (218)

By describing Pura as one of a group of working class women, Vilallonga is implying that any one of them could have killed Sagrario. Pura is wearing the unofficial uniform of the male workers: blue overalls. The fact that they are bloodstained is a macabre and prescient detail, as they will soon be even more blood soaked, after she kills Sagrario.

Vilallonga's details of Pura's clothing are fraught with medieval, Chaucerian inference. Pura embodies some of a wealthy rightist woman's worst fears: a murderous, beast-like yet attractive female leftist. There is an implication that all leftist women have the potential to be killers, and an unconcealed and extreme

misogyny is patent in Vilallonga's decision to have one woman murder another. The particular combination of the image of a female in blue overalls whose behavior is aggressive has, in other contexts, attracted the attention of historians of the war. [23] Mary Nash points out in "Milicianas and Homefront Heroines",

> The belligerent image of the woman combatant in her blue overalls figured predominantly in war posters and photographic propaganda…For example, one well-known poster by Arteche shows a militia woman dressed in a blue *mono* (overalls) with a gun in her uplifted hand with popular militians marching with their flags in the background. ..Such images were of undoubted impact precisely because they broke with traditional representations. They portrayed women in a militaristic, revolutionary, aggressive light. (237)

Vilallonga's decision to provide a physical description of Pura, but to abstain from revealing more about her motives for executing Sagrario is intriguing, yet is consistent with a right wing fear of a leftist female revolutionary. In addition to imagining reasons for killing Sagrario, the reader must also deduce Pura's past since little data is provided beyond her name, social class and her allegiances. Interestingly, the lack of space in the novel devoted to Pura is in direct inverse proportion to her function.

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[23] Frances Lanon's article "Women and the Images of Women in the Spanish Civil War" provides more information on the image of the *miliciana* in blue overalls. Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Volume 61, 1991, pp. 213-228.

Vilallonga's depiction of a bloodthirsty, libidinous leftist female revolutionary may very well have been based on the myth, or image, depending on one's ideological perspective, about Dolores Ibárruri, also known as La Pasionaria.[24] In an article about Ibárruri's self-representation, Kristine Byron quotes La Pasionaria:

> Y mientras yo me preocupaba de hacer llevadera la vida de centenares de religiosas, el periódico fascista parisién Gringoire del 19 de septiembre de 1936, entre otras informaciones de tipo tremendista, daba una biografía de la Pasionaria que ríanse ustedes del doctor Frankenstein. (139)

Byron also describes the rumor that La Pasionaria killed a priest with her bare teeth (140). Byron comments:

> This depiction of Ibárruri as a vampire exemplifies the ways in which the woman revolutionary is seen by men as both a sexual and political threat. Ibárruri lays bare the impact of gender on the myth-making processes of war and revolution…Her allusion to Frankenstein emphasizes, almost parodies, the myth making and fictionalization surrounding her. (140)

[24] For more on *La Pasionaria*, see "Two Female Leaders of Revolutionary Spain" in Shirley Mangini's work, *Memories of Resistance: Women's Voices from the Spanish Civil War*, New Haven, Yale U P, 1995.

Pura's stealthy appearance in the novel is one aspect of her attributes of a hidden, dark and ultimately mysterious power which strikes unbidden and unexpectedly in Sagrario's bedroom. Her name is also the subject of speculation. The writer's decision to call her Pura is semantically charged. After all, Pura is a nickname for Purificación, or purification from sin, which is represented by water in the Catholic ritual of baptism. Sagrario is also a name with religious significance. It is the container for the host wafers during mass. These names, Purificación and Sagrario, are quite common in Spain. However, the way in which Vilallonga writes about Pura's assassination of Sagrario is, among other considerations, a way of reversing the established order of Church sacraments. One is normally baptized years before receiving the host. By having the purified waters kill the container for the hosts, on a symbolic level, Vilallonga can be said to be associating baptismal waters with death, not life. This is of course an attack on the church. Vilallonga's literary assault on the Church here and elsewhere in the novel may seem unusual for a person who was at one time aligned with Franco**,** but Vilallonga has a tendency to attack more than one side of the ideological divide, although his attacks on the left are much more vitriolic than those on the right.

By assigning her a function as a purifier, and at the same time disclosing very little more about her, it is clear that through Pura, Vilallonga is making a statement about the nature of the effects of the war. This applies to both the literal act of a working class person's assassination as well as its ideological implications. For example, the fact that it was logistically uncomplicated to murder Sagrario shows

just how much social change had taken place, illustrating also the extent of the loss of power that the moneyed aristocrats believed that they had incurred.

The fact that Sagrario was in a position to be killed, or is unprotected, is in stark contrast to her sheltered life earlier in the novel. The novel pointedly describes the dogged persistence, some years prior to the war, that Flor de Paz, an unannounced visitor, also from a marginalized social class (a prostitute who became a Madam), had to deploy in order to have Sagrario receive her at all. The easy contact with Sagrario at this juncture of the war by Pura and Paco, a disgruntled former employee who wishes Sagrario dead**,** is a far cry from the access to power and opportunity to abuse the lower classes that Sagrario had enjoyed virtually all of her life, with the notable exception of the last few moments.

One of the more enigmatic aspects of the murder of Sagrario is that**,** as stated previously, the reader does not know the exact reason for it. It is clear that Pura went to visit Sagrario with the intent of using a gun, but it was Paco who was supposed to shoot. The fact that the reader is uninformed until this point about Pura's relationship with Paco is significant, because although it initially appears as though Pura is merely accompanying Paco when he confronts Sagrario, it soon becomes evident that her association with Paco is deeper than that. The reader quickly finds out that she is carrying a basket that contains the testicles of one of Sagrario's grandsons, Nono.

The detail that Paco could not carry out the killing is consistent with what the reader knows about Paco's aversion to distress. He was the one who tried to

minimize suffering when he finished killing Nono. “Moi, je n’ai fait que l’étrangler avec sa cravatte, un peu plus tard, pour qu’il ne souffre pas trop”. (221) It is apparent that by combining obvious sexual symbolism of the act of castration and unusual behavior in terms of conventionally defined gender roles, Vilallonga was trying to portray the reversal of the status quo of power (from his family’s perspective) brought about by some of the events leading up to the war as well as the war itself. The male here, Paco, is more of a nurturer, who tries to prevent or alleviate suffering, and Pura, a female, is depicted as an aggressive warrior and a castrator. At a very minimum, it would appear that by killing and castrating Sagrario’s grandson, and of course killing Sagrario, Vilallonga is alluding to a loss of virility that is a metaphor for the trouncing of power among the upper classes, as he saw it. For Vilallonga, Pura was more “beastly” than Sagrario had been. Again, Vilallonga is identifying (and, one could argue, glorifying) both the upper classes, and the nationalist cause.

In addition to emphasizing class consciousness in the following image, Vilallonga draws attention to sexual thoughts on the part of Sagrario. The remark about Sagrario imagining Pura nude (Doña Sagrario la devina nue)…(218) is improbable for a woman who was keenly aware of the proximity of the end of her life, as when, several pages earlier, she states: “Madame ne dînera probablement plus jamais.” (217) These sexual thoughts are much more likely the product of the male gaze. Furthermore, the fact that the word *“plaisir”*, or pleasure, was part of

the image reinforces a particularly cruel male gaze by presenting a singularly misogynistic act: Pura receives pleasure from killing another woman.

> La fille tachée de sang tendit son revolver au petit homme.
>
> - Maintenant, tue-la.
>
> Dans les mains de Paco, l'arme d'acier s'étoila de mille reflets inutiles. Le lad n'eût même pas la force de la lever à bout de bras. Excédée, la fille la lui arracha. Un poing sur la hanche, la bouche soudain sèche de plaisir, elle mit en joue Doña Sagrario et lentement, posément, tira cinq fois. (222)

There is an oddly robotic quality to the manner in which Pura took Sagrario's life. It is as though Pura gave herself an order, and carried it out, rather like being a General and a soldier at the same time. Once again, an author portrayed a female character in a manner that was outside the realm of the way in which he constructs male characters.

The figure of a masculinized female warrior is a part of the repertoire of war imagery; therefore, this act of killing Sagrario, which seems quite extreme, is traditional in its own manner. Pura is offering Paco unconditional support in his endeavor. It is, in a sense, an intense expression of complete yet aggressive surrender. In making sure that Paco's wish of seeing Sagrario dead is realized, Pura is reinforcing male superiority. Joshua Goldstein, in discussing the purposes of Amazon myths, states:

> These mythical women warrior societies represent a foreign topsy-turvy world. Representing women in this way reinforced men's construction of their own patriarchal societies as orderly and natural. (17)

Therefore, the fact that Paco is less physically aggressive than Pura does not mean that the traditional gender roles have been reassigned. In fact, quite the contrary applies: Vilallonga actually reinforces the traditional mold of male dominance by making the male, Paco, human, and at the same time creating a female character who was willing to castrate and kill a man (Nono), and then kill his grandmother.

Although Pura's murder of Sagrario is more macabre than Jeanne's execution of Franco, both Pura and Jeanne show resolute allegiance to the men in their lives, and at the same time, extreme competence when it comes to carrying out the killings of other human beings. These might appear to be contradictory characteristics, but taken together, they represent an intense expression of loyalty and servitude, which constitute an atypical whole because loyalty implies choosing sides, and servitude entails the absence of an imposition of ideology. Therefore, these seemingly disparate traits become coherent in their own way. Mary Nash sheds some light on this phenomenon in her analysis of the social context of the prewar woman. Her comments are applicable to both novels.

> The predominant discourse on women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was based on the ideology of domesticity, evoking a female prototype of the *perfecta casada* (perfect married

> lady) whose primordial gender role was that of caring for home and family. Women were depicted as *angeles del hogar* (angels of the hearth), angelical nurturers who sustained the family. According to this model, women were to be self-effacing and submissive with total loving dedication to their children and husbands or parents, but they were also to be functional in their efficient management of the home…Women were thus epitomized as being sweet, fairy-like, and angelical, but also hard-headed administrators of the home, guardians of family fortunes, and arbiters of moral progress. (11)

As for "moral progress", one sees how Jeanne's act of killing Franco is unquestionably viewed by Bureau as a measure of it. Furthermore, Jeanne's decisiveness and her complete lack of any uncertainty with respect to killing Franco suggests that for Jacques Bureau, killing Franco was not an unreasonable act. In fact, he takes it one step further: he idealizes Jeanne. She is a savior who will avoid further bloodshed. Bureau thus bestows on her a kind of moral superiority.

> Car grâce à Jeanne des guerres ne se feront pas. Des pages sombres de notre Histoire ne seront pas écrites. Des pages à injustices, des pages à crimes, à pogromes, à tueries, celles que les petites filles n'aiment pas, sont arrachées du temps qui vient. Des pages à massacres, des pages à famines, dont les dates trop nombreuses se brouillent dans leurs cervelles, resteront blanches. Hitler, Staline,

> cent autres tomberont à leur époque…Cinq millions de juifs ne seront pas brûlés dans les fours puisque Jeanne était là! (249-250)

Through these words, Bureau takes a fictional event, the assassination of Francisco Franco, and inserts into it references to factual events, thus creating his own history. In examining Bureau's technique, one can begin by reflecting upon the choice of the name Jeanne. In France, Jeanne is often associated with Jeanne d'Arc, or Joan of Arc, and in certain instances, Bureau uses this association in his characterization of Jeanne. For example, Jeanne's young age is reminiscent of Joan of Arc (1412-1431), who was also nineteen at the time of her death.[25] Another manner in which Bureau invokes Joan of Arc is by mentioning Hitler, thereby alluding to the defense of France from foreign enemies. In this case, the "foreign enemy" is Franco, who has the potential to contaminate other enemies. In Bureau's logic of the fantastic, killing Franco was the way to kill other dictators as well.

In addition to analyzing the characters themselves, a critical element that must be taken into consideration in the analysis of characterization within the context of the war is the characters' survival or failure to survive. In fiction, unlike in reality, the author has complete control over this process. One way to scrutinize this mechanism is to study which characters are punished, and to what extent that is the case. The price that the fictional women had to pay for their involvement reveals a great deal about the authors' perspectives on the war and women. In the

[25] P. 984, Chambers Biographical Dictionary, Melanie Parry, Ed. Chambers Harrap, New York, 1997.

case of Pura, we know nothing about what happens to her after murdering Sagrario. This implies that the price that she paid, if any, for killing Sagrario is unimportant. Even though at first sight it appears that Vilallonga's lack of punishment for Pura is an act of sympathy, it can also be seen in the perspective of someone who is so evil that she manages to escape punishment. Pura is willing to murder, and in fact, enjoys doing it, and, one can speculate, escapes unscathed. Perhaps it is that she is, among other things, a representative of pure evil, non-human, and therefore not punishable. She is more a symbol than a character, thus it is not necessary to carry out the sequence to a logical conclusion.

On the other hand, Bureau alludes to a Spain in which a dictatorship, even without the dictator, triumphs since Jeanne dies as a result of her actions. For Bureau, Jeanne is a martyr. In this road not taken, both authors, from entirely opposite political perspectives, paint portraits of women whose involvement in the war leads to disastrous consequences. Sagrario can be said to be Vilallonga's martyr.

It is vital to point out that Jeanne and Pura are both civilian women who, to a certain extent, appropriate the war from their male counterparts. In the case of Jeanne, her partner Jean had, one can reasonably presuppose, combat experience in the war, and in the case of Pura, we can also reasonably suppose that Paco did *not* have combat experience. Yet these assassinations are not representative of a change in the fictional landscape of warfare, as they are quite isolated. It is also noteworthy that neither character is depicted as being a mother. In the case of

Jeanne, the reader knows that she is not a mother; in the case of Pura, the reader, as with so much else about Pura, is left in the dark. Pura and Jeanne are not, as stated in the previous chapter, classical military co-warriors alongside men. They are, however, vulnerable women who, like the characters Isabel and Hispana from Jacqueline De Boulle's *Le desperado* and Joseph Peyré's *Le pont des sorts*, find that the societal order itself, as Jeanne articulates, and Pura insinuates, is egregiously flawed. In the portrayal of Jeanne, her death precludes the reader from finding out more about her life after Franco, and neither in the case of Pura does the reader know anything about her life after killing Sagrario. If the authors felt that the perceived wrongs were somehow corrected by Jeanne and Pura's actions, it is not apparent.

One cannot help but notice that although they are not part of Vilallonga's Spanish Civil War literary production, there are Spanish authors whose fictional women's lives undergo tremendous transformations because of the war, yet these characters do not resort to killing. Clearly these authors developed a more balanced characterization than either Vilallonga or Bureau. A convincing example of this is the character Natàlia in Mercè Rodoreda's *La plaza del diamante.* Rodoreda's emphasis on social class, and a working woman's status within class layers, is more subtle than in Vilallonga's narrative. Unlike *Allegro barbaro* and *Trois pierres chaudes en Espagne,* Rodoreda's novel met with much critical success. In fact, there is no shortage of critical material about either Rodoreda or her work. In Michael

Ugarte's article "Working at a Discount: Class Consciousness in Mercè Rodoreda's *La plaça del Diamant*," he remarks,

> Indeed, as Rodoreda tells the story of a woman working "at a discount", this property owner's house of privilege, along with the other work spaces of Natàlia's narrative, stealthily make their way into the foreground of the novel and with them all the entanglements of the division of labor.
>
> However, social class is not a critical focus that has informed much of the analysis (albeit penetrating) of this novel. The lack of attention to this issue is not surprising since "class consciousness" (one of Raymond Williams "keywords" 57), is hardly perceptible in a direct way. It is not something the protagonist evinces, for unlike her boss who is well aware of his class, she knows little about the economic contradictions of work or about the consequences these conditions were having on Spanish politics- and on the world- in the midsection of the twentieth century. Her innocence as she sells her labor cheaply, inattentive to the differences between labor value and use value, or of the political-historical circumstances of those values, belies the author's careful structuring of the narrative around those very circumstances, circumstances that seem more "personal" than "political." Indeed, it is this very tension between the private and the public, between domestic/family labor and public labor that can

> serve as one of the focal points of the novel. An attempt to ponder this possibility as we consider the multifaceted dynamics of the representation of the private and public dimensions of work is a timely enterprise at a moment of critical thought in which these very dynamics beg for a reconsideration. (298)

Rodoreda's Natalia serves as a valuable comparison to Pura and Jeanne. Like them, she is unmotivated by political realities, yet performs real and exceptional work in the social, political and ideological marketplace. Natalia allows traditional evaluations of her labor to persist while Pura and Jeanne are allowed by their authors to have their values as working-and highly successful-soldiers and killers subverted by a male sexual logic assessing sexual desirability and forbidding the development, after the *acte gratuit*-into full character transformation or progress. This male logic is either deployed by writer or by male character, but arrives at the same effect of cutting down full, female social blossoming or reward. All three female characters are permitted, by their authors, to travel very far down the road towards full social participation in extreme circumstances, but are denied full equality in spheres other than their one extraordinary achievement. Their lives remain unfinished and unequally rewarded either monetarily or fictionally, fiction's greatest gift being the drawing out of a life worth examining. It is as is the heroic stature of these women is as celebrated as it is finally limited and ultimately separated from any other social acknowledgement. In these novels, the Spanish

Civil War has given life, value and unprecedented action to these fictional women who act out in the tapestry of their traumatized, war torn setting their own particular parts but no more than that. One authorial hand has given them importance of the highest measure, but another has refused them the transformative consequences of mighty deeds. They thus remain half heroes. Pura, Jeanne and to a lesser degree, Natalia, are participating, valuable but unequal contributors to urgent, historically charged moments, allowed a glimpse of the Promised Land, but finally, no real entry.

Chapter III:

Contrasting Portrayals of Women, Men, and Ideology

Synopsis and Criticism of Simone Téry's *La porte du soleil* (1947) and Michel Del Castillo's *Le colleur d'affiches* (1958)

Readers of *La porte du soleil* will notice that although the work is fictional and sentimental on many levels, there are certain details interspersed which lend occasional grounding. In spite of the reader's awareness that it is not a war diary, there is a presence of a narrative female voice which clearly has knowledge of the war. Given Téry's background, this perceptible incongruity is not surprising. Angela Kershaw writes :

> Simone Téry (1897–1967), French journalist and novelist, joined the French Communist Party in the mid-1930s after visiting the Soviet Union. She worked as a correspondent for *L'Humanité*, *Vendredi* and *Regards*; the latter post took her to Spain during the Civil War. The resulting texts, *Front de la liberté: Espagne 1937–1938* (1938) and *Où l'aube se lève* (1945), form the basis of my analysis of Téry's desire to write the history of the present in inter-war France. These texts, a work of *reportage* and a novel respectively, illustrate the relationship between the poetic, or imaginative, and the historical, or factual, in historical fiction. This relationship is particularly relevant to the literary history of 1930s France, given the highly politicized nature of literary production in the period and the resulting debates over the nature and future of the realist novel. Téry's rejection of modernism in favour of socialist realism suggests a

> conversion, common in left-wing writers of the period, to the notion that the modernist text is incapable of 'containing' history. [26]

In addition to punctuating her prose with certain realistic details, to depict bombings, for example, Téry reworked certain aspects of her original novel. According to Bertrand De Muñoz, *La porte du soleil* was the second version of Téry's novel *Où l'aube se lève* (1945), reedited and released two years later in Paris. (179). Unlike most other works studied in this dissertation, a review of the work was readily available. *Où l'aube se lève* was published by Brentano's in New York in 1945, the same year as the following overblown review by Alice Langellier-Bellevue,

> Jeannette Florent part pour l'Espagne en guerre. Exaltée, romanesque, désespérée par un chagrin d'amour, elle va y chercher la mort. Elle y trouve au contraire une raison de vivre. La cause loyaliste qui l'intéressait si peu en France la passionne de plus en plus. Elle est tout de suite gagnée par l'entrain, le courage de ceux qui l'entourent. Elle vit de leur vie, lutte avec eux et la jeune fille rêveuse se transforme en partisan héroïque.
>
> Si intéressante que soit l'évolution de Jeannette Florent, c'est le groupe loyaliste tout entier qui est le héros du livre : la brigade internationale, les femmes et les enfants que les bombes ne

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[26] *Feminist Review* (2007) **85,** 8–20. doi:10.1057/palgrave.fr.9400316

troublent pas beaucoup, les volontaires surtout, aussi gais que braves, utilisant de leur mieux leurs misérables engins de guerre, tous mus par la même force mystique. Parce qu'ils sont présentés d'une façon vivante, maints acteurs du drame hantent votre mémoire : Georges Coutant, le parisien blagueur, débrouillard ; Paco l'ouragan déchaîné et bon enfant ; Ramon, surtout véritable type du chef espagnol. Maints tableaux aussi : une danseuse au front, qui, parce qu'elle est l'essence même de l'Espagne, fait un instant oublier la guerre aux soldats, paysages faits pour la joie que la guerre a désolés, l'affolement d'un exode.

C'est tout un panorama de la lutte héroïque que nous donne Simone Téry. Elle en parle en journaliste qui recueille le détail précis, en femme que nulle souffrance ne laisse indifférente, en loyaliste convaincue. C'est la guerre dans toutes ses phases qu'elle nous présente et parce que la guerre d'Espagne était avant tout une guerre d'idées, une grande beauté se dégage de ses pages.

Une comparaison avec le *For Whom the Bell Tolls* de Hemingway s'impose. Moins littéraire, moins à effets, le livre de Simone Téry nous paraît plus profondément senti et vécu et, si l'on considère le côté défense d'une cause, infiniment plus éloquent. (Langellier-Bellevue 132)

Jeannette becomes Josette in the second version. Her original purpose in "escaping" to Spain is to nurse a romantic wound. Her boyfriend had rejected her, and she wants to run away. However, her experiences in wartime Spain change her and in her process of maturation, she becomes less and less superficial and vain, and embraces the challenge of fighting for ideals. She works as a journalist, and has two love affairs in which both men die. One of these *liaisons* had culminated in marriage. She returns to France, and realizes that she cannot stand her former boyfriend, André Larbeau. During her second stay in Spain, she actually finds that André has been taken prisoner by the Republicans who interrogate him and sentence him to death. Eventually she returns to France with with Ramon, who was her late husband's closest friend. Bertrand de Muñoz states that

> L'intrigue est menée finement malgré certains revirements qui peuvent paraitre étranges et faire croire à un roman rose, mais qui dans l'atomosphère d'une guerre civile sont vraisemblables. (180)

She also adds that "*Ou l'aube se lève,* en somme, possède de nombreux attraits qui rendent sa lecture intéressante" (190).

If Simone Téry was known for her espousal of communism, Michel del Castillo (1933) is known for his reluctance to formally join any political party. His début novel, *Tanguy*, widely read and translated into twenty five languages, was published in 1953, the same year that he moved to France, where he has lived since then. In the information that she provides on him, Bertrand de Muñoz mentions

that he performed in the role of Pablo Ibbieta in the film version of Sartre's short story on the Spanish Civil War, *Le mur.* (151) Michel del Castillo's father was French, yet he has always used his mother's birth name as his surname. Muñoz comments,

> La scène de ce roman se passe principalement dans la «*zone*» de Madrid, une banlieue sale, sordide et malsaine ou l'on peut à peine vivre. La misère, la faim, l'ivrognerie, l'amoralité, le vice, le vol, le crime y règnent en maitres. C'est dans cette atmosphère peu accueillante qu'est né Olny et qu'il a passé son enfance entre un père presque constamment ivre, une mère sans morale et qui hait ses enfants; mauvais traitements, discussions de ménage, scènes de violence: telle est l'ambiance de la baraque qu'il habite avec ses parents et son jeune frère Francisco. Il est à la fois violent et tendre. Il n'hésite pas à tuer de quelques coups de couteau l'amant de sa mère et pourtant il aime ceux qui l'entourent, malgré leurs vices et leur malpropreté. Pour éviter le vol et les maisons de correction, il prend un travail «*d'homme sandwich*», le seul métier qu'un enfant de la zone puisse exercer. Il réfléchit sur sa pénible situation, rêve d'une vie meilleure puis deviant amoureux de Marianita, qui elle aussi appartient à ce monde louche de la «*zone*». Tous deux voudraient un peu de Bonheur et comprennent la dualité de leur être…

[P]our essayer de sortir de la misère, Olny croit que le communisme pourra l'aider: il a assisté à un meeting ou le conférencier, Santiago de Leyes, l'a enthousiasmé et convaincu. Il décide de quitter la maison paternelle avec son frère Francisco et Marianita ; il se présente chez Santiago de Leyes, le leader du prolétariat qu'il avait écouté avec tant d'admiration. Cet aristocrate, devenu communiste par besoin de justice, est ému par tant de confiance et d'ingénuité: il loge les adolescents, les habille et trouve un travail au jeune homme. Peu à peu, la vie semble prendre un autre caractère pour les trois jeunes personnages: Olny et Marianita sont mariés et ils vivent dans un appartement convenable près du Retiro.

Après «*Les chemins de l'espoir*», viennent ceux du «désespoir». La guerre civile est déclarée, la faim grandit. Santiago de Leyes a quitté le parti avant le déclenchement de la révolution; il ne voulait pas se rendre complice de ce qui allait se passer et il était «venu au marxisme pour servir la justice, pas pour devenir un assassin». Olny est furieux et a l'intention de le tuer, car il est devenu un fervent communiste: il colle des affiches un peu partout, et ses camarades le surnomment «*Colleur d'affiches*». Sa femme regrette un peu leur vie passée, la «*zone*», où elle aurait pu garder Olny alors

que maintenant la lutte sociale semble l'intéresser plus qu'elle. Puis un jour le jeune époux est pris par les fascistes et torturé; Santiago vient chercher Marianita pour lui annoncer la nouvelle: Olny est à l'hôpital, il est devenu impuissant. Marianita et Olny accusent violemment Santiago de trahison, de lâcheté…[C]ependant, Olny changera par la suite et finira par comprendre Santiago; le comportement des communistes lui paraît de moins en moins admissible. Il accepte tout de même d'être surveillant au cimetière pour le parti, car c'est la seule façon de pouvoir manger: il ne peut aller au front dans son état et sa femme est enceinte. Son nouveau travail le dégoute, son déséquilibre augmente de jour en jour et il arrive au comble du désespoir quand il se voit dans l'obligation de tuer Santiago; celui-ci meurt en murmurant pour le consoler: «Le fascisme est pire». La guerre finie, le jeune ménage retourne vivre dans la«*zone*». Olny est devenu fou, il bat régulièrement sa femme et passe son temps à boire; c'est le retour à une misère encore plus grande que la précédente, après avoir vainement cherché une amélioration par le communisme. Olny a perdu tout ce qui faisait de lui un homme. Mariana est plus malheureuse que jamais et leur fils de quatre ans connaîtra une vie probablement plus horrible que celle de ses parents. Plus aucun espoir, aucune illusion, aucune issue ne peuvent être entrevus. (153)

The critics Françoise Dorenlot and R.J. Golsan have written positively about Del Castillo, and it is worth noting that Del Castillo maintains an informative webpage on his literary activities, Micheldelcastillo.com.

Commentary

Preceding chapters have examined four authors maneuvering their analysis of a devastating civil war through a lens focused, firstly on the separation of the home and battle fronts, and, secondly, on the process and manifestations of transgressing conventional occupancy of these areas. In addition to presenting authors' political backgrounds, this chapter will examine correlations between the author's background, gender and the articulation of ideology in their female characters, with particular emphasis on Mariana, the female protagonist of *Le Colleur d'affiches*, and Josette, the protagonist of La *porte du Soleil*.

Three of the authors discussed in Chapters I and II are Republicans: Jacqueline De Boulle, Jacques Bureau, and Joseph Peyré. The remaining author, José Luis de Vilallonga, is Monarchist, Nationalist, and anti Republican, even if at different times in his life, he disputed being defined in these terms. The writers in the present discussion, Simone Téry and Michel Del Castillo, differ in their political views from authors mentioned earlier. Simone Téry was openly communist, spending eleven months in Spain during the war as correspondent for the

communist periodical *L'humanité*.[27] Her 1947 novel, *La porte du soleil*, was the second version of *Où l'aube se lève*, originally presented at Brentano's bookstore in New York in 1945.

Whereas Téry's political affiliation was clear, Michel Del Castillo's political identity is simultaneously more intricate and elusive. This fluidity is perceptible in both his words and in those of Del Castillo scholars. In the introduction to *Le Colleur d'affiches*, the novel he published in 1958, a mere year after publishing his well known autobiographical novel, *Tanguy,* Del Castillo states that:

> -Ce livre n'est pas, non plus, engagé au sens où l'entendent les milieux de gauche. Je ne me suis proposé en l'écrivant ni d'éclairer ni de combattre. J'ai peu de goût pour la polémique et ne me veux engagé que vis-à vis de ma conscience et vis-à-vis Dieu. Pourtant, il m'est arrivé, tout au long de ces pages, de toucher à des questions d'actualité et notamment de parler du communisme et des communistes.
>
> Je n'ai jamais été membre du Parti et ne suis donc pas un renégat. Je ne suis pas anti-communiste, non plus. Le communisme n'a besoin ni d'apologistes ni de détracteurs. Il est ce qu'il est et chacun doit se situer par rapport a lui. C'est ce que j'ai fait ici, je le crois, avec honnêteté. Les accusations que je porte contre le parti communiste

[27] Muñoz 179

> et les crimes dont je le rends responsable ne surprendront que quelques esprits simples.
>
> [C]ela veut-il dire que je me désintéresse de tout? NON. [N]ous sommes, malgré nous, plongés dans l'Histoire et amenés, un jour ou l'autre, à prendre parti. Mais il y a une grande différence entre prendre parti *et* adhérer à un parti. (Del Castillo 10)

Del Castillo's emphasized nuance between taking sides and adhering to them is embodied in his characterization of Mariana in *Le colleur d'affiches.* In much the same way that Del Castillo is more against Francoism than pro Communism per se, Mariana does not see politics as a form of salvation. In fact, quite the contrary applies as Del Castillo makes repeated references to her fear, particularly in the second part of the novel. This takes place in contradistinction to Olny's attraction to politics. For example,

> Ce qui la faisait surtout souffrir c'était la peur de le perdre. Elle l'aimait. Dans sa pauvre vie de misère, Olny était la seule chose heureuse, le seul rayon de lumière. Elle ne pouvait pas le perdre. Sans lui, sa propre existence n'aurait plus aucun sens…[A]vec lui, elle se sentait capable de tout supporter : la faim, la misère, la saleté et les coups. Il était tout pour elle. Cet amour n'était pas peut-être très intelligent. Elle n'en savait rien, ni se souciait de le savoir. Ce dont

> elle était sûre, c'est que sans lui, elle serait perdue, et que cet échec-là, elle ne se remettrait jamais. C'est pourquoi elle avait peur de la politique. Elle y pressentait un danger.
>
> Le jeune homme songeait en effet davantage à la révolution et à la société nouvelle qu'à sa jeune femme. (164)

In presenting a male and a female character so essentially different in their political engagement, Del Castillo allegorizes his own polarized and complex political stance. A young man anxious to fight, to give his all, to a beckoning cause and a young woman whose only relation to that cause is determined by her emotional ties to the potential revolutionary provide emblems of attraction and repulsion, approaching and distancing, primary and secondary degrees of ideological commitment. Olny's more immediate connection to revolutionary action and its promise of a new order underscores Mariana's passive fear of such action, entailing as it might the loss of her only hope in a new order dependent entirely on Olny's presence. That these two attitudes are cast in a distinctive male and female dichotomy cast light on the sexualized underpinnings in Del Castillo's political meditations in a way that the choice of two male perspectives, that of war buddies, for example, would not have. The Byronic poles of such a multifaceted and ambiguous attitude to political engagement are clearly delineated in Del Castillo's couple who articulate the tensions of a debate which arrives finally at a depiction of the inevitable savagery,

the justification of Mariana's fears and thereby an indictment of the very terms of the debate.

This particular trajectory of this particular novel speaks to those critics of Del Castillo who have taken the multiplicity of his political observations as a point of departure for their analyses In an essay entitled "Neither Right nor Left: The Spanish Civil War Novels of Michel del Castillo", Richard Golsan affirms,

> While Del Castillo's novels keep a grim account of the toll in human suffering produced by the war, they also comprise stocktaking, and ultimately a rejection of the political passions which motivated the combatants. Despite his ties with the Republican side, Del Castillo is a harsh critic of the left and especially the communists in his works. His critique of communism in no way signals a *rapprochement* with the right and Francoism, however. Francoism and communism are for him two sides of the same coin. Both are Manichean systems which falsify reality and enslave the individual while stripping him of his humanity. During the civil war, they encouraged men to commit the most inhuman excesses. In Del Castillo's own terms, both are dreams," behind which lurk the face of evil. (323)

It bears mention that there are critics of Del Castillo who focus more on the possible connections between the author's emotional self and his political self. For example, Françoise Lalande wrote about him,

> ¿Qué rostro ofrece España en la obra de Michel del Castillo? El de un país siempre en Guerra, incluso en tiempos de paz. SI el enemigo no está en su seno, lo encontrará en el exterior: «On devient Espagnol par les ennemis qu'on invente».
>
> Michel del Castillo juzga a la Guerra Civil Con su fuerza mítica, severamente. Estaba allí, sabe de qué se trata, él, el niño arrastrado por el torbellino mortal como actor involuntario y no como testigo lírico. También le irrita en nombre del sufrimiento personal, lo que algunos inventan alrededor de esa Guerra:
>
> Peu de conflits auront fait autant de bruit que la guerre d'Espagne, ce prétoire du siècle. A ce flot de rhétorique, on cherche bien entendu toutes sortes de raisons. On déclare sans rire que ce fut une guerre mythique. La vérité est qu'elle ne fut si contagieuse que par la qualité unique de sa haine.
>
> En Espagne, on tuait d'abord, on condamnait ensuite. Cette simplicité biblique fit tout le succès de cette guerre. Rien ne porte à parler comme le malheur. (782)

It is noteworthy that although *Le Colleur d'affiches* is a scathing portrayal of communism, the author also wrote *La nuit du décret,* in which he is unsympathetic towards political ideologies on the right. This work, awarded the 1981 Prix Renaudot, condemns extreme right wing politics or the "the Francoist ideal."

(Golsan 323) Thus in terms of political affiliations and male characterizations, Del Castillo finds fault with both sides. Téry does less so. Nevertheless, in spite of visualizing the war from different political angles, Téry and Del Castillo are both resolute about perpetuating abnegation, acquiescence, and surrender within their female characters. They both portray Mariana and Josette as extensions of men, or complements to them, but not as people in their own right. This chapter will examine some of the assumptions involved in this insistence on traditional spaces for women, even within leftist ideologies.

Del Castillo's male characters in *Le Colleur d'affiches* represent a broad spectrum of political ideologies. These characters are consistently Manichean, since they are divided along class as well as political lines. Santiago de Leyes, a wealthy aristocrat whose father is a fervent Christian looks to communism to address some of the issues he believes unresolved through his father's version of Christian dogma, such as social injustice. Santiago recruits the other significant male characters in the novel, Olny and Ramirez, to the communist party. These are working class men, whereas Santiago is both intellectual and articulate; Olny is neither. In another manifestation of the road not taken, although his male characters represent a range of possible political orientations, Del Castillo's female characters are drawn with more limited strokes: there are no significant females on the right. This lack of any feminine counterpart suggests that, in spite of the common brotherhood created by the exigencies of an armed struggle, such commonality and the overriding of otherwise impermeable social and education boundaries simply does not extend to

the male-female border which persists in the face of enormous socioeconomic change and development. In a stunning gesture of male-female differentiation, Del Castillo dimply does not allow the strong fraternal handshake of a new world order even to consider extending itself to feminine arms.

Del Castillo establishes gender differences not only in the spheres of political action, scope and in the exercise of political power as described above, but he also extends these differences to the cerebral and ideological differences of men and women in politics. All his female characters are more detached from the ideology, and, conversely, more concerned with aspects of every day living such as acquiring food to eat. During the war, the shortage of food had a particularly severe impact on Madrid and Barcelona [28] , and Del Castillo depicts Mariana and Olny's daily struggle to find food in Madrid, especially when she is pregnant, and after the baby's birth. In fact, Del Castillo implies that hunger and food scarcity were largely to blame for Olny's participation in the death squads.

One aspect of the characterization of Mariana that is worthy of note is the fact that she becomes a mother. In her article "Voices of the vanquished: Leftist women and the Spanish Civil War", Gina Herrmann discusses her findings with respect to her interviews of leftist women about their activities in the war. She discovered that many of them ceased political activity after becoming mothers. In providing details about her methodology, she states that, "Nearly all of the women

[28] P. 143 Nash

had male partners or husbands who were politically active before, during, and after the war." (Herrmann 12)

> The SCW offers a twist on the classic case of what often happens to activist women in revolutionary times: they enjoy mobilization but never reap the benefits of the subsequent emancipation their commitment would appear to have guaranteed them. Republican women in the war experienced a retrograde evolution: from some of the most repressive conditions for women in all of Europe to relative freedom and back to repression. New gender relations were largely a mirage as real egalitarian reforms, both on a legislative and socio cultural level, were never fully incorporated into Spanish society- even before the illusion of equality was utterly shattered by the Franco regime. One can only speculate what might have been the the social and political fate of women had the Republic won the war. (Herrmann 15)

The connection between motherhood and ideology within the context of a war makes one wonder how this manifests itself at the most basic level of human survival, when food is taken into consideration. The egregious living conditions and food scarcity in wartime Madrid have been well documented both historically and fictionally. During the war, women's bitter struggle for food constitutes in and of

itself a major battle and an often neglected subtext of all military commentary. As Nash notes,

> In December 1937, the Madrid socialist newspaper, *Claridad*, portrayed the appalling conditions under which women had to acquire food. For over a year now, in Madrid, food has been not only very scarce, but, in fact, unavailable except with heroic effort. The waiting lines suffered two threats: one bombshells ; the other, cold. At times, under freezing rain they were exposed to rough weather with temperatures of three to four degrees below zero [centigrade] from three to four o'clock in the morning to noon or late afternoon. And they put up with this suffering one day, and the next and the next. (143)

Because women, in their roles as mothers and providers on the home fronts, were the frontline soldiers in the continual fight against starvation and malnutrition, food scarcity might indeed be the major cause of the minor role women played in ideological battles. An empty stomach does not seek the consolation of political philosophy. Women were simply too worn out and preoccupied in their very real battleground against famine and its ensuing disease and death. An example of the difference in connection between a character and ideology which manifests itself along gender lines is the way Mariana, in the second half of the novel, (Les chemins du désespoir) begins to perceive the dismal failure of

communism to effect any positive changes in her situation as a disenfranchised member of society. However, Olny continues to be an adherent of communism's ideas, as he understands them, even while perceives their limitations. Interestingly, Del Castillo portrays Mariana as lacking complete discernment of his ideas. On the surface, this makes her look less sophisticated than he, but a closer reading reveals that Del Castillo presents her as having a limited ability to understand politics, and, at the same time, he attributes her with vision of the whole that is superior to that of Olny. However, with Mariana's vision come the realization, and thus the self knowledge, that she is more limited than Olny to do anything to change her own life and their common situation.

In fact, throughout the novel, due to Mariana's consistently greater grasp of immediate actuality than Olny's, Del Castillo portrays her in a sympathetic light. It is possible that Del Castillo's technique of referring to Mariana in the diminutive form may be a way of accentuating her status as a victim. In his depiction of Mariana's reaction to her husband's invective, Del Castillo writes:

> Au cours du dîner, il employait des mots dont le sens échappait à Marianita, se laissait emporter, se lançait dans de violentes diatribes contre les « forces bourgeoises et réactionnaires, » jurait, menaçait. [P]our lui, le monde était divisé en deux blocs : les communistes d'une part, et les salauds de l'autre.

> La jeune femme ne disait rien. Il eut été vain de chercher à discuter avec son mari. Qu'aurait-elle pu lui dire ? Elle ne savait pas parler, se contentait de sentir et de deviner, mais avait l'intuition qu'il se trompait. (163)

Unlike Luis Miguel in Jacqueline De Boulle's *Le desperado*, clearly Olny does not possess a monopoly of knowledge, and Mariana is clearly aware of his defective reasoning. Del Castillo is thus presenting male intelligence as flawed, but nonetheless accepted, unchallenged and indisputable by dint of any dissent being withheld. Male superiority is thus made authoritative with Mariana's complicity. However, the reader, by being given her inner mind state and her intellectual response, sees Mariana as a sentient, intelligent being whose views are formed, vibrant but not expressed. The paradigm of patriarchal power thus wins, but not without some cost to the power of innate female intelligence.

In the same way, Del Castillo, presenting Mariana's contact with politics through the prism of her relationship to Olny, also renders her aware of this connection. It is this supreme awareness of Mariana which make of her a fully realized and, finally interesting character. There is delicate irony in her being aware that she may not be aware of the origins of her awareness. The following passage again takes us into the self-aware, reflecting inner life of a woman, who is silent yet fully open to reality and relationship,

> Marianita souriait. Elle croyait à la révolution mais n'aurait su dire si elle y croyait parce que c'était lui qui lui parlait ou parce qu'elle avait besoin d'y croire. (98)

One should bear in mind that Mariana has a tendency to idolize Olny because she regards him as her savior. Earlier in the novel, she had been gang raped, and Olny attempted to "rescue" her from the rapists, and from the deplorable conditions in the *zone*. Therefore, in the first part of the novel, she displays a marked and repeated tendency to see him as her redeemer, or one could say, liberator, although this changes as the novel progresses. It is remarkable that Del Castillo makes clear that Mariana's perception of Olny as her savior does not include his politics.

In contrast to Del Castillo's caustic attack on communism, which extends to his depiction of communist characters as well as non-communist ones, Téry tends to romanticize characters that are on the left, and at the same time, to criticize those who are on the right. Her male characters who are leftists are kinder and more evolved individuals on many levels than her male characters on the right, but they are still imbued with patriarchal overtones, albeit more subtle ones than those of the men on the right. For example, when André, Josette's ex boyfriend, who is on the ideological right, terminates their relationship, he does so by uttering the words, « Et alors, Josette, vous et moi, nous n'appartenons pas au même monde. » (11) By contrast, Josette feels highly appreciated and accepted by the people,

mostly men, with whom she comes into contact in Spain, who are, of course, typically leftists. Once again, different political worlds have been examined through the lens of sexual and gender relationships. When Josette asks Moreno if he wants to see her identity documents, he responds by showing an unconditional trust and appreciation for her:

> Je vous en prie, Mademoiselle, c'est inutile, tout à fait inutile ! Pensez donc ! Nous savons que vous, vous êtes une vraie, une grande amie de l'Espagne. C'est pourquoi, au nom du gouvernement de la République, permettez-moi de vous exprimer toute notre reconnaissance. (56)

He then goes on to say that he wishes he could do more for her. Josette has status and patriotic value in this encounter, earning her an encomium delivered in polite and admiring political terms. The contrast with André could not be more marked and becomes a foil by which to view Josette. Josette's political life is thus presented in two opposing lights, which form the fulcrum on which Téry's presentation turns; the technique of having Josette move between the diverse perceptions of those around her forces the attentive reader to consider the forces moving in the contemporary landscape of Spain as Josette moves through the landscape of a lover and of changing realities.

For Josette, politics and romance are thus presented as being inextricably bound. The reader comes in contact with this throughout the novel, but

particularly so in the brief but significant relationship with Jean Guirec, who dies fighting for the Republican side. If it is puzzling that a communist female writer would choose to portray a fictional woman in terms of her relationships with men as having greater significance than a political cause, Helen Graham provides some insights into why this may have been the case. Although she was discussing centrist individuals, her comments are certainly applicable to the characterization of Josette. Graham observes,

> Most centrists believed that existing gender divisions were natural and therefore not susceptible to reform. Within this logic, female education was to be for the recipients a passive process. Middle–class women had to have democratic, secular Republican values inculcated in them, not primarily for their own benefit, but to ensure that they would reproduce in their children new values to sustain and nurture the Republican order. There is an evident patriarchal continuity between this view of women's natural passivity and Francoism's : in both cases women were to be the ideological as well as physical reproducers of the nation. (Graham 103)

In addition to the aforementioned inequality, in the two novels, relationships between men and women which had elements of ideology infused into them are characterized by women comingling politics and sentiments while men do not. This is clearly the case with Mariana, and is also present in Josette but in a different manner. For Josette, political awareness is a type of rebirth.

> Avoir voulu se suicider pour un André Larbeau- quel ridicule! Le rouge lui montait aux joues quand elle pensait à ce petit monsieur désinvolte. Ce n'était pas pour André qu'elle avait voulu disparaître, elle s'en rendait compte maintenant: il n'avait été que le prétexte de sa révolte contre cette mort vivante de son existence d'autrefois. (174)

The reader cannot help but wonder whether this was a fictional portrayal of some of the discussions that took place about women's suffrage in Spain of the 1930s, because although Josette redefines herself, her sentimental identity is given greater weight than her political identity. A look at the history of the suffragette movement in Spain is useful in this regard.

Three different women deputies: Margarita Nelken, Victoria Kent and Clara Campoamor were elected deputies in 1930s Spain.[29] Although they all accomplished much in their lifetimes, there is one area of Kent and Nelken's lengthy, variegated and prolific careers that continues to spark debate, which is their opposition to granting women the unconditional right to vote. One of the reasons that they were concerned was that they believed that women, without sufficient education, would follow male voting preferences. Manuel Azaña y Díaz (1880-1940), the Minister and eventually President of the Second Republic, who considered himself a champion of women's rights and secular education, alluded to

[29] For a detailed discussion of Kent's role in this, see pp. 71-88 in Zenaida Guitiérrez Vega's *Victoria Kent: una vida al servicio del humanismo liberal*

this in his scathing remarks about Victoria Kent in the midst of the aforementioned polemic:

> La señorita Kent está porque no se conceda ahora el voto a las mujeres, que en gran número siguen las aspiraciones de los curas y frailes, y si votasen se pondría en peligro la República. La señorita Campoamor es de la opinión contraria. La Campoamor es más lista y más elocuente que la Kent, pero también más antipática. (Gutiérrez Vega 76)

These political changes brought promise of a new social order, and scholars have commented on the exciting opportunities the Republic could offer women. According to Gina Ann Herrmann,

> Under the liberal democratic Spanish Republic, voted into power in 1931 in the first open elections held in Spain, the qualitative change in quotidian existence for women was potentially even greater than it was for men. (12)

The most remarkable changes for women in the package of reforms to the 1931 Constitution were new divorce laws, and greater employment protection since it would become illegal to fire women just because they had married. Therefore, given the potentially monumental impact of these alterations in the social landscape, it is not surprising that a female elected official's opposition to

granting women the right to vote would cause such passionate and wide ranging reactions.

Although Ms. Kent never changed her view on the subject, the passage of time has made way for different interpretations of it. Helen Graham states that "until the impetus given by the 1930s political reforms, *autonomous* organization by women in Spain was that of an élite- often university-linked. (103) At times, Kent appeared to sympathize more with educated women, as can be seen in the following example,

> […] si las mujeres españolas hubiesen atravesado ya un período universitario y estuvieran liberadas en su conciencia, yo me levantaría hoy frente a toda la Cámara para pedir el voto femenino. (Vollendorf 213)

If the focus of this feminism was middle class women's education, one must recall that this was not appealing to anarchist or socialist women who sought to effect change across more widely defined class lines.

Another manner of understanding Kent's resistance to the female vote is to view her opinion as based on gender difference, not gender equality. There is a significant distance between the ideas of different but equal, and different and unequal. There was no room in 1930s Spain for Kent's stance to be interpreted any other way than: different and unequal. Clara Campoamor, who was also a female leftist deputy, may be partially responsible for the fact that Kent's stance was seen

as completely discriminatory. Campoamor supported giving women the right to vote.

There are, however, other possible interpretations for Kent's opinion. One of them, expressed by Lou Charnon-Deutsch in an essay on Concepción Arenal, states that Kent was forced to remain loyal to her party, which was against granting women the right to vote, because it feared that if the right won, it would endanger their own future.

> For some, the reason for her vote was one of party alliance taking precedence over personal conviction: as a member of the Radical Socialist Party, it was assumed that Kent was pressured to vote against the suffrage clause, fearing for the future of the party if she dissented. (213)

If Lou Charnon-Deutsch saw Victoria Kent in a positive light, an entirely different opinion emerges when one examines more recent feminist scholarship. For example, Shirley Mangini believes that Kent felt her exceptionality made her view herself as "separate from her gender." (33) The reactions about Victoria Kent's reluctance to immediately grant women the right to vote are often revealing not only about Kent's views, but also disclose a great deal about those who agree or disagree with her. Clearly those who opposed her view saw it as a way of supporting conventional gender stereotypes without mention of restructuring or changing them. In any event, the reluctance of the most vocal female suffragettes

in Spain to embrace unconditionally a female vote speaks to the enormous and conservative mass which would need to be moved before Spanish women-and their fictional counterparts like Josette- could even envisage a climate approaching political equality with males.

If Victoria Kent's conditional opposition to women's voting rights seems strange on a visceral level, it must not be forgotten that her stance came at a time when Spain was shifting in a direction unlike the rest of Europe, which was moving toward an ever increasing conservative right. The end of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, which lasted from 1923-1930, plus the disorder of the Spanish right meant that it was a propitious time for the development of a progressive Spanish Republic. The Wall Street Crash of 1929 catapulted a complete lack of confidence in capitalist systems, which, as Helen Graham states, "[…] saw the collapse of pluralist democratic regimes across the continent and their replacement by fascist, quasi-fascist, or authoritarian dictatorships." (99)

In order to further contextualize *La porte du soleil*, written by Téry, a twentieth century French female leftist writer, scholarship on Simone de Beauvoir can help to elucidate understanding of some of Téry's mechanisms. In her essay on France and the Spanish Civil War, Claudine Hunting made some remarks about Simone de Beauvoir which are pertinent to these quesions.

> The French, in fact, soon proved to be the largest contingent in the International Brigades.

Engagés intellectuals, i.e., committed to socio-political causes, followed suit, combatting the enemy with gun and/or pen. This movement included a few women. But the writings of French women connected with the Spanish war are singularly dwarfed by the enormous output from male authors in France, as well as throughout the world, of apologias, memoirs and fiction, relating to that subject. Furthermore, there is nothing comparable in female fiction, on that topic, for example, to Malraux's *L'Espoir* (1937); just as, in action, no French woman competes – there was no Pasionaria on this side of the border – with the brilliant image of "the Byron of the age," Malraux, who moved in an aura of heroism and epic gallantry (Thomas 225). Like a character from the pages of his novel, he led the French fliers for the Republicans against the crushing forces of the German and Italian warplanes on the Falangist side.

The problematics of woman's relative "absence," then, from both domains, in France are predicated not only on a topic and situation intrinsically abhorrent to her, i.e., war, but also, and more fundamentally, on the secondary status she has been traditionally subjected to in a patriarchal society that ignores her values and suppresses her aspirations. In other words, an auxiliary and subordinate, she is the "second sex," after Simone de Beauvoir's

> ironic title. In the present context and in practical terms, regarding both writing on and action in the Spanish conflict, woman's actual non-involvement – with a few exceptions- is part of a syndrome which characterizes her existence as a mere "shadow," or absence of the self. (Hunting 262-263)

The selection of the word "shadow" is a poignant one. Josette originally goes to Spain to die, which is tantamount to the desire, in a sense, to become a shadow, or, at the very least to be devoid of essence. The novel opens with the sentence: « Josette allait en Espagne pour mourir.» (5) A more accurate description might be that she did not particularly want to live since she was so devastated by the ending of the relationship with André. He resurfaces later in the novel in a political context as opposed to a sentimental or romantic one.

Although there is not a great deal of critical material on Téry's novel, there is critical historical material on other matters which can be applied to the depiction of women and ideology in the novel. In particular, *Las trece rosas*, the thirteen leftist young women activists executed by Franco sympathizers, provide an ongoing exemplar for all thought on the role of women during the Spanish Civil War. In her scholarship on them, Tabea Alexa Linhard states,

> Without idealizing the years of the Republic or the war years, one can safely say that during that time women gained responsibilities and possibilities as well as access to the public arena. Republican

> cultural production, however, was not ready to articulate the complexity of these changes. But even though underlying patriarchal structures remained mostly unchallenged during the years of the Second Republic, and economic hardship and lack of education often limited women's rights, women's political agency still increased dramatically. During the war gender roles changed even more radically. Women's participation in the struggle consequently opened up significant mold breaking possibilities and spaces for women's direct action and initiatives. (188)

Despite these unprecedented and groundbreaking changes, the essential question remains why Republican literature as a whole did not reflect certain aspects of women's situation during the war. Equally pressing is the inquiry why authors writing in French uniformly and steadfastly similarly chose to adhere to traditional parameters, even though they were writing well after the war, and were not subjected to Franco's censorship. The road not taken by authors appears then to be a troubling universal option. When Linhard states that, "Militancy in a leftist party was an outright defiance of the gender roles and rules that the Francoist state had established already during the war, and that relegated women to a controlled, domestic sphere," she is noticing the tendency for subsequent and post war writing to adopt as precedent the ethos of Franco. (Linhard 190) Discussing poetic production about "*Las trece rosas*", Linhard states that tropes describing women's

heroism had ambivalent functions (Linhard 192). Furthermore, in evaluating poems written about Las trece rosas by Spanish women who were imprisoned at the time of the executions (August 5, 1939), Linhard establishes that the poems were a "counter narrative that corrodes the patriarchal language of Spanish Civil War poetry from within." (Linhard 192) The novels discussed so far can also be said to operate within patriarchal linguistic constraints and to work by pressuring from within for changes that were occurring only well beyond the borders of Spain. This would explain in part, the reason for the road not taken in this literature even when alternative possibilities percolate close to the road surface and when foreign developments attempting to reconcile female political power with domestic and sexual femaleness provide a roadmap only partially and badly translated into the idiom of the novelistic worlds of the Spanish Civil War.

Chapter IV:

Two Depictions of Women's Connections to Combatants in the International Brigades

Synopsis and Criticism of Robert Brasillach's *Les sept couleurs* (1939) and Henri François Rey's *La fête espagnole* (1959)

The title of the novel by Brasillach (1909-1945) is a reference to its seven part structure, and each section is designed to emphasize a different facet of the narrative. Although the Plon edition of the novel has no prologue, Bertrand de Muñoz states that Brasillach himself states in the prologue to the 1939 Gallimard edition,

> qu'un roman peut être constitué de divers elements, tels des fragments de journaux intimes, des ensembles de letters, des poèmes, des constructions idéologiques, des dialogues, des monologues intérieurs, des essais ou maximes, des documents ; il juge opportun de dissocier ces éléments selon que chacun peut mieux convenir pour décrire un épisode particulier. (222)

It should be noted that although the Spanish Civil War occupies few pages in proportion to the rest of the novel, its importance with respect to the whole of the novel is monumental. The story begins with a tale of two adolescent students: Catherine Berger and Patrice Blanchon. They are separated for some time, during

which Catherine informs Patrice that she will marry François Courtet. In the meantime, Patrice becomes moved and inspired by the fascist doctrine to which he is exposed in Nuremberg. However, a decade later, he tries to rekindle the romance with Catherine in Paris, and as Muñoz comments, "Catherine est heureuse de sa petite vie bourgeoise et refuse de le suivre." (223) A misunderstanding between Catherine and François takes place in which he believes (mistakenly) that she has left him. He volunteers for the fascists in Spain, where he is injured. After two years without any news of him, Catherine finds out what has happened. The novel ends with her on a train which will take her to him in Spain, and she reflects upon her life until that point.

Of all the novels in this dissertation, Brasillach's came closest to critical recognition at a time in France when literature and politics were particularly intertwined. In his work entitled *The Fascist Ego : A Political Biography of Robert Brasillach*, William Tucker states,

> *Je suis partout* and the *Action française,* wrote Brasillach to a friend in Lyon on October 2, 1939, were the only two worthwhile newspapers published in France, for they alone refused to succumb to the officially sanctioned democratic brainwashing. His attitude quickly changed, however, when he failed to win the Goncourt literary prize that he had been nominated for his novel *Les sept couleurs*). (210)

Henri-François Rey's (1919-1987) breakout novel, *La fête espagnole* was first published in 1958, and according to the film data base Imdb.com, was made into a film in 1961 entitled *No Time for Ecstasy*. Bertrand de Muñoz claims that he received favorable reviews, and that a significant number of articles were written about his work; they are not easily available (184). The story of the novel is about Georgenko, a man born in the Ukraine who acquires Belgian citizenship. He joins the International Brigades not so much out of conviction, but more out of nihilism. Right before he crosses the border into Spain, he makes the acquaintance of Nathalie, an American journalist. They experience a mutual and compelling love at first sight. He would like to desert, but fears that she will think he is a coward. She would love for him to desert, but does not have the courage to ask him to do so. When he finally makes the decision not to return to the Brigades, in spite of efforts of behalf of their friends to help them escape, he is caught. The anarchists execute him, and the novel ends with Nathalie's pain. Bertrand de Muñoz states that the end of the love story is similar to the end of a bullfight, hence the novel's name (186). She also praises the realistic dialogue. (186) Her evaluation of the novel is,

> Il est curieux de constater que dans ce premier roman d'Henri-François Rey, tous les éléments de ses livres suivants s'y trouvent : alcool, érotisme, homosexualité, cynisme et tendresse, misère et grandeur de l'homme, amour et mort, style coloré, « un peu voyou », parsemé de mot grossiers. (186)

Commentary

Those novels of the Spanish Civil War which pivot on stories on foreign engagement have much to tell regarding the question of wartime male and female cooperation, male and female level of involvement and male and female ambition. The Spanish Civil War provoked global interest, support and engagement unprecedented in any previous war, The Great War-the war to end all wars-of 1914-1918 included. New and relatively easier means of transportation and travel made opportunities and abilities for worldwide participation in the Spanish struggle both viable and possible. New methods of communication and media, like the telephone, telegraph and the radio, and therefore wider and deeper newspaper reporting, contributed to a universally high level of knowledge, information and opinion regarding Spanish political and military developments. In particular, all of the communications advances mentioned above led to a widespread global interest, affiliation or membership in or general support of International Communism; consciously encouraged by Russian Communist Party propaganda and embraced eagerly by Western intellectuals and individuals disillusioned by capitalism, Western support for Communist Party ideals flourished in the early 1930s. Trotsky's flight to the West fanned the flames of the Communist cause in the United States, as did the economic woes of the Great Depression. Socialism, particularly in Britain and America, found in the Spanish peninsula an opportunity for a Socialist voice and future, finding in advocates like George Orwell a successful and widely read

spokesman for the anti-Franco stance and for direct involvement in the struggles of the Spanish people against totalitarianism. The rise of Fascism in Germany and in Italy nurtured, in turn, not only intense socialist reaction but a general, anti-fascist attitude which mobilized, focused and coalesced an international anti-Francoist movement and consciousness. The brigades of international soldiers who flocked to Spanish soil as a result of the confluence of all those ideological and historical currents were a rich and diverse stream which provided rich background and diverse points of entry for many chroniclers and writers of fiction on the years of conflict in Spain. Foreign soldiers, World War I veterans, volunteers, nurses, doctors, journalists and writers were a real and active source in Spain during the opening years of the war. Although of relatively brief duration, the International Brigades during the Spanish Civil War contributed enormously to the perception of this struggle as an unprecedented and singular human event. No other war before or since the Spanish Civil War has called into creation any comparable phenomena as the International Brigades.

It must be stressed at the outset that any non-Spaniard fighting in Spain was not unavoidably and automatically part of the International Brigades, but may simply have been viewed as either foreign sympathizer or collaborator and not necessarily a brigadier. André Malraux is a prime example of such committed foreign participation without official International Brigade status. Malraux's experience as member of a Spanish squadron forms the essence of his novel *L'espoir.* Malraux's case, illustrating that one could and did join a neighboring

country's fight without too much difficulty or fanfare, implies both that nationality was seen as a somewhat seamless concept, and that an eagerly shared brotherhood or solidarity transcended national borders. Malraux reiterates these views throughout the pages of *L'espoir*.

Another foreign sympathizer who is not an international brigadier exists on the pages of Ernest Hemigway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls*: its protagonist Robert Jordan. Clearly, the distinction of whether a character is a brigadier or a foreign fighter is worthy of consideration, having as it does implications with respect to the author's perspective on the war, particularly in the way in which the author perceives otherness.

Malraux and Hemingway's novelistic depictions of foreign contributions to the war were both written during the war. *L'espoir* perpetuates the idea that joining a solid and loving international brotherhood is uncomplicated, and will provide a difficult, challenging but ultimately rewarding experience**.** As discussed in the introduction, Malraux's vision of the Spanish Civil war did not include women. This crucial fact is underscored by the contrast found in Hemingway's version of the war in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, which not only included women but which depicted them as enjoying more status than that of many other female characters discussed in this dissertation. The theme of the impact, repercussions and aftermath of international help in the struggle, whether in the form of the International Brigades or as individuals joining a cause, is yet another aspect of the war that continues to promote multiple interpretations and controversy which in turn can be productively

examined through the prism of female inclusion or exclusion. Thus, a critical lens, focused on the separate issue of the foreigners who came into Spain as part of the armed conflict, will of necessity look at both the male and female dynamics of characters in Spain as well as the author's cultural or geographical origins as having informed his or her gender views. Nascent or actualized cultural and contemporaneous attitudes surrounding patriarchal traditions and feminism, like the suffragette movements, trials, successes or failures in other countries were either consciously or otherwise incorporated into the works of foreign authors writing novels about the Spanish upheavals. Whether adopted or not by Spanish nationals, writers and artists, other non-Spanish attitudes towards male-female dynamics were thus transported artistically into an imaginative realm set in a Spanish reality and often using Spanish male and female characters. The progress and toll of the war setting on these Spanish fictitious characters spun by the foreign sensibility of the writer and infused with whatever he or she brought to the work created its particularly literary dynamic made of its own fabric the weave that this chapter will analytically decipher. In addition, the artistic influence of foreign writers, observers and journalists on native Spanish writers-and vice versa, forged as it was in the crucible of a modern war and united in an anti-Fascist struggle must have provided some give and take in the novels created out of this international crucible. While this dialectic is of speculative interest, it is an undeniable fact that internationals taking part in the war produced a body of work reflecting masculine and feminine realities brought about by a new type of warfare. In fact, the very

presence of foreign writers on Spanish soil and their creation of novels growing out of this experience is itself as much a facet of an unprecedented twentieth-century war reality as the scientific and militaristic advances in weaponry and communications that make the Spanish war the first truly modern war. From the Spanish Civil War on, foreign presence and participation in as well as foreign writing about wars worldwide have been a continual historical, political and literary fact; there is no reason to believe that this will cease to exist over the foreseeable future. For this reason, any study on novels produced during or about the Spanish Civil War would be incomplete without an analysis of the importance of the International Brigades on the corpus of the works produced.

Since participation in the International Brigades is a significant aspect of the novels to be discussed in this chapter, it is useful to recall briefly the other texts studied thus far in this dissertation, in order to determine the degree to which authors considered nationality in the construction of romantic relationships and in female characterization within them. In *Le desperado*, Jacqueline De Boulle tells the story of love between two Spaniards, as does Joseph Peyré in *Le pont des sorts*, although Peyré would probably prefer to describe his male protagonist as Basque. Peyré further develops the significance of Basque identity through the textured characterization of Hispana, as her acquisition of the Basque language becomes a metaphor for the way in which her sense of self undergoes a metamorphosis as a result of both the war and her involvement with Juan. The fact that the Basque country is a crossroads between Spain and France also denotes that there was a

space that was its own land, connected to and separate from Spain at the same time. The inhabitants of this space, Hispana and Juan, are able to find some kind of refuge, albeit not a perfectly complete one, from the war, both within their relationship and within their physical domain. Consequently, there is a suggestion on the part of Peyré that two Spaniards cannot flourish together in wartime and postwar Spain, but can do so outside Spain. The reader is aware that the age difference between Hispana and Juan is so great that their relationship, once it transcends student/teacher boundaries, is thought of as scandalous. However, with time, the lovers are able to negotiate these age and class differences, and in fact achieve harmony, but in order to do so, Hispana has to step outside her Spanish nationality and "adapt" to Juan's concept of a female Basque national. The very existence in this novel of a non-Spanish solution to the problems set up in the love story speaks to the international, outward looking viewpoints brought about by foreign presences like the International Brigades into the realm of Spanish life and transposed into fiction set in a Spanish background.

De Boulle, on the other hand, uses exile as a vehicle which ultimately separates Isabel and Miguel, who are both Spanish, since their life as a couple unravels more outside of Spain's borders than within them. Therefore, in the novels studied in the first chapter, in one case, that of *Le pont des sorts*, nationality is critical both within the relationship between Hispana and Juan, and in the greater context of the war. In the second novel, *Le desperado*, De Boulle does not emphasize the role of nationality as much as Peyré does, except to say that the fact

that two people have the same nationality is not necessarily a guarantee that the relationship will remain intact over time. The war may have initially brought Isabel and Luis Miguel together, but it also separates them in the long run.

In the novels studied in the second chapter, Jacques Bureau's *Trois pierres chaudes en Espagne*, and José Luis de Vilallonga's *Allegro barbaro*, the former represents Jean and Jeanne, French nationals who are both quite eager to participate in their neighboring country's armed struggle. Jean's participation corresponds to a Malraux-like concept of the ease of lending support to the war, yet Jeanne's assassination of Francisco Franco to give Jean a distinctive birthday gift does not fit into the Hemingway mold of women fighting as equals to men. Jeanne is clearly the superior warrior. She is the savior of Spain, and, in Bureau's eyes, the savior of the Western world as well. Bureau thus establishes a link between Spain and other nations, and between Spain's struggle and that of its neighbors. Therefore, nationality is not a significant factor in the relationship between Jean and Jeanne, but Bureau does bring it up in connection to her deed—she saves many lives—by having her kill the beast, Franco, and his political brethren**.**

In the other novel discussed in the second chapter, *Allegro barbaro,* Vilallonga's characters are Spaniards; thus nationality throughout the novel remains homogenous. It is interpretatively possible that the inbred qualities which Vilallonga ascribes to the dysfunctional Los Cobos family constitute an allegory of Spain's self destruction in the war. As the country rots, so do its formerly powerful families.

In the novels analyzed in the third chapter, Simone Téry's *La porte du soleil*

and Michel Del Castillo's *Le colleur d'affiches*, Téry's female protagonist, Josette, is able to find love with both a Frenchman and later a Spaniard, suggesting that nationality has no particular relevance in romantic compatibility. This has points in common with Malraux's depiction of friendship during the war. In Malraux's world, women are absent, yet men find friendship and fraternity. In Téry's world, male friendship and fraternity have a central role, but del Castillo's vision, unlike Malraux's novelistic realm, includes romantic love for the woman (and by extension, for the man as well.) For Del Castillo, the fact that the characters are all Spaniards further accentuates the claustrophobic quality of their lives. They cannot leave the country, (in fact, they cannot even leave the city), as exiting from the *zone* becomes impossible on every level.

One of the novels under scrutiny in this chapter, *Les sept couleurs* by Robert Brasillach, much like Jean Jacques Bureau's *Trois pierres chaudes en Espagne* and Simone Téry's *La porte du soleil* also avoids detail as to how one of the male protagonists, François Courtet, became involved in the war. The reader knows only that Courtet believes that his wife has abandoned him. However, once in Spain, Courtet changes his name, suggesting that if nationality is seamless, identity is not. Since the three novels, *Les sept couleurs*, *Trois pierres chaudes en Espagne* and *La porte du soleil* all feature characters who willingly lend their lives to the Spanish cause with little explanation, there is an implication on the part of Brasillach, Bureau and Téry that French involvement in Spain's war was a natural action, one that did not require much rationalization. With respect to the ease of voluntary

French participation in the Spanish conflict, the novels of a fascist writer, Robert Brasillach, a leftist writer, Jean Jacques Bureau, and a communist writer, Simone Téry, essentially and strikingly lead to this same conclusion.

Téry's depictions of the war take place almost exclusively within Spain. The time Josette spends in France is the amount necessary to develop the plot, and no more. However, Bureau and Brasillach do not portray their characters in Spain, and do not really discuss the war in substantial depth. Nonetheless, the war's importance in both novels is monumental with respect to the whole of the text. The fact that Jacques Bureau does not provide concrete details about his characters' experiences in Spain can be attributed to the fantastic elements of his novel. Brasillach's lack of detail, in *Les sept couleurs,* about Courtet's experience in Spain also provokes questions. Richard Golsan notes the lack of realism when he finds that, "Even the Civil War itself hardly seems real, since Brasillach's protagonists are never shown fighting, suffering and dying on the battlefield." (Golsan b 49) The Spanish conflict then, has traveled to and inserted itself into the fictional existence of France much as any returning French national would have done at the end of a tour of duty on the Spanish mainland. Like returning international brigadiers, who would have brought their Spanish military experience to bear on their future lives in France, the very experiences themselves are transported and woven into the subject matter of French novels whose concerns rest intrinsically French yet cannot avoid being colored by their Spanish sojourn.

On the other hand, Henri François Rey's *La fête espagnole*, does realistically

take up the theme of the International Brigades with substantial intensity and detail. Furthermore, the author infuses his depiction of the International Brigades with vivid dialogue. In stark contrast to Brasillach's mythical heroes, Rey's heroes converse, argue, curse, smoke, drink alcohol and engage in sexual relations. Brasillach's allegorical approach gives way in Rey's to a much more earthy and pictorial one, where the sweat and the blood, the food and drink of daily life, the smells and sight of battle, are essential and visceral threads of plot, intention and meaning. The following example illustrates this.

> -On s'amuse pas beaucoup dans votre ville, dit-il à son voisin.
>
> -Dites plutôt qu'on s'emmerde, oui.
>
> C'était l'amorce, le reste suivit naturellement.
>
> -Vous êtes de passage, dit la patronne.
>
> -Oui, je repars demain.
>
> -De l'autre côté ?
>
> Georgenko se fit prudent.
>
> -Non, pour Paris ; je suis dans les affaires.
>
> Tout cela dit avec un clin d'œil, et la patronne par politesse, de cligner elle aussi.
>
> Il lorgnait les filles dans la glace placée derrière le bar : une assez jolie, une possible, deux pouffiasses. Une des pouffiasses se leva et vint vers lui.
>
> [L]a fille faisait son métier de putain en essayant de se coller à lui.

> Trop de graisse, ma jolie, cheveux ternes, les dents qui foutent le camp, tout juste bonne pour la garnison et je ne suis pas encore militaire. (30)

If the manner in which Brasillach and Rey portray their male protagonists is dissimilar, so is the place that women occupy within their partner's lives. In *La fête espagnole,* Nathalie, in love with Georgenko, a brigadier originally from the Ukraine is shown as usually present with her partner most times, accompanying him in most of his exploits and in most of the events of his life during the time that they are together. This negates a strict division between the "home" and battle fronts, suggesting rather a fluid and shared continuity between the lovers. This is so much the case that Nathalie actually hears the shots of his execution at the end of the novel. By contrast, Catherine, the female protagonist of *Les sept couleurs* is far from Spain, suggesting a non-negotiable separation of the home and battle fronts. It appears that Brasillach is attempting to perpetuate conventional military and gender roles, which directly affect how his male soldiers are perceived. Importantly, women distanced far from the battlefields are able to fully mourn the death of their men. Grief, separated from the brutal and frenetic activity at the front, is thus artistically isolated, framed and allowed its own fraught intensity. On the battlefield, mourning becomes simply one more military fact amongst countless other, shocking ones. Brasillach's focus on this faraway, emotional reaction of the women at home and divorced from the facts of military realities has the effect of making the lives and deaths of the fighting, dying men more mythical, while the women are

seen as marginalized, clearly separated, in an undeniable road not taken. This fragmentation also suggests the emotional and geographical independence and viability of men, traveling as they have done away from home and hearth and breathing their last breath on strange soil. According to this scheme, women do not leave the home front for battle, nor would they want to. Readers of Jacqueline De Boulle's *Le desperado* recall this same architecture of a relationship in the couple composed of Isabel and Luis Miguel, discussed in detail in Chapter I. In that case, as well as in the case of Brasillach's Catherine, there is no hint of female autonomy. In all these various novels, then, male and female self definitions have been presented in terms of the presence or absence of active, actual involvement on the battlefield or lack of such engagement.

In this respect, Luis Miguel of *Le desperado* and François Courtet both left the marital abode while Isabel and Catherine remained. De Boulle's Communist priest-in-training and Brasillach's dyed-in-the-wool fascist foreign volunteer fall into somewhat foreseeable patterns since the women never even so much as threaten the men's potential for being labeled heroic. This echoes and repeats many of the tensions surrounding the monopoly of male heroism which emerged in Franco's execution of the thirteen militant socialist young women, *las trece rosas*, briefly mentioned in Chapter III. In this regard, Tabea Alexa Linhard remarks pertinently on some of the differences between male and female war heroes,

> However, when we have not fallen heroes but fallen heroines, the conventional paradigm of the hero's death in battle is unsettled. The

> classic notion of heroism and immortal fame emerges directly out of the Homeric world, an undoubtedly gendered schema. Nancy Hartsock explains that, in the Homeric world, women were traditionally barred from the battlefield and consequently from the possibility of achieving immortal honour and fame, as it remained a woman's task to 'mourn the dead hero, to bury him (Antigone), to recognize his sacrifice' (191)

Although Brasillach and Rey show similarities in their portrayal of their male characters, there are some significant differences. While Brasillach's male protagonist goes to Spain because he believes he has been abandoned by his wife, suggesting that political ideals can override and replace romantic love in a fully carried out sublimation, Rey's protagonist *finds* love in Spain. Interestingly, Georgenko becomes a deserter because his love becomes more important to him than the political "ideals" that brought him to Spain in the first place. In an essay on fictional works which feature the International Brigades, Bertrand de Muñoz notes,

> Every protagonist in these works,…[f]ights for the dignity of mankind, so that future generations may live free of political, religious and social chains. All of them are foreigners and they feel a sense of brotherhood towards the Spaniards in their fight against the forces of oppression and darkness.
>
> The same ideals push also initially the heroes of Henri-François Rey

> in *La fête espagnole*,…[T]hese stories have in common several facts: the three main characters fight with the *brigadas*; they fall in love with a woman and she becomes more important to them than the humanitarian wish to fight for a great cause, which motivated them initially; in a basically selfish love they find happiness, although briefly, as they all die at the end of the works... (359)

In order to further contextualize the fictionalization of the International Brigades, it is of use to recall some of their characteristics. While it is difficult to obtain information with complete accuracy about their numbers and nationalities, according to Michael W. Jackson,

> Five brigades were designated "International." During the rigors and confusion of the campaign, military units appear and disappear. This was as true of the International Brigades as of any other armed force. Where possible they were kept together in groups with a common language, but given the number of languages this was not possible for the Balkans, the Dutch, and the Scandinavians. Besides the five brigades called International, there were also three other formations of International volunteers in the infantry. Table (1) offers a summary of the organization of the International Brigades. (2)

Table II.

Summary of the Organization of the International Brigades

Brigade	Date Formed	Main Language
11th October	1936	German
12th November	1936	Italian
13th December	1936	French
14th December	1936	French
15th February	1937	English
129th July	1937	Hungarian
86th July	1937	Balkan

Source: Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War,* pp. 968-969

It is curious that even though France was geographically closer to Spain than any other country which provided brigadiers, Jackson points out that

> The propensity to write of their experiences does not seem to have fallen evenly across nationalities. Despite the large number of French-speaking volunteers, they have published little primary literature, while Italian, English and German survivors left more first-hand accounts. (7)

The two novels in this chapter present varied accounts of the International Brigades; however, both concur emphatically with respect to the female road not taken. Both authors employ dissimilar techniques to illustrate their point; but once again, all women's voices are reduced to whispers. An examination of the author's backgrounds provides clues as to possible reasons for this common approach with respect to female characterization.

The post war novels, previously discussed in the first three chapters of this work, were by authors with political visions ranging from communism to monarchism. In addition, one writer, Michel Del Castillo, declared he was neither a proponent of the Left nor of the Right. Because Robert Brasillach's *Les sept couleurs* presently under consideration was written during the *sturm und drang* of the war itself, it, like Goerges Limbour's *La pie voleuse,* to be discussed in the next chapter,

must be given its due as a work springing and organically connected to the turbulent times which inspired it, and, importantly, not having the benefits of hindsight of a maturing and distanced writer.

The 1939 date of publication is not the only element differentiating *Les sept couleurs* from other novels studied in this thesis. *Les sept couleurs* is an unapologetically fascist work, which is consistent with the author's own ideology. In French literary circles, Robert Brasillach (1909-1945) was one of the most ardent supporters of fascism along with Pierre Drieu la Rochelle (1893-1945). Robert Soucy makes an interesting point about the two writers, which helps to situate them more precisely within the political and literary gamut of twentieth-century French novelists:

> Although Brasillach and Drieu were hardly identical twins, either literarily or temperamentally, they had much in common, their mutual support of French fascism during the 1930s and their support of Franco during the Spanish Civil War being the most obvious. They were in many ways the extreme right's counterparts to Malraux and Gide on the French literary scene. (310)

Soucy goes on to discuss what he considers the "anti bourgeois romanticism" of the two writers. (310) Certainly one sees many anti bourgeois characteristics in Patrice, and François, the male protagonists of *Les sept couleurs*. On the other hand, Catherine, the female protagonist, *is* portrayed as being quite bourgeois until the

end of the novel. Whereas at the beginning of the novel she has concerns about Patrice not being ready for the commitment of marriage, she understands by the end of the novel that the sacrifice made by François and others like him was, in the final analysis, a noble and worthwhile one.

It should be noted that Brasillach's involvement in politics is well documented, and that he was executed as a collaborator in 1945. The trial brought out, as David Bell suggests, some critical questions such as, "What responsibility do writers bear for their work? When do words become crimes?" (p.2 www.nytimes.com/books/00/04/30/reviews/000430.30belllt.html) The aftermath of the trial also brought with it some questions of its own. In an interview about her book on the subject of the trial and execution of Robert Brasillach, Alice Kaplan made some interesting remarks about the reactions of certain French writers with respect to Brasillach and the death penalty:

> A group of writers and intellectuals circulated a petition to be sent to DeGaulle, asking him to pardon Brasillach. Camus signed it, but only because he was opposed to the death penalty. He said he had no respect for Brasillach-the man or the writer. Sartre and Beauvoir refused to sign. The petition was signed by several well known men of the theater, and by a number of conservatives in the Académie Française. François Mauriac, the distinguished Catholic novelist and member of the resistance, did all he could to gather signatures--an extraordinarily charitable gesture since Brasillach had attacked him

> viciously in print during the Occupation. Even among the writers who refused to sign, it was a shock when Brasillach went to death, because--good or bad--he was one of them. (www.press.uchicago.edu/Misc/Chicago/424146in.html) [30]

There are several aspects of the structure of *Les sept couleurs* that merit mentioning. One of them is that the book is divided into seven sections: I. *Récit*, II. *Lettres*; III. *Journal*; IV. *Réflexions*; V. *Dialogue*; VI. *Documents*; VII. *Discours*. Every section is written in its own distinct style, as its title suggests, and many sections are preceded by quotes. These quotes have captured the interests of critics such as Richard Golsan, who remarks,

> Each section of Brasillach's novel describing the adventures of his fascist heroes is introduced by an epigram taken from Corneille's *Polyeucte,* and the love triangle in *Les Sept Couleurs* is clearly inspired by a similar triangle in Corneille's tragedy. In the last segment of the novel, Courtet's wife, Catherine, who is going to Spain to bring her wounded husband home, compares him and his fellow fascist warriors directly to Polyeucte and another well known Cornelian hero, Horace. Brasillach's intention in making these comparisons is evidently to further emphasize the nobility of his heroes and the grandeur of their destiny. (*Countering L'espoir* 48)

[30] In addition to his fiction writing, Brasillach also wrote poetry and essays, and was a journalist, film critic and theater critic.

Another facet worthy of note with respect to the construction of the novel is that Brasillach inserts sections from his nonfiction works into this fictional one. At times there is attribution, sometimes there is none. In the middle of a passage in *Les sept couleurs*, there are verbatim passages from his work *Histoire de la guerre d'Espagne* (1939). For Brasillach, the distances between conventional definitions of literary narrative and factual narrative are at times completely blurred. Richard Golsan is of the opinion that Brasillach, fascinated by André Malraux's technique of journalistic dispatches in *L'espoir*, incorporated them into his own work as a tool to writing fiction inspired by and consistently connected to actual and military events.[31] (*Countering L'espoir,* 44)

While at first glance it may seem odd that a dedicated leftist such as Malraux, and an impenitent fascist such as Brasillach would have elements in common in their writings, it is possible that this emanated from their mutual desire to create a fabled version of the war. Catherine Savage Brosman's comments help to shed some light on this.

> Unless they are very short--vignettes, brief stories--and sometimes even then, war narratives are inevitably shaped and colored by either affirmation or denial of a collective purpose or meaning that

[31] For more interpretations of the effectiveness of this technique in *L'espoir*, see Walter Langlois', (guest editor) André Malraux Issue ,*Twentieth Century Literature* 24, 3 New York, Hofstra University Press Fall 1978, and also Walter Langlois, "The Novelist Malraux and History", in L'ésprit créateur, 15, 3 (1975) , 345-366

> presides over the conflict. Even when a purpose is affirmed, there is usually an explicit, but always an implicit, opposite purpose or adversarial position qualifying the first. Heroes may ultimately affirm or deny the nation's dominant purpose. This quality is both teleological and ideological; at the extreme, it is theology or mythification. Hayden White is one of numerous modern historians who have argued that narrative discourse, far from being a neutral medium for the representation of historical events and processes, is the stuff of what he calls a "mythical" view of reality. (65)

This "mythical" view of reality is further reinforced with a mythical bent in terms of female characterization. Nathalie, the female protagonist of *La fête espagnole* and Catherine of *Les sept couleurs* are both unreal in their own ways.

The particular pairing of Jacques Bureau and José Luis de Vilallonga, the authors studied in the second chapter, delineated the comparison between one author about whom much is known, and another, about whom very little is known. The same can be said of this chapter. In contradistinction to the volumes published about Brasillach's life and his *oeuvre*, Henri François Rey's life is more mysterious. According to Bertrand de Muñoz, he spent much time in the North of Spain, and was ebullient in his love for the country. «J'adore l'Espagne. Je la respire, il me la faut. Si j'avais beaucoup d'argent, j'achèterais l'Espagne (malgré Franco), et j'en ferais une réserve ». (184)

Unlike *Les sept couleurs,* which is a collage of literary genres, *La fête*

espagnole is entirely written in prose, and is subdivided into Première Partie, Deuxième Partie and Troisième Partie. The novel ends with Georgenko's execution, and includes a few lines about Nathalie's reaction. Georgenko's first encounter with Nathalie is a chance meeting which is punctuated by an extreme expression of the male gaze:

> C'était une femme. Goergenko regarda mieux: c'était même une très jolie femme à en juger par ce qu'il pouvait voir du longs corps bronzé, moulé dans un maillot de bain rouge…[D]es jambes fuselées, le ventre plat, deux petits seins ronds bien accrochés, des yeux pâles et tendres, un visage aux lignes pures. Le ciel est avec moi : il faut marquer ce jour d'une fille nouvelle. A toi, Georgenko, séducteur, technicien de l'approche ! (44)

However, although he is portrayed as being interested in sexual matters, *she* tells him that she is a journalist, and articulates a clear position with respect to her own orientation, which was clearly forged well before she met him. In fact, shortly after meeting, Nathalie specifically tells him, « Je suis avec les républicains…[J]e crois…[q]ue le monde entier doit aider l'Espagne républicaine. C'est une question de dignité. » (47) Therefore, Rey's portrait of love in the International Brigades emphasizes the image of a male Republican combatant and a female of like mind who is also, at least according to the male, available for sexual pleasure, but who may have very different sexual ideas. The divergence between individuals is thus

framed not by political but by purely sexual ones.

Brasillach's rendering of certain aspects of a female's connection to her fascist international brigadier is colored by self marginalization, as can be seen in the following conversation between Catherine and a stranger which takes place at the very end of the novel:

> -Mais, dites donc, de quel côté il est allé, votre mari? chez les républicains ? ou chez les rebelles ?
>
> -Je ne sais pas. Chez Franco, je pense.
>
> Il n'a rien dit, un instant, et puis il a repris :
>
> -J'ai vu un prisonnier français, une fois, qui venait des rebelles. C'est drôle. On a parlé. Je crois qu'on l'a fusillé le lendemain. Il avait été métallo à Pantin. Je ne l'ai pas revu. C'était près de Madrid. On a eu du mal. Enfin, chacun ses idées. Et vous, vous êtes fasciste?
>
> -Je ne suis rien.
>
> -Les femmes, il vaut mieux que ça ne fasse pas de politique. (246)

Therefore, in Brasillach's novel, a fraternity does operate for male soldiers, while women, like those in Malraux's *L'espoir,* have no political association, no political self and no political solidarity whatsoever. However, in Brasillach's novelistic realm, in the event that a woman does cross a man's path, she will not offer any political resistance, as she does not have ideas of her own, and if she does, they are flexible. The remarks by Gail Sinclair quoted in Chapter I about Hemingway's female

characters are also appropriate in the case of Catherine, as she, too throughout most of the novel is an ”undeveloped, blank, embryonic female whose idealized selflessness fulfills male sexual fantasy.” (95)

In contrast to Brasillach’s emphasis of female chastity, Henri François Rey constructs a female character who is not virginal, but who does not fall into the other extreme, either. The reader experiences Rey’s decidedly pronounced male gaze when Nathalie and Georgenko establish physical and emotional intimacy.

> Elle alluma une cigarette au mégot de la première.
>
> -Je voudrais te poser une question, mais tu me jures de répondre sincèrement…
>
> Georgenko fit le geste de jurer.
>
> -Est-ce que je fais bien l’amour ?
>
> Georgenko s’attendait a toutes les questions, sauf à celle-là. Il réfléchit une seconde. Honnêtement, Georgenko, vite des comparaisons. Bien sûr, elle aime l’amour, mais disons qu’elle peut faire mieux.
>
> -J’ai compris, dit-elle, je ne fais pas bien l’amour.
>
> Elle avait l’air désolé.
>
> -Tu vois…pourtant, je sais que je ne t’ai pas déçu et que, pour la première fois, c’était comme ça qu’il fallait que ce soit. Tu sais, je n’ai pas eu beaucoup d’amants : quatre en tout ; c’est très peu. Je les aimais comme ça et, au fond, pour moi cela n’avait beaucoup

> d'importance. C'était comme un cérémonial. En Amérique, les hommes et les femmes ça n'a pas grand-chose à se dire, ça ne prend a peu près un sens qu'au lit, encore !...(68)

The question of a male envisaging a female in terms of sexual potential, and simultaneously either ignoring or dismissing her political outlook can be seen in other fictional works about the war. For example, in the 1996 film "*Libertarias*", written and directed by Vicente Aranda, there are several scenes which resemble the one described between Nathalie and Georgenko. However, female characterization in the film is more polarized than in *La fête espagnole,* as the film centers around a nun who is initially given refuge in a brothel. The film also depicts some of the struggles, as does the novel, of women facing resistance of their activism from within their political parties in addition to resistance from the nationalists. Mary Nash mentions this in her research,

> Even at the front itself, women found it difficult to escape traditional expectations. Militia-woman Leonor Benito described doing guard duty at night equally with men, yet still being expected to do the washing for them…[I]t seems often to have been the case that even when women were allowed to fight, they were expected to do a double shift, one with a gun, the other with a broom. (Nash)

In comparing Nathalie to Catherine in terms of political activism and affiliation, Nathalie comes by her ideas as naturally as Catherine rejects any

classification. This begs the question of how they perceived the effects of the war. Nathalie is of course completely shattered by the execution of Georgenko. However, the reader does not know how the war will ultimately affect Catherine. When she takes the train to go to Spain to pick up her husband, she does not really know the extent of his injuries. In the last section of the novel, also entitled "Les sept couleurs," Catherine states,

> Ainsi je m'en vais. Ainsi je suis assise dans ce compartiment, presque seule, et je ne comprends pas encore ce qui se passe en moi et ce qui s'est passé. Le train a crié tout à l'heure, il pousse maintenant son petit halètement régulier, il bout autour de moi sur ses rails comme une bouilloire. Et je suis là, mon Dieu, et je vais rejoindre mon mari qui est blessé, mort peut-être, et mes yeux sont secs et je ne pourrais certes pas pleurer, j'ai déjà tant de peine à comprendre. (233)

The reader could easily be perplexed by Catherine's sudden onset of deep communication in the form of an interior monologue. She goes on to express her belief in fatalism, that the "event", or the war, followed its own path. This sense of lack of control and over circumstances and a resulting passivity become her dominating psychological features. In her research on activist fascist women, Labanyi states,

> In this as in all of Pilar Primo de Rivera's speeches and writings, her

> dead brother José Antonio is constantly invoked. While this could be seen as female deference to his superior male intelligence, it is also a canny manipulation of dynastic credentials and, on a personal level, the introjection of a masculine other who speaks "through her," allowing her a public voice while disclaiming ownership of it. (79)

Perhaps Brasillach is speaking through Catherine, and at the same time, exalting his beloved male soldiers. Presenting the reader with a female character who not only leaves the arena of battle but who leaves lacking any understanding of both her own subjective experience and of the external reality which engendered her psychic response implicitly calls into question those male soldiers who may be able to comprehend this dynamic. Once again, the road to insight and comprehension of war has not been undertaken by a female protagonist. Therefore, it remains a road not taken.

Chapter V:

A Literary Annihilation of the War through Female Characterization

Synopsis and Criticism of Georges Limbour's *La pie voleuse* (1939) and Vladimir Pozner's *Espagne, premier amour* (1965)

Whereas much war fiction is a literature that, according to Maurice Rieuneau, "[t]rouve sa source essentielle non dans l'imaginaire, mais dans le vécu" (6), Limbour (1900-1970) breaks with that tradition within war fiction by providing the reader with telling details that reveal just the opposite: his novel *La pie voleuse* is *not* based on experiential data, but, on the contrary, takes its genesis from the mind's eye. This imaginative and visionary approach, combined with both its surrealistic style and its date of publication, 1939, makes the work an intriguing anomaly.

After a dedication, Limbour informs his public that,

> La première partie de *La pie voleuse* a été écrite en 1936. La deuxième partie, ajoutée plus tard, complète l'histoire (imaginaire d'ailleurs) d'un village heureux détruit par des nations criminelles. (10)

Bertrand de Muñoz's assessment that « les deux parties se distinguent nettement l'une de l'autre par le ton, poétique, magique dans la première, beaucoup plus réaliste dans la seconde » (129) proves manifestly accurate, as seen in this poetic

sentence from the first part : “Dans la poitrine fluette de Gisèle que n’avait pas écrasée l’or des sarcophages, dansaient les flammes alertes.” (33) The more realistic second half of the novel finds expression in statements like:

> Le prêtre secouait la tête en silence. Il examinait avec envie et dégout les vigoureux bras nus du fiancé d’Amélia le long desquels la longue veine souple et bleue descendait se ramifier sur la main, semblable à une fleur renversée, fuyant la lumière, la tête en bas, à la recherche d’un souterrain, une de ces fleurs vénéneuses qui empoisonneraient encore le village. (105)

However, if Limbour’s boldly stated imaginary depiction of the war represents a departure from more classical approaches to war fiction, in many ways its spirit is completely consistent with that which Rieuneau describes as “des oeuvres de commemoration, de révolte, d’exorcisme, de nostalgie dont les racines plongent au plus profond de leur angoisse ou de leur espoir” (6). Certainly Limbour’s work conveys the anguish of an entire village in no uncertain terms. A convincing example is the imagery that Limbour utilizes to describe the plight of the village teacher,

> Le maître d’école, à longs pas de ses béquilles, tourna le premier angle de la place. Comme il était pâle, Lorenzo ! Le bruit déchirant et macabre le faisait frémir comme un bruit de trompette triomphante,-de résurrection. Il semblait se relever, sur ses bâtons,

> de quelque catastrophe oubliée. Il s'arrêta à quelque distance de la voiture, lâcha sa béquille droite qui flotta dous son aisselle, et salua du poing. Le long hululement de bête traquée emporta dans son souffle angoissé les premières paroles de ces hommes. (128)

The title of the work derives from the injured magpie rescued in a village in Spain by a puzzling character named Gisèle whom Limbour describes as having "l'air d'une vierge mystique en assumption au-dessus d'un choeur de rapins ivres" (24). If she is peculiar, so is her magpie, to which the narrator refers at times in the feminine, to refer to "*la pie*", and at other times, as masculine, to replace "*l'oiseau."* Nonetheless, in all of its incarnations, the magpie is imbued with human qualities from the onset of the novel. Among other vices, s/he steals and is instrumental in spreading fear, loathing and paranoia throughout the village,

> -Regarde ce que ma pie m'a encore apporté ce soir, dit Gisèle et comme si ses doigts légers venaient de la prendre dans la poitrine du petit acrobate, elle tendit discrètement, de peur que ses voisins, gens du peuple et pêcheurs, ne la vissent, une bague, -d'or, semblait-il- et dont la pierre pourpre étincelait. (12)

There are many attempts to do away with the magpie, but they prove futile. Gisèle is accused of having provoked an assortment of social ills, among them scandals, corruption and actual suicides. Even the village priest, who plays a

traditional role of providing comfort and reassurance to the villagers, is concerned. The magpie keeps returning, until eventually a young man who is, according to Bertrand de Muñoz, "victime dans sa fiancée des ravages de la pie, se venge et tue l'oiseau fatidique". (129) Shortly after her magpie is killed, Gisèle dies. Her death occurs after having at last found happiness in her relationship with Gérard.

Bertrand de Muñoz believes that the magpie, by causing much harm, was a harbinger of the war's deleterious effects. (129) Life becomes unlivable in the village, and only in mass attendance at funerals for deaths caused by the war, in the second part, do the people of the village communally join in a semblance of their original group identity and solidarity. United against their aggressive and actively engaged common enemies-- the Germans and the Moroccans-- the villagers can once more paradoxically enact their social contract as they lose several of their number to death. Thus, Bertrand de Muñoz concludes her review by stating that « **La pie voleuse** est un témoignage de l'horreur de la guerre, mais surtout de la solidarité de la fraternité qui renaît grâce à la révolution ». (130)

In his study on surrealism in the novel form, Armand Hoog, claiming that Limbour was a « minor surrealist » (22), examines the relevance of innocence lost and found within surrealist novels. In this aspect, he too coincides with Bertrand de Muñoz in pointing out the role that innocence can play in a surrealist novel. He claims that "…[t]he writer's ambitions, and especially this is true of André Breton, are directed toward the rediscovery of new innocence, the golden age, and the hymns of liberated humanity." (18) Both Muñoz and Hoog envisage the madness or

incongruity of a surrealist vision as pointing, by implication, to its opposite, a condition of reconciliation and sweet normalcy. If a surrealist tapestry weaves a story of a "time out of joint" (*Hamlet*), the converse, a time healed and harmonious, a resolution to antiphony and disharmony, is aptly represented by the peace following the hostilities of war. The surrealist novel can thus be an effective vehicle indeed for the literature of war.

Synopsis and Criticism of Vladimir Pozner's *Espagne, premier amour* (1968)

In this, the last novel under consideration in this study, it is once again manifest that without the extensive and thorough scholarship of Maryse Bertrand de Muñoz, it would have been impossible for most readers to become familiar with the lesser known works written in French on the Spanish Civil War. Muñoz discusses *Espagne, premier amour* in her 1972 work, but does not mention it again in her 2003 work. Unfortunately, there is no other easily accessible critical study on the novel. In an article in *Cultures* in 2005, François Eychart attributes the following quotation to Louis Aragon about *Espagne, premier amour*, but does not footnote the source,

> Les guerres, ce sommet des violences, sont à l'origine de ses plus beaux livres: *Espagne, premier amour*, dont Aragon écrivit qu'il était « le plus court des romans, ce qui, pas plus pour un livre que pour un couteau, ne l'empêche d'entrer d'un coup dans le cœur ».

The publication date of the article is a poignant one, as 2005 was the centenary of Pozner's birth. In fact, there is an *Association des amis de Vladimir Pozner*, founded in 2004 with the purpose of "…[f]aire vivre, connaître, découvrir et redécouvrir les livres de Pozner…"(www.pozner.com)

Vladimir Pozner (1905-1992) wrote in several languages, and lived in many countries, among them the United States, where he worked in the film industry during the McCarthy years. In writing about the years of World War II and beyond in Pozner's life, Eychart remarks,

> Pozner passe la guerre aux États Unis, travaillant d'abord dans les chantiers navals pour gagner sa vie, puis comme scénariste, fréquentant l'intelligentsia qui sera plus tard victime du maccarthysme, ce maccarthysme qui lui fera écrire Qui a tué H. O. Burrell ?, histoire d'un petit bourgeois américain saisi par la peur du communisme. (www.pozner.com)

His experiences in more than one language and country may have contributed to the unique perspective of this novel, since the story of *Espagne, premier amour* is related via a narrator who was familiar with the Concentration Camps for Spanish refugees in France, which is an aspect of the war that until recently has been widely ignored by the world.

The relationship or "*premier amour*" described in the novel is that of Pierre Guette, and a young Spanish refugee named Pilar. Pierre was a young painter who had been living in a dormitory for fishermen on the Mediterranean Coast in 1939, when, terrified as a result of a bombing, suddenly finds himself on a boat full of Spanish refugees heading for France. He introduces himself to the narrator, who needs a translator. In the midst of the crowds of refugees, Pierre meets Pilar, who is only sixteen years old, and spends slightly over a day with her. They spend the night together in a makeshift tent made out of his canvasses on the sand. When he wakes up, she is gone, and he spends all of his energy trying to locate her again. His determination to reunite with her is so great that he even arranges to get himself confined in a refugee camp for this purpose. According to Bertrand de Muñoz,

> Pour Pierre Guette, l'amour d'Espagne et l'amour de Pilar se confondent, ne font qu'un: la guerre d'Espagne et l'exode prennent les couleurs et l'aspect tragique des «*Désastres de la guerre* » de Goya et l'Espagne douleureuse s'incarne en la jeune Pilar. Ses sentiments d'esthète, se transforment en un profond esprit de solidarité et l'Espagne endolorie se prénomme Pilar. Tel est le sens d'Espagne, premier amour que Wladimir Pozner nous livre dans un langage souvent poétique, abondant en figures de style fort évocatrices. Certaines phrases répétées périodiquement, telles un **leit-motiv,** réussissent merveilleusement à créer une atmosphère d'angoisse, de nécessité d'aider le malheureux peuple espagnol :

> « L'Espagne se taisait ». « L'Espagne continuait à se taire ». « L'Espagne désertique s'obstinait à garder silence ». « On assassine l'Espagne, notre sœur à notre porte ». Tout le roman est un chant d'amour pour l'Espagne et pour la jeune Pilar, image vivante de ce pays déchiré par la guerre. (191)

Through Pilar, Pierre has a way of connecting to a fantasy of the Spain that existed prior to the war. Pilar is less a present female character than a symbol, a cipher, for the motherland, the soil of Spain, lost both to the irretrievable past and to the difficult, war-torn present. As lost lover, she comes to stand for the devastating loss and sacrifice of Spain itself. The reality of the novel finds itself in the acutely realized anguish of Pierre's search for her and thus for his adopted and lost homeland. Pilar embodies the actual and inert land mass of Spain, while it is Pierre's active quest for her, as fruitless as Don Quixote's, that nevertheless provides a masculine and directed activity. Again, Pilar has become a romanticized and unattainable ideal, while Pierre remains grounded in a reality-based dimension. In this, the novel's parameters take on the contours once again, of the male gaze, this time deprived of the object of its gaze. As different as the circumstances and the setting of this fictional world are from the novels examined earlier, the male-female dialectic is again, in *Espagne, premier amour*, that of conventional gender roles.

Just as Limbour had carefully crafted the setting for his novel, Pozner does as well since he, too, begins the work by honing the reader's awareness that the

work is fictional. Pozner chose a quote from *Don Quixote de la Mancha* as an introduction to the novel.

> Les histoires inventées sont d'autant meilleures, d'autant plus agréables qu'elles s'approchent davantage de la vérité ou de la vraisemblance, et les véritables valent d'autant mieux qu'elles sont plus vraies. Don Quichotte, II, chap. LXIII (5)

If this choice of Cervantes allows the reader to feel a certain affinity with Pozner before reading the novel, Pozner would probably have been pleased. In his own words,

> J'évite d'interpréter, de prêcher et d'instruire, faisant confiance au lecteur pour comprendre, grâce à mon témoignage et expérience, le monde où nous vivons, lui et moi, en commun. (www.pozner.com)

Commentary

All the female characaters analyzed thus far in this study have been consistently portrayed in a conventional manner by all authors. This occurs in traditional literature through the depictions of Isabel in *Le desperado,* of Hispana in *Le pont des sorts,* of Pura in *Allegro barbaro,* of Mariana in *Colleur d'affiches,* of Josette in *La porte du soleil.* The same is also true of the female characters of fantastic fiction, such as Jeanne in *Trois pierres chaudes en Espagne*, Nathalie within the International Brigades in *La fête espagnole* and Catherine in the mixture of genres in *Les sept couleurs.* This chapter will show that even in the creation of an

alternative landscape in which the war is tangential but not central to the protagonists' concerns, the representation of women has a propensity toward the habitual. Therefore the road not taken remains an unrelenting selection, notwithstanding the fact that the writers in this chapter made considerable attempts to erase, or at least diminish the war's destruction and devastation through the creation of an alternative landscape which entails an emotional chaos so great that it actually substitutes for the war. Yet although it appears that women occupy vital roles in this emotional mayhem, once again, the deeper analysis reveals just how much women are relegated to secondary marginalized spaces even if these spaces are imaginary and/or unconventional ones. This can be seen to an exceptionally broad extent in both novels in this chapter, even though one was written during the war itself, George Limbour's, and the other, Vladimir Pozner's, nearly three decades after the end of hostilities.

For some readers, the very construct of a surrealist novel seems oxymoronic. However, not all critics would agree. In 1951, Hoog remarked,

> In the years to come we shall have to admit that painting and the surrealist novel are the most necessary forms of expression for surrealism, since plastic representation alone can offer the image of an overturned world. Overturned, that is to say, destroyed and rebuilt, a field of ruins or a place of transfiguration. (18)

Therefore, although there can be debate as to the suitability of surrealism as a viable form or expression for novelistic discourse or narrative, certainly a way of perceiving the world as overturned, as surrealism does, is uniquely suited to the depiction of war.

Limbour's novel, which involves an entire village, but which focuses on women, features many instances of these women experiencing abrupt changes; however, they are usually engaged in an activity which ultimately favors male projection of idyllic women, and is therefore a traditional depiction of women even if the manner of illustrating it is extraordinary.

The idea of fulfilling a male fantasy through the characterization of women has been addressed repeatedly throughout this study; however, no other authors use the same imagery, dialogue or technique that Limbour employs. Whereas other authors created women who were more consistent, such as Jacquline De Boulle's character Isabel, Limbour manipulates the suggestion of lost and found innocence almost simultaneously in the characterization of Gisèle. Early in the first part, for example, there is a scene, in which she is asked to sing,

> -Chante-nous quelque chose, Gisèle, demanda Lucien, la bouche pâteuse de sommeil et de malveillance et dont les pas antipathiques retraçaient le sombre cauchemar des cancrelats. (23)

Here the image suggests that her voice and song could provide a counterpoint to some of the other unpleasantness that is taking place in the village such as the

general atmosphere of suspicion and paranoia. However, on the very next page, one finds that her musical compositions are not innocent, nor are they chaste.

> …[s]on air recueilli donnait à croire qu'elle cherchait une romance sentimentale. Mais d'une voix douce, avec feinte innocence et preciosité, elle chanta des couplets obscènes. On souriait, tout à fait charmé. Elle avait un repertoire très varié. (24)

The reader is therefore presented with an image of a woman who, by creating melodies which comprise obscenities, juxtaposes her own willingness and desire to sing with the production of raucous, and one might surmise, male sexual fantasy. There is a significant element of androgyny in this particular mixture of thematic elements, as Gisèle embodies conventional male and female clichés such as that of the woman as provider of entertainment for men, and that of men's preoccupation with matters of the flesh. However, from various perspectives, she provides a distraction so complete that, her actions, combined with the sins of the magpie, provide so complex a spectacle that the population, strange as it may sound, can hardly notice that there is a war under way.

There is a familiar ring to Limbour's work, to the characterization of women as sexually desirable within the war context, as it has been present in other novels in this study. However, no other author has penned women as diversion the way that Limbour does. For example, Pura in Vilallonga's *Allegro barbaro* is a female character who combines sexual and military might**.** Once she transgressed the

previously “male battle front”, she becomes the embodiment of a willing sexual partner and fierce combatant by killing Sagrario after having killed Nono, both acts designed to please her lover Paco. Although Vilallonga delineated salient home and battle front lines for all of his female characters in the novel, only in the act of killing another woman were both women able to contravene these strictly drawn boundaries.

The reader will recall that in addition to Vilallonga, the author Robert Brasillach was also identified with the extreme right. Furthermore, Brasillach’s *Les sept couleurs* was, like *La pie voleuse,* also written during the war. Brasillach’s creation of Catherine constitutes the diametric opposite of the characterization of Limbour’s surrealist Gisèle. Catherine is able to assert her “virtue” at the end of the work by rejecting the advances of an interested male:

> -Vous ne voulez pas venir la voir, ma chambre?
>
> -Non. Je veux bien me promener avec vous. (246)

In so doing, Catherine is also reiterating her loyalty to her own fallen husband. Brasillach’s emphasis on the loyalty and chastity of a fascist combatant’s wife is in contradistinction to Limbour’s female village oddity who sings salacious songs while her thieving magpie spreads panic. Both examples of women represent once again, a road not taken. One is too perfectly chaste, and the other too bizarre. Hoog offers some insightful commentary as to the possible role of the sexual imagery in the characterization of Gisèle,

> It is very easy to propose that this mania of destruction stems from strangely mixed feelings, sexual satisfaction, and doubtless the facile procedures of poetic compensation…[W]hy not? Above all, it is proper to admit that the surrealist novel, in addition to its vocabulary of aggression and world destruction, utters a forceful "No" to existence as it is organized in this universe. "Existence is elsewhere," wrote Breton in the last line of the *Manifeste.* (20)

The "mania of destruction" is seen together with this sexual satisfaction only in the surrealist context since other novels in this study feature a construction of female characterization based female characters *not* having sexual needs, but still being able to fulfill male sexual needs. One will recall that in Joseph Peyré's *Le pont des sorts*, Hispana was described as the personification of what Sinclair determined to be "Hemingway's undeveloped, blank, embryonic female whose idealized selflessness fulfills male sexual fantasy" (95). Therefore, one can successfully argue that some male authors also instilled their perceptions of chaste female characters by making them sexually uncorrupted, or virginal. If, as one can infer from the text, Ramiro did not live long enough to consummate their relationship, Juan could leave his "mark" by changing her identity-she became fluent in the Basque language-and making it possible for her to become a mother as well. Therefore, Hispana embodies the ultimate Virgin Mary, as she is almost a virgin mother, too. The

characterization of Hispana is as much of a road not taken as is Limbour's Gisèle, albeit for different reasons.

Pozner's virginal Pilar can also be placed within this category. She is the unreachable, fairy-tale-like woman who is available for one ideal sexual encounter only to vanish from her worshipful knight, who is left, desolate and wan, to wander the earth in search of his lost beloved. For example,

> Il se sentait le cœur fade. Ce qu'il éprouvait était, moins que la gêne, un mélange de honte, de pitié et de colère. Le plus grand poète, mais le siècle est misérable, le plus grand savant, mais la France est un lieu d'aisances, pensa-t-il en glissant du regard sur de vastes fronts et des yeux illuminés, sur Vénus, debout dans son coquillage, surgissant de la Méditerranée pour poser son petit pied sur le sable doré de la plage. Il marchait le long de la même mer antique, devant un peuple qui, vu de loin, lui avait paru agenouillé. Il s'éloigna sans avoir retrouvé Pilar. (104)

Pierre's quest, in actuality, is limited by modern frontiers in ways that a pre-Renaissance knight-at-arms was not. That this motif is deployed in a modern warfare zone of displaced and interned persons only serves to ironically intensify its medieval and chivalric roots. Modern expectations of gender relationships founder dramatically as war underscores and reiterates traditional gender codes, the disarray and destruction of twentieth century warfare rendering any new male-female conversation mute, not to mention moot. The yearning male and the

unavailable female take center stage in Pozner's drama, overriding any other theme of the novel. Thus does a symbolist work of art, by definition a modernist response to a modern world, revert to decidedly non-modernist nature under the pressures exerted on a man and a woman by the first scenario in the theater of war that was to explode throughout the European continent in the following decade. These various novels on the Spanish Civil War can be seen in the case of the earlier works, and with more authorial awareness in the case of the later post-war works, as grim foreshadowing of the European upheavals to come. One casualty, among the many millions, was to be a more advanced and female friendly relationship between the sexes. The road to a female freedom was thoroughly and violently demolished, as was so much else, by Europe's mid-century warfare and would not be taken until much later. These novels sound the alarm and the farewell to the stirrings of any of those female awakenings and possibilities.

Conclusion

The defeat of democracy in the Spanish Civil War was equally a farewell to arms of any feminist demand for equality and seriousness that was struggling to be born amongst the various life and death conflicts strangling the European continent in the nineteen thirties and forties. While post World War II realities did induce the birth of a new feminist consciousness, the length and bitterness of the feminist cause during the later decades of the century point to the distance travelled backwards towards traditional female roles, of a feminist road paved with setbacks. Among other considerations, the retreat of feminism was a roadblock of major proportions to full female social participation in Spain.

Trotsky's dictum that "You may not be interested in war but war is very much interested in you" applies with ferocity and accuracy both to women in general and to the feminist movement during the Spanish Civil War, neither of whom chose to go to war, but whose identity and participation had no choice but to be drawn into the life of and novels about this war. Chapter I of this work ranges from De Boulle's ultimate reliance, in *Le desperado,* on the conventional depiction of women to Peyré's similar treatment in *Le pont des sorts,* women's reproductive roles become, in both these works, a prism through which female limits of participation in wartime are governed by the facts of pregnancy and motherhood.

While Peyré's Hispana experiences much less dislocation as a character then De Boulle's Isabel does, as a consequence of childbirth and maternal life, both characters are models of the special circumstances women must navigate in wartime and both novels clearly show a final adoption of traditional and devoted stances towards child raising. Both protagonists in both works become delineated in terms of their relationships to men, and not in (new) terms of any new and powerful feminism: the traditional cultural perspective maintains itself along the lines of the new feminist possibilities of the war. Opportunities for female expansion have not been taken.

On the other hand, at least De Boulle and Peyré's inclusion of physical and biological realities into the matrix of their characters avoids the charge of male self absorption that Hemingway's concern for his physical and psychic injuries raises in *A Farewell to Arms.* Maria's centrality as main character is often eclipsed by Hemingway's predominantly male preoccupations. On the contrary, De Boulle and Peyré have allowed ample consideration for the bodily destinies of their female characters--or have at least provided them equal time. Hispana's motherhood impinges less on Peyré's unfolding of the drama than Isabel's does to De Boulle's. Nevertheless, Hispana is closer to Hemingway's Maria for most of the novel because she, like Maria, can make purer, more unimpeded choices than Isabel ever can. The physical facts of these characters' female and reproductive realities remain essential to the way their narrative destinies unfold within their separate novels. Wayne Booth's remarks on the role of chance in literature, in *The Rhetoric of*

Fiction, allow a look at the interplay of both fictional, physical constraints and of contingencies in these novels as they unfold along realistic, representational lines. The analysis of two female characters' negotiations of certain aspects of the home and battle fronts provides a backdrop upon which to continue to study attitudes shaped by gender towards female protagonists during the war.

In Chapter II, Rodoreda'a Natalià is observed in contradistinction to Vilallonga's Pura and Bureau's Jeanne. All three of them are depicted as unmotivated by political realities, yet all do make valuable social, political and ideological work. However, the efforts of all three women are subverted by a male sexual logic assessing sexual desirability (or its inability to be fulfilled in the case of Natalià's second marriage), and preventing their full character development. In spite of their one brave foray into significant and self-directed action and in spite of the grand opportunities thrown off by the modern war in which they find themselves, Pura, Jeanne and even Natalià all fail to fully realize their deployment into individuals independent of male evaluation.

All this raises the question why many French writers endorsed or continued this traditional casting of female activity during the war. In its various formats, as a phenomenon, as a collection of poems, and as a novel, *Las trece rosas*, in particular, encourages speculation about unambiguous female heroism being portrayed in ambiguous terms, with a reserve about large female contributions to the war effort. Although poems about *"las trece rosas"* by Spanish women in prison during the executions were an attempt to bring about change from within, at most they were

feeble echoes of feminine activity abroad and cast very little new, gender directed light within Spain itself. The road to female liberty defined itself somewhat within this particular initiative, but remained essentially untrod.

The road not taken is clearly seen in the characterization of Brasillach's Catherine, whose stance at the end of the novel in which she appears, *Les sept couleurs,* is ambiguous and speaks to her lack of self knowledge and self direction. What Catherine does is travel to a husband she may no longer recognize and to a future which she cannot or will not envisage. The blank slate of her future and her fatalism in the face of it is as direct a contradiction of a new road as any circumstance in all the novels discussed here. Labanyi's work on fascist female activism speaks to this final female capitulation to a male directed fate even for the most involved female participant.

It is in Pozner's virginal Pilar that a medieval concept of the chivalric quest for the lost beloved, unattainable woman finally presents a non-modern representational construct in the extremely modern context of the war. As such, the depiction in courtly terms of a knight searching for his lost lady underscores the retrograde cast of novels about the war, in which gender relationships revert to traditional, patriarchal form: the road to freedom is travelled only by a pining *chevalier* and not by any representation of a new modern female type.

Thus the road not taken has manifested itself from the outwardly traditional depictions of women in Chapters I, III and IV to the apparently non traditional representations of women in Chapters II and V. Chapter V's surrealist work may

depart from traditional literary conventions, but owes much to them. It is Ovid's beautiful myth about magpies and the true muses in his fifth book of the *Metamorphoses* which illuminates much of *La pie voleuse.* Ovid's story concerns itself with a contest, judged by Minerva, between the nine daughters of Pierus who claim to have greater power than the muses already instated by divine decree. The nine daughters are finally judged as upstarts and false pretenders and for their hubris are transformed into chattering magpies, the (first) originals of all magpies to be. Their inferiority and final judgment as false muses, as opposed to the true drinkers of the Pierein spring, rest on their story that the gods had been defeated by the Titans during the cataclysmic, primal war that had ranged over the earth. Obviously untrue and blasphemous to the gods, this false story of a false war is the reason the Pieran daughters are punished by their transformation into raucous magpies. The true muses, particularly Calliope, continue to sing their themes of truthful inspiration.

The claims of a false muse then, in the context of a brutal war, echoes in *La pie voleuse*, where the allegory, playing itself out in a Spanish village pulled into wartime engagement, raises questions about real and false artistic expression during the disasters of war and the fallout of social, communal life. Gisèle, with her songs and singing, was an evocation of the true muses or the false ones, as only Minerva, in Ovid's poesies was able to.

The authors in this study, through different literary techniques and styles ranging from the fantastic to the surrealistic repeatedly created and promoted

female characterization that reiterated the fact that the long thoroughfare to a new female self-determination was simply not one of the elements recognized in this war in the French fiction that depicted it for three decades, despite so much actual female engagement and so many female characters attempting to walk a new path. This analysis has concerned itself with the way a few new signposts to a new gender dialogue in fictional representation did point the way, but finally left so much undone and so much still to be accomplished.

This dissertation is coming to completion at a time where the Defense Minister of Spain is a woman-and a pregnant one at that. It seems that the warrior women of Spain's Civil War and of the fiction born of this struggle have finally arrived at a position of some power while maintaining their womanhood in a mutually inclusive political and feminine conversation between female public and private existence and influence. Whether these are real steps along the protracted paved way to feminine opportunity in Spain and in literature about Spain's history remains to be seen. However, all the authors explored in this study would surely have remarked on the extraordinary disparity between this contemporary political appointment and the very different realities of the lives and fates of both actual and fictionalized women during one of Spain's most tumultuous periods in modern history.

Appendix A: Illustrations and French Text for Paul Éluard's *Solidarité*

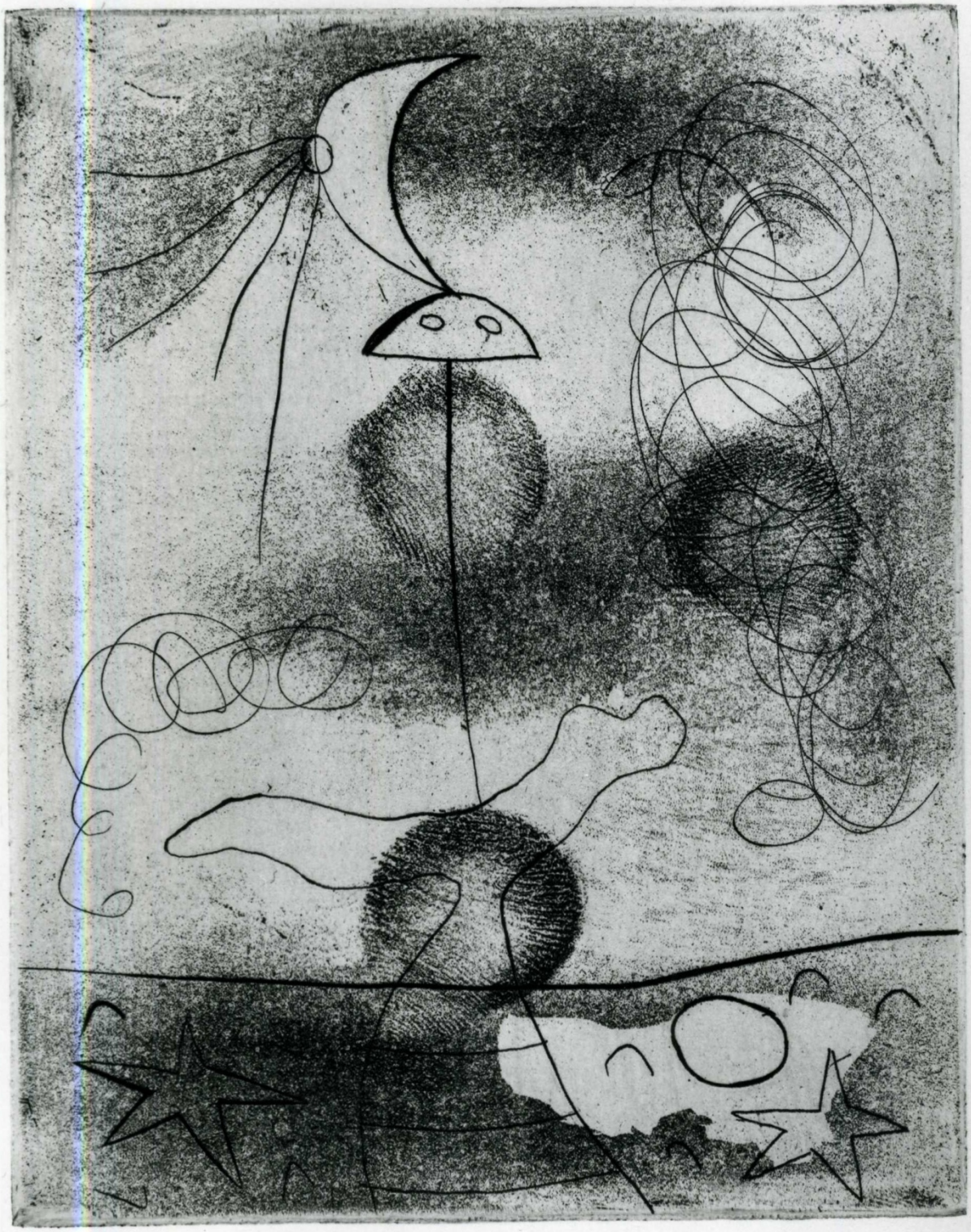
Solidarité was a special limited edition designed to raise funds for the Republican Cause. It consisted of Éluard's poem, *Novembre 1936* published together with Bryan Coffey's English translation of the poem and engravings by the following artists, six of whose work follows.

Stanley William Hayter	1901-1988
John Buckland Wright	1897-1954
Joan Miró	1893-1983
Yves Tanguy	1900-1955
Dalla Husband	1899-1943
Pablo Picasso	1881-1973
André Masson	1896-1987

In the works featured here, to a great extent, the feminine forms dominate the thematic content of the engravings, which is why they were chosen for inclusion. Dalla Husband is the only female artist in the group.

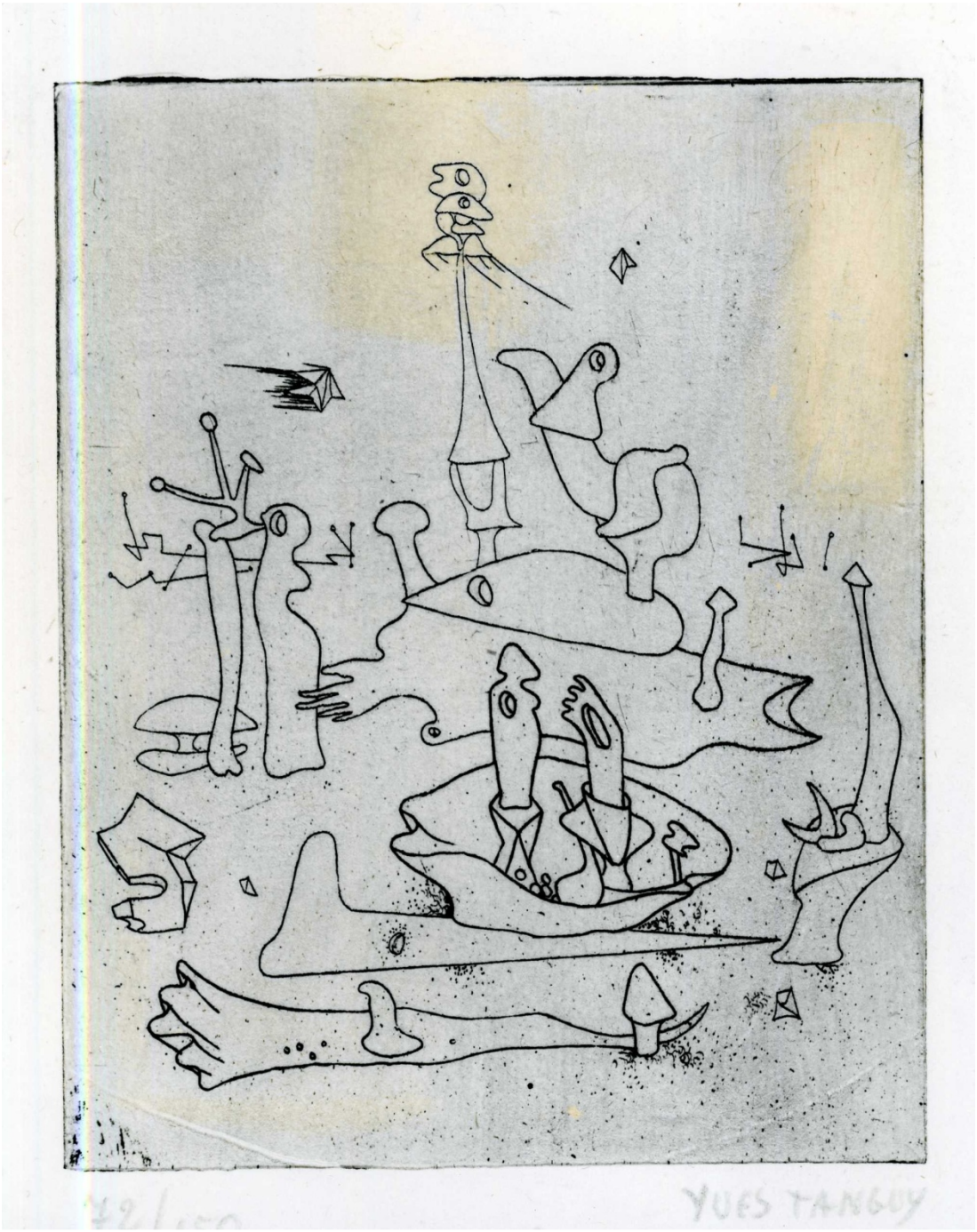

72/150

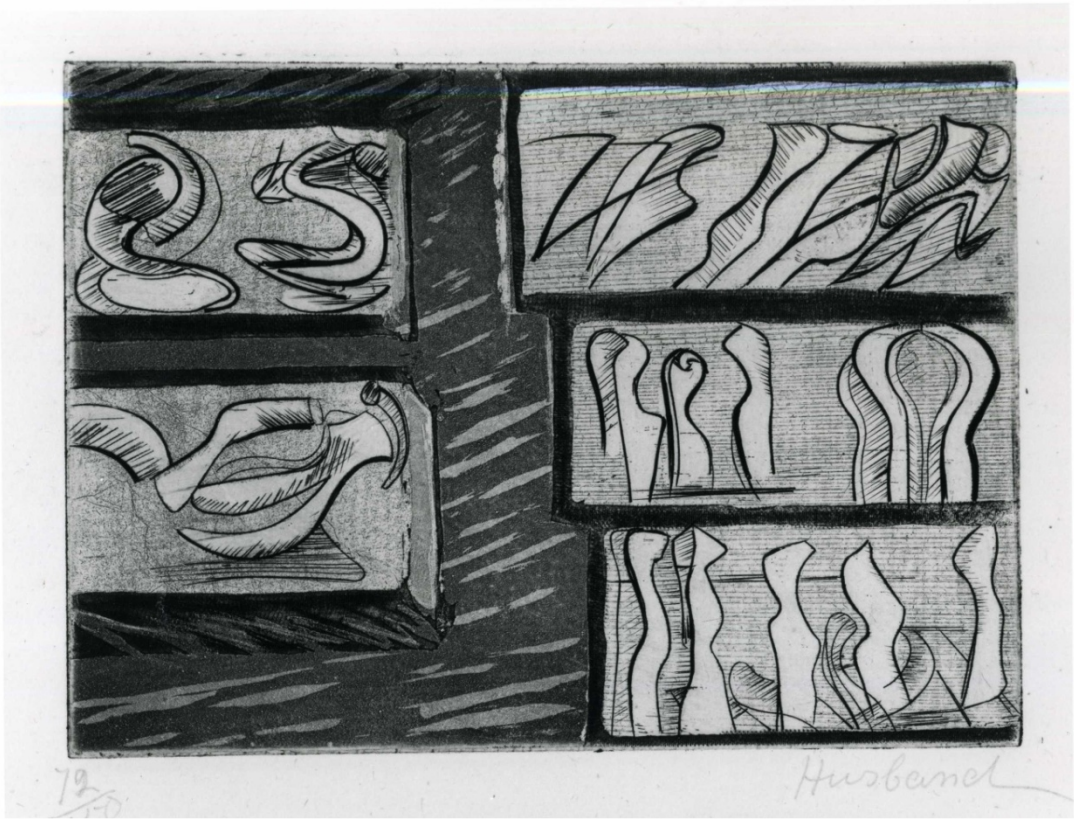

JBW
72/150 John Buckland Wright.

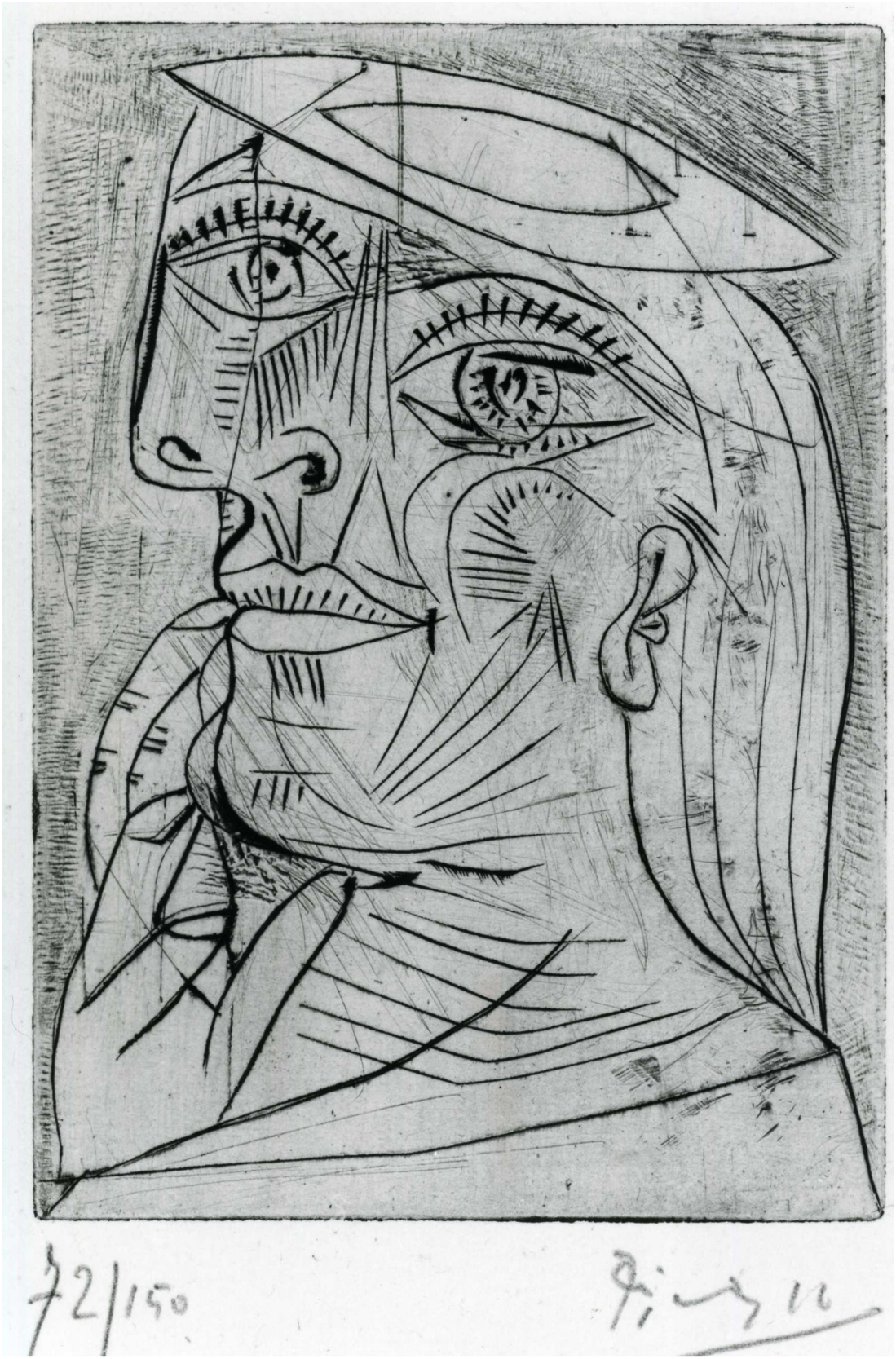


72/150

Miró.


YVES TANGUY

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NOVEMBRE 1936

Regardez travailler les bâtisseurs de ruines
Ils sont riches patients ordonnés noirs et bêtes
Mais ils font de leur mieux pour être seuls sur terre
Ils sont au bord de l'homme et le comblent d'ordures
Ils plient au ras du sol des palais sans cervelle.

*

On s'habitue à tout
Sauf à ces oiseaux de plomb
Sauf à leur haine de ce qui brille
Sauf à leur céder la place.

*

Parlez du ciel le ciel se vide
L'autmomne nous importe peu
Nos maîtres ont tapé du pied
Nous avons oublié l'automne
Et nous oublierons nos maîtres.

*

Ville en baisse océan fait d'une goutte d'eau sauvée
D'un seul diamant cultivé au grand jour
Madrid ville habituelle à ceux qui ont souffert
De cet épouvantable bien qui nie être en exemple
Qui ont souffert
De la misère indispensable à l'éclat de ce bien.

*

Que la bouche remonte vers sa vérité
Souffle rare sourire comme une chaîne brisée
Que l'homme délivré de son passé absurde
Dresse devant son frère un visage semblable

Et donne à la raison des ailes vagabondes.

Paul Éluard

LA VICTOIRE DE GUERNICA

I

Beau monde des masures
De la mine et des champs

II

Visages bons au feu visages bons au froid
Aux refus à la nuit aux injures aux coups

III

Visages bons à tout
Voici le vide qui vous fixe
Votre mort va servir d'exemple

IV

La mort cœur renversé

V

Ils vous ont fait payer le pain
Le ciel la terre l'eau le sommeil
Et la misère
De votre vie

VI

Ils disaient désirer la bonne intelligence
Ils rationnaient les forts jugeaient les fous
Faisaient l'aumône partageaient un sou en deux
Ils saluaient les cadavres
Ils s'accablaient de politesses

VII

Ils persévèrent ils exagèrent ils ne sont pas de notre monde

VIII

Les femmes les enfants ont le même trésor
De feuilles vertes de printemps et de lait pur
Et de durée
Dans leurs yeux purs

IX

Les femmes les enfants ont le même trésor
Dans les yeux
Les hommes le défendent comme ils peuvent

X

Les femmes les enfants ont les mêmes roses rouges
Dans les yeux
Chacun montre son sang

XI

La peur et le courage de vivre et de mourir
La mort si difficile et si facile

XII

Hommes pour qui ce trésor fut chanté
Hommes pour qui ce trésor fut gâché

XIII

Hommes rées pour qui le désespoir
Alimente le feu dévorant de l'espoir
Ouvrons ensemble le dernier bourgeon de l'avenir

XIV

Parias la mort la terre et la hideur
De nos ennemis ont la couleur
Monotone de notre nuit
Nous en aurons raison.

Paul Éluard

Apendix B

Known and Unknown Images of the Spanish Civil War : *Guernica* and Two Photographs by Gerda Taro (1910-1937)

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Index of Female Characters

Autobiographical Statement

I had the pleasure of living in Madrid, Spain from 1984 to 1992, during which time I was able to see how Spaniards marked the fifty years that had elapsed since the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. It was astonishing to see just how much the war remained alive in many people's lives. In fact, I heard stories about the war from my very first day there until I moved back to the United States. Some of these stories were incredibly painful, others quite uplifting. However, I realized that there was still work to be done in gaining a greater personal and intellectual understanding of the event. I vowed if I ever had the chance, that I would become a scholar of the events in Spain from 1936-1939.

Several months after my re-entry to the United States, I interviewed and was offered a part time High School Spanish teaching position. However, in addition to the Spanish, I was asked to teach French, about which I was delighted. I had not studied French for about fifteen years at the time, so I enrolled in a Master's Degree Program at Hunter College. As I devoured the texts of Chrétien de Troyes, Molière, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Balzac, Zola, Proust, Gide, Mauriac, Sartre, Camus, Duras, Sarraute and others, I realized that my passion for Spain could coexist with my love of French literature. During my Master's Degree studies, I received the Best Book Review Award bestowed by Friends of Hunter College Library in 1995. I had written about *Un barrage contre le pacifique* by Marguerite Duras. I also received the

French Arts Award. The fact that I excelled in my studies made me wonder about continuing them, which I did.

My next significant academic recognition occurred on December 7, 2007 when I became the proud recipient of the Nina Fortin Memorial Scholarship from the Women's Studies Certificate Program and The Center for the Study of Women and Society of the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. Their recognition is highly significant for me on many levels, and I shall always appreciate their support. As for my dual loves of the history of Modern Spain and French Literature, I try to instill these passions in my students at Bronx Community College of the City University of New York. I hope that their study of these subjects will prove as rewarding as mine has.