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A

FRAMING SPAIN: CINEMA, PAINTING AND NATIONAL IDENTITY UNDER FRANCO, 1939-1950

By

Gerard Dapena

VOLUME I

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the City University of New York.

2002

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Art History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

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Abstract

FRAMING SPAIN: Cinema, Painting and National Identity under Franco (1939-1950)

by

Gerard Dapena

Adviser: Professor Rose-Carol Washton Long

This dissertation takes an interdisciplinary approach to the study of five films made in Spain during the 1940s, the first decade of General Francisco Franco's prolonged dictatorship. *Framing Spain* examines the ways in which the visual arts were invoked in Spanish post-Civil War cinema to symbolize the nation and possibly generate and foster identification with and consensus for Franco's political and cultural agenda. By engaging in complex interpretations and representations of Spanish art, these films constructed varied paradigms of "Spanishness" and formulated discourses about tradition, nationalism, gender, and class. At the same time, these works questioned and redrew boundaries between popular cinema and art cinema, high and low culture. Although these motion pictures often promoted conservative views of Spanish identity and history, they should not be seen as airtight vessels of Francoist ideology. Rather, they are sites of ideological struggle;

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texts riven by hegemonic and counter-hegemonic claims that mediated a traumatized social domain.

Juan de Orduña's *Locura de amor* (1948), a historical film, recreates *tableaux vivants* based on nineteenth-century history paintings to dramatize a momentous chapter of Spain's past that mirrored and resonated with concerns of the early Post-Civil War era. Benito Perojo's *Goyescas* (1942) is a musical set in the early nineteenth century that capitalizes on the polyvalent readings of Goya's art in order to make a probing commentary on the antagonisms within Spanish society. Anchored within the religious practices of Andalusian Catholicism, Luis Marquina's *Malvaloca* (1942) discreetly evokes Julio Romero de Torres' iconic images of Andalusian women to image a community torn between sorrow, guilt, and spiritual rapture. Mixing comedy and suspense, Edgar Neville's *Domingo de carnaval* (1945) invokes the grotesque carnival paintings of José Gutiérrez Solana to formulate a national-popular cinema centered on Madrid's popular classes. Finally, Carlos Serrano de Osma's *Embrujo* (1947) is a musical that employs avant-garde film techniques for a surrealist treatment of flamenco that recalls Federico García Lorca's theories linking Spanish *deep song* (cante jondo) to the tapping of the unconscious.

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This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my father, Ramón, who brought me to Spain when I was nine, and to my mother, Alicia, who shared with me her memories of life in Spain during the trying decade of the 1940s. Instilling in me her love of the movies, she unwittingly planted the seeds of this project.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation originated from a series on Spanish cinema that I curated for the Film Program at the Joseph Papp Public Theatre in New York City nearly ten years ago. Watching several fifty-year old films in the screening room of Madrid's Ministerio de Cultura during the spring of 1993 was nothing short of a revelation for me. These works, allegedly the dregs of Spain's Fascist past, had been relegated to the dustbin of history for years, yet viewing them for the first time, I kept wondering why. As I began to question the historiographical silence, when not contempt, surrounding these motion pictures and their makers, I realized that I had found a worthwhile topic for a dissertation. For that fortuitous discovery, I must thank Fabiano Canosa, director of Film At The Public, for giving me the opportunity to curate the series, and Carmelo Romero, from the Ministerio de Cultura's Instituto de Cine y Artes Audiovisuales, for arranging those pivotal screenings.

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PART I

OVERVIEW

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INTRODUCTION

In 1990 the late film historian Kathleen Singer Kovács stated: "Just as Spanish films have remained largely unseen outside of Spain, so Spanish film has been consistently excluded from world cinema histories."[1] A decade after Kovács' pronouncement, contemporary Spanish cinema has attained greater worldwide recognition and visibility[2], yet its history is still absent from most film textbooks and its study remains the preserve of a small, albeit growing number of Hispanists. The great majority of these scholars have focused their attention either on contemporary Spanish films or the dissident cinema that originated in the 1950s under and in opposition to General Francisco Franco's authoritarian government, which lasted from 1939 to 1975. In contrast, the cinema of the 1940s, the first decade of Franco's dictatorship, has been overlooked or treated in a cursory manner.

While most commercial Francoist cinema has been seriously neglected, the cinema of the 1940s has endured the greatest oblivion. This neglect has been especially prevalent among Anglo-American scholars. Virginia Higginbotham, John Hopewell, and Marsha Kinder, authors of three important surveys of Spanish cinema, are exemplary in this respect. Their respective books essentially begin an in-depth discussion of Spanish cinema with the release of José Antonio Nieves Conde's *Surcos* (1951), a film inspired

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by Italian neorealism that signaled a turn towards a cinema addressing contemporary social issues with a critical viewpoint.[3] Many historians of Spanish cinema have drawn on *Surcos'* novel themes and controversial reception to chronicle a break with the film production of the immediate post-Civil War era, thus setting up a divider between the progressive auteurist cinema of the 1950s and the allegedly reactionary Fascist entertainment of the 1940s. Indeed, until very recently, even Spanish film historians have marginalized and discounted the film production of the 1940s, a pivotal moment in modern Spanish history.[4]

Why has the cinema of the early post-Civil War period encountered such critical antipathy and neglect? Why has it been subject to the indifference, when not disdain, of so many scholars? I am bewildered by the persistence of such gross generalizations like these, penned just a few years ago by critic Diego Galán: "Spain's cinema . . . has been one of the most backward, incompetent, and lacking in interest in the Western world. And certainly [the cinema produced during] the decade of the 1940s stands as the most extravagant, demented, bizarre, and pathetic moment of our history."[5] Confronted with such a mindset, I wonder whether the parameters that have defined the study of Spain's post-civil War cinema can ever be redrawn. Is there room for a more balanced approach to this stigmatized body of work? What is at stake in reassessing and revising the current

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parameters of debate? If anything, given Galán's hyperbolic characterization of this film production, its re-examination would appear to be an enticing, even entertaining proposition.

There are at least two hurdles that must be overcome if this re-examination is to take place. For one thing, there has been an ingrained habit of identifying wholesale the film production of the 1940s with the politics of Franco's administration with barely a thought given to the ideological and formal heterogeneity of these works. Moreover, during the transitional period to democratic rule in the late 1970s and early '80s Spaniards were consumed with recovering that side of their culture and their past that had been silenced by Franco's censors. Thus, efforts were made to acknowledge the work of artists who had been marginalized or lived out Franco's dictatorship in exile. Conversely, artistic expressions from the early years of *franquismo*, especially those that could not be redeemed as patently contestatory and counter-hegemonic, were shunned and by and large banished from official public discourse.

In the face of, and as a remedy to, this continued record of scholarly neglect, my dissertation seeks to spotlight the Spanish cinema of the 1940s. However, rather than attempt to give an overview of the decade's entire film production, an unrealistic task for a dissertation, I shall limit myself to examining a handful of films that engaged in

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a specific transaction: the citation and incorporation of art, especially painting. This may seem an unusual and even arbitrary angle with which to approach the study of Spanish post-Civil War cinema but for the fact that there was a proliferation of films during the 1940s (by comparison with both earlier and later decades) in which works by certain Spanish painters or trends in Spanish art were more or less explicitly invoked. I have chosen to make this subject the focus of my dissertation largely because it has received scant scholarly attention among historians of Spanish cinema.[6] Moreover, in relation to more recent Spanish films, which generally reference painting as a visual model or as a token of Spain's rich artistic heritage, its invocation in 1940s cinema is never gratuitous or purely decorative. On the contrary, it is fraught with complex interpretations and representations of Spanish art, which are used in turn to construct, in more or less veiled terms, a collective national identity whose very substance and configuration are unthinkable without bearing in mind the traumatic experience of the Civil War.

Hence, my dissertation does not propose a substitution of aesthetics for an engagement with politics or ideology, but rather it wants to ground the discussion of the latter in the field of vision. By considering the ways in which separate media such as film and painting converged and conversed, I will explore the role that mise-en-scène, film

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style and technique, and the psychological dimension of the moving image, play in the construction of visual and narrative meaning. I will also seek to historicize and contextualize this process of signification; to connect it with broader cultural discourses and to locate it within specific communities.

The title of my dissertation, "Framing Spain," posits the frame as the liminal site between cinema and painting, and suggests that the process of framing is a key element in the representation of a particular paradigm of "Spanishness." In this study I shall examine five films — Benito Perojo's *Goyescas* (1942), Luis Marquina's *Malvaloca* (1942), Edgar Neville's *Domingo de carnaval* (1945), Carlos Serrano de Osma's *Embrujo* (1947), and Juan de Orduña's *Locura de amor* (1948)— that variously dialogize the cinema through the aesthetic, historical, ideological, affective, and psychological connotations of art. As its title indicates, Perojo's period musical conjures the art of Francisco de Goya; Marquina's melodrama evokes Julio Romero de Torres' images of Andalusian women; Neville's film pays homage to the carnival scenes of José Gutiérrez Solana; Serrano de Osma's avant-garde musical gives Surrealism a very Spanish twist; and Orduña's historical film cites famous nineteenth-century history paintings by Eduardo Rosales and Francisco Pradilla.

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I believe that an intertextual and interdisciplinary approach to the study of Spanish cinema that takes into account its relationship to Spanish painting can make an important contribution to the understanding of the internal dynamics that have shaped its formal look and meaning. On the one hand, I seek to place the five films that comprise my study at that point where the ambition to recast the cinema as an art form intersects with its original status as a product and vehicle of popular and mass culture. At the same time, my dissertation wants to move beyond the one-sided perspective that would reduce these motion pictures to hollow and mannered exercises in formalism or blatant instruments of Francoist propaganda, disguised as high art yet devoid of any artistic merit. I have chosen instead to view these films as sites of ideological struggle, as cultural artifacts traversed by and voicing hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses. Therefore, I want to focus on the cultural and ideological burden that painting brings to the cinema rather than on the meta-textual significance of their encounter. Lastly, I also regard these films as imaginary projections and aestheticized visions of community that stage and image scenarios invested (although often just tentatively, for reasons that will become clearer) with the memory and trauma of the Civil War.

Drawing from a neo-Gramscian current in cultural studies, I view these works as polysemic acts of visual and

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narrative communication fraught with enough ambiguity that they seem capable at turns of representing and generating accommodation, consent and subordination to Francoist ideology, as well as of opening up to resistant, nonconforming interpretations and appropriations. Their references to art history formulate divergent and contradictory discourses about tradition, nationalism, and cultural heritage, as well as gender, ethnicity and class, that resonate to a varying and uneven degree with the ideological program of *franquismo*. In addition, equally convinced of the suitability of applying a psychoanalytic framework to the film production of such a convulsive and traumatic era, I am arguing that these movies also render painting as a site of fantasy, pleasure, desire, and affect. In some extreme instances, these pictorial citations become as well a repository for the marginal, the abject, the irrational, and the uncanny.

Although the five films comprising my study only amount to 1% of the total film production of the 1940s[7], and may not at first glance appear to be, with the exception of *Locura de amor*, the most renowned or representative motion pictures from this period, together they exemplify the range of generic, thematic, and formal possibilities within the cinema of early post-Civil War Spain. Furthermore, each of the five directors discussed in this study occupied a different position in the ranks of Franco's film industry,

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and articulated a specific aesthetic sensibility and set of thematic concerns.

Locura de Amor, a historical melodrama directed by Juan de Orduña, the most successful and yet derided Spanish filmmaker of the period, is usually regarded as the epitome of *franquismo*'s slanted view of Spanish history and its love of grandiloquent, theatrical excess. It was also the biggest commercial hit of the 1940s. *Goyescas* is a stylish musical directed by Benito Perojo, the most cosmopolitan and technically virtuoso filmmaker active in Spain prior to the outbreak of the Civil War. Vaguely set in the early 1940s, *Malvaloca* is a sensitive melodrama imbued with Andalusian local color and religious feeling whose gentle melancholy echoes the elegant and reticent personality of director Luis Marquina. *Domingo de carnaval*, made by Edgar Neville, an urbane aristocrat turned filmmaker and playwright, is a hybrid of comedy and suspense that celebrates the vitality and ingenuity of Madrid's popular classes. Finally, the very existence of *Embrujo*, an avant-garde flamenco musical by Carlos Serrano de Osma, the most experimental Spanish filmmaker of the era, demonstrates the elasticity of early Francoist commercial cinema, just as its box-office failure defines the limitations of Spanish popular taste.

The films discussed in this dissertation undeniably originated and circulated within a heavily regulated and censored environment and a domain defined by the directives

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and demands of state power. Their authors and producers were subject to pressures and incentives to portray and legitimize Franco's conception of Spanish history and identity, a task made even more urgent after the bitter rifts of the Civil War. It would be too easy, however, to characterize and dismiss these films as pure agents of indoctrination. As I hope to demonstrate, these works are far more complex, multi-layered, and artistically accomplished than they have been given credit for.

Neither intrinsically evil nor inferior to the film production made in the 1930s under the Spanish Republic or to the contestatory cinema of the 1950s, early post-Civil War cinema deserves to be studied in its historical specificity and recognized for its complexity and diversity. For better or worse, much of the industrial and financial infrastructure of Spain's cinema was laid during the 1940s.[8] As I shall discuss in the following chapter, the 1940s witnessed the Spanish state's first full-scale intervention in the affairs of its film industry through the formulation of a comprehensive legislation aimed at boosting and protecting the production of feature films. Although a strict censorship was imposed in order to purge or ban material deemed contrary to the political and ideological doctrine sustaining Franco's authority, many of the films from this troubled era attained levels of popularity and financial success unmatched by numerous motion pictures made

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decades later. In addition, their directors —Rafael Gil, Edgar Neville, Juan de Orduña, Antonio Román, José Luis Saenz de Heredia— not only figure among the most important of Spanish filmmakers, but they made most of their best features prior to 1951.

As important documents of a crucial stage of Spanish history these motion pictures warrant closer scrutiny. Whether these films truly and fully represented the world view of Spain's dominant groups or whether their conservative morality and outlook corresponded to that of the majority of Spaniards is yet to be settled.[9] It is undeniable, however, that these moving images allow us glimpses into the political, cultural and social climate of post-Civil War Spain. Moreover, as works endowed with a certain formal and thematic sophistication, they merit the same unbiased attention that has been bestowed on later films. If done with a modicum of rigor and impartiality, an in-depth study of these films would likely reveal the disparate range of visual and narrative strategies at work in Francoist cinema. A recognition of this eclecticism of views and voices would attest to the varied and, at times, contradictory propositions that filmmakers of the period devised in response to the agenda laid down by the regime.

By complementing a close textual reading of a film with a consideration of the context in which it was produced and consumed, we can begin to assess with some measure of

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objectivity and even-handedness these motion pictures' place and standing in the history of Spain's cinema. Only if we look at these films and their directors with open eyes, unconstrained by preconceptions, will we ever arrive at a genuine understanding of their accomplishments and limitations.

This dissertation will begin with an overview of Spain's cinema and film industry as they changed under Franco's more or less direct supervision. A section examining the historiography of Spanish post-Civil-War cinema will be followed by a section on methodology. Next, I am including a section on the presence of painting in early Francoist cinema. It examines the aesthetics of *franquismo* and the artistic practices of the 1940s and theorizes the connections between Fascist ideology and the aesthetic vision put forth by the films that comprise my study. Moving on to the close readings of each of these five films, I will look first at *Locura de amor* because of its paradigmatic status as the most financially successful film of the 1940s, and allegedly one of the decade's most ideologically saturated works. The remaining four films will be discussed in chronological order according to the year in which they were made and released. Thus, chapter three will be devoted to *Goyescas*; chapter four to *Malvaloca*; chapter five to *Domingo de carnaval*; and chapter six to *Embrujo*. A

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conclusion summarizing my arguments and findings will round out this study.

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CHAPTER 1

SPANISH CINEMA UNDER FRANCO: 1939-1951

1.1 A Brief History of Spain's Cinema

In a country plagued by high rates of illiteracy, the cinema came to function for many decades as the leading means of entertainment, on a par with soccer and bullfights.[10] The first film projection in Spain is known to have taken place in Madrid in 1896, although Barcelona was soon to become the capital of Spain's fledging film industry. Hispano Films, founded in 1906 in Barcelona, was the most important film company during those early years. By comparison, Madrid did not attain a steady level of production until 1915.[11]

Spanish film production prior to the Civil War varied noticeably from year to year, attaining a peak of 59 features in 1928.[12] This fluctuation was partially the result of the country's economic instability, but was primarily due to the shaky nature of the industry's investment structure. Unlike other European countries such as Germany, Italy or France, Spain never truly developed a stable pool of investors committed to film production beyond sheer speculation and the allure of quick profits. Numerous companies were set up with insufficient capital and vague, usually short-term objectives.[13] Some historians have attributed this undercapitalization to the disinterest of

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investment bankers and the weakness of Spain's bourgeoisie, which was small in comparison to its European counterparts.[14] Furthermore, the Spanish film industry remained closed to foreign investment until the 1950s.[15]

The arrival of sound, which coincided with the inauguration of the Second Republic in 1931, at first plunged Spain's film industry into a deep crisis. By 1932, however, the first sound studios were operating and recovery was under way. Local production gained back market share lost to foreign cinema and during the last two years of Republican rule, 1934-1936, a number of Spanish films scored big triumphs at the box-office. The breakout of hostilities in the summer of 1936 put an end to this period of expansion, although Spain remained a country of avid moviegoers well into the 1970s.[16]

1.2 Post-Civil War Cinema 1939-1951

Until Franco's rise to power, the Spanish government had shown little interest in subjecting film production to state policy or molding its development in any specific direction.[17] The victory of the *Nacionales* in 1939 led to drastic and systematic state intervention modeled on the film policies of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. Because the majority of studios and post-production facilities were in Republican territory (i.e., Madrid and Barcelona) until the very end of the Civil War, film production on the Nationalist side was limited between 1936-1939 to propaganda

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documentaries.[18] Yet from the start, Franco's administration regarded the close supervision of Spain's film industry as one of its chief tasks.[19] In 1938 Secretary of State Ramón Serrano Suñer stated:

> Given the undeniable influence exerted by the cinema over the dissemination of thoughts and the indoctrination of the masses, it is indispensable that the State watch over every sector where a risk of deviation from this mission may occur.[20]

The creation of a *new* Spain accordingly demanded a new cinema, and the official film weekly Primer Plano endeavored to ensure the centrality of the medium to this enterprise. In an editorial continuing from the magazine's first issue into the next two, Manuel Augusto García Viñolas, head of the National Department of Cinematography and founder of Primer Plano, declared:

> We find ourselves at a time when every nation claims for itself the mission of a national cinema. . . . A country's cinema has always been the clearest expression of a people's life.[21]

The second issue quoted Mussolini's dictum that "the cinema is the soul and the source. . . . There is not a people conscious of its political life that has not lent its maximum attention and official assistance to the cinema."[22]

Like the other totalitarian rulers of his generation, Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin, Franco evinced a keen appreciation for cinema's role in the fabrication and sustenance of a national consensus.[23] An avid moviegoer, he seems to have been well aware of the medium's potential as an instrument of propaganda and regime stabilization.[24] Thus

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historian Domènec Font has claimed that the cinema functioned as the "dominant ideological apparatus of the autarchic era."[25] Yet, rather than directly supervising and intervening in the affairs of the film industry, as Hitler and Goebbels were wont to do in Nazi Germany, Franco delegated his authority to a bureaucracy that drafted and implemented a complex framework of laws and incentives.

1.3 Film Policies under Franco

In the wake of the war's devastation, Franco's government embarked on a determined, if erratic and ultimately ineffective, protectionist course. Endeavoring to get the industry back on its feet, state policies encouraged the production of Spanish cinema and sought to diminish the hold of foreign films on local screens. Franco also felt the increased production of films would improve Spain's trade balance and lessen the need for imported movies. The latter, in fact, would support the growth of a national production through a complex system of indirect taxation. The strategy was simple. Given the popularity of Hollywood and European films, their distribution and exhibition would be regulated by the state and used to boost a national cinema.[26]

The Departamento Nacional de Cinematografía, later renamed the Dirección General de Cinematografía, was first established by an ordinance of February 21, 1940 to oversee all film production. Placed under the wing of the Department of Propaganda, it later fell under the direction of the

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Ministry of Industry and Trade, the Secretaría General del Movimiento, and the Ministry of Education.[27] Two other important bodies regulated the economic aspects of the industry: the Subcomisión Reguladora oversaw the distribution of film stock, and the Sindicato Nacional del Espectáculo dealt with labor relations and the allocation of loans to producers. The Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica was set up by an ordinance of June 28, 1946 to advise the Departmento de Cinematografía on state policies. Its functions included the selection of Films of National Interest as well as of pictures to be exported abroad; the classification of films in categories and their access to first and second-class movie theaters; the authorization of dubbing permits; the approval of films to be released with subtitles; and the exercise of film censorship.

2.3a Protectionist Measures

Protectionist measures implemented by Franco's film bureaucracy included screening quotas (*cuotas de pantalla*) and the mandatory screening of Spanish films on a regular basis.[28] An ordinance of October 21, 1941 from the Ministry of Industry and Trade decreed that import permits would be issued by the Subcomisión Reguladora and granted solely to Spanish individuals or firms that produced quality pictures budgeted at a minimum of 750,000 pesetas. The law was modified in 1943 to rank Spanish films in three categories

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according to their technical and artistic merits. Producers of feature-length films classified in the first category were granted import licenses for three to five foreign pictures per every film considered integrally Spanish. Producers of films in the second category could import from two to four pictures. No imports were granted to films ranked in the third category.[29]

It has been argued that these regulations actually harmed the growth and development of Spain's film industry by encouraging speculation and inflated budgets.[30] Historian Santiago Pozo strongly believes that the awarding of licenses had the most detrimental effect of all the practices devised by Franco's film administration. Under this system producers could have de facto thwarted the dominance of foreign cinema had they decided never to use these import licenses. Yet the economic dynamics of Spain's film industry determined that, once dubbed, these foreign films proved far more profitable than most Spanish movies.[31] By linking the production of Spanish films to the acquisition of import licenses, Pozo concedes that growth was stimulated. Yet there was no incentive to make good or even popular films.

2.3b Prizes

Although government loans and the revenue from import licenses constituted the largest percentage of any producer's average film budget, cash prizes were an

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additional source of financing that also allowed the state to exert control over the film industry. An ordinance of November 11, 1941 instituted the awards of the Sindicato Nacional de Espectáculos to further reward those films deemed agreeable to the regime. Two prizes of 400,000 pesetas and four of 250,000 pesetas were given out on an annual basis.[32] Three years later, an ordinance of June 1944 established the category "Films of National Interest" to promote those movies which exalted "racial values" or "the educational values of our moral and political principles."[33] Candidates for this category, which was open as well to foreign films, were proposed at first by the Delegación Nacional de Propaganda, and then by the Junta de Orientación Cinematográfica, and the awards were bestowed by the Vicesecretaría de Educación Popular. Films honored with this distinction, including American films like *The Song of Bernadette* (1944) and *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946), were given priority in theaters and allocated the most advantageous premiere dates as well as favorable conditions for revivals.[34]

As of 1945, the Vicesecretaría additionally granted awards based on artistic excellence to the best male and female performances, the best director, the best screenplay, the best musical score, and the best set design. Beginning in 1945 as well, another set of prizes was given out by the Cine-Club de Escritores Cinematográficos. The Cine-Club,

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which held its first session on December 21, 1945, screened classics from the silent and early sound era and revisited recent Spanish films of merit that had failed to find an audience. It also published monographs on pioneers of the Spanish cinema. The Cine-Club's awards, valued more for their prestige than their economic impact on a film's box-office take, generally paralleled official taste.[35]

2.3c Dubbing

The most controversial regulation was the required dubbing of all foreign films into Spanish, first implemented by an ordinance of April 23, 1941, in order to control content and ostensibly uphold Castilian against other peninsular languages and the pernicious effect of foreign culture.[36] This imposition was relaxed in 1946 and again two years later in accordance with a resolution adopted by the Congreso Hispano-Americano de Cinematografía in the summer of 1948 to reduce gradually the practice of dubbing.[37] By then, there was a consensus that an irreparable damage had been done to Spain's film production, for Spanish audiences became used to dubbed films and resisted a return to subtitles.

Contemporary film historian Juan Antonio Cabero, writing at the end of the 1940s, argued that the imposition of dubbing gave an unfair advantage to American films, whose production values were far superior to most domestic features, by making them more easily accessible to a larger

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segment of the population.[38] Before the Civil War, according to Cabero, audiences flocked to see Spanish movies because foreign films were generally shown with subtitles. In the 1940s, however, the widespread use of dubbing destroyed the natural market for Spanish movies, and cemented among Spaniards a distaste for their own cinema.

Inquiring into the motives that made dubbing a mandatory practice, Pozo turns to Victoriano López García, the first director of what later became the Escuela de Cine, who insinuated that the revised legislation resulted from pressure applied on the administration by a few powerful producers who owned dubbing studios.[39] Film historian Antonio del Vallés Copeiro, for his part, makes the questionable assertion that dubbing was a token gesture offered by the state to film producers in exchange for financial losses incurred by the imposition of censorship.[40]

In any case, the desirability of dubbing foreign films was very much a topic of heated debate already in the 1940s. From the pages of the film magazine Cámara, critic Ángel Zúñiga carried on an outspoken campaign against the practice, which he felt pandered to the tastes of the riffraff and abetted foreign cinema's domination of the national market. Other writers blasted it from the very "official" pages of Primer Plano. Even a favored director like Rafael Gil lectured against dubbing.[41]

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There were, however, voices in favor of the practice.[42] Some proposed its selective use to reward exemplary foreign films with wider access.[43] David Jato claimed that dubbing allowed the illiterate lower-classes access to a broader film experience.[44] Bartolomé Mostaza accepted dubbing for those films free of immorality, offenses against Catholicism, or ideas antithetical to the political principles of the Spanish State.[45] Rafael Calvo observed that dubbing had a potentially beneficial effect on the local film industry, since producers could not invest in Spanish films unless they earned money from dubbed foreign pictures.[46] The renowned producer Serafín Ballesteros defended dubbing as fundamental to the business structure of Spain's film industry. After all, the biggest Spanish hit would never recoup its cost just with the peninsula's revenues, and sales abroad were virtually nil. The profits obtained from dubbed foreign films allowed producers to stay in business.[47]

2.3d Censorship

The most notorious and long-lasting of Franco's legislative interventions, censorship was introduced for two reasons. On the one hand, it was meant to halt the spread of political perspectives opposed to the dominant bloc. On the other, it sought to remove or filter out any material offensive to Catholic morality.[48] The first censorship boards were created in the midst of the war, on March 21,

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1937, in Seville and La Coruña. The creation of the Comisión de Censura Cinematográfica and the Junta Superior de Censura Cinematográfica followed on November 2, 1938.[49] After the end of hostilities, a decree of July 15, 1939 ordained that all screenplays be submitted for censorship approval. In order to obtain a shooting permit each producer was required to provide the title of the film; its plot with an accurate description of the period, location and characters; and an indication of the film's ulterior "message". In addition, the producer had to submit a budget and a complete dossier on the private and political background of all personnel involved. Separate censoring commissions were set up for features and documentaries.[50]

The Junta Superior determined the censorship of both foreign and domestic features. No films could be screened privately or publicly without the requisite authorization. Each member of the Junta was expected to write a report evaluating the film submitted for approval and clearly detailing any necessary cuts or modifications. The report also outlined the condition andterms for the film's exhibition. Foreign films were examined by the Junta in their original language, accompanied by the translated dialogue or subtitles. Decisions were adopted by majority vote, although the representative of the Church could veto the release of any film he deemed immoral. In case of

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dispute between the Church and the Junta, outside arbitration was sought.

From today's vantage point, historians Felix Fanés and Santiago Pozo believe that Franco's censorship organs were not as active as generally thought, since there was already a safeguard in place that limited the presence of dissident points of view. After all, most filmmakers active in the 1940s were sympathetic to Franco's cause anyway and unlikely to push the limits of acceptance. Hence, the censoring bodies only put the final touches on films that were already pretty void of controversial material.[51] On the other hand, Monterde observes how the mechanism of censorship privileged the screenplay over the finished product, a factor that allowed for the potential that the visual track might convey subversive information suppressed on a more literal level.[52]

1.4 Film Production in the 1940s

Spain's film production in the 1940s oscillated wildly in accordance with legislative changes and evolving international affairs.[53] In spite of the war's devastating effect on its personnel and infrastructure, the industry grew at a rapid pace: fifteen feature-length pictures were made in 1939, twenty in 1940 and forty-five in 1941. This expansive trend peaked in 1943 with a total of fifty-five features, but reversed itself drastically.[54] Early optimism gave way to shock and pessimism after World War Two ended and Hollywood regained lost ground.[55] As the Allies'

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economic sanctions kicked in, production plummeted for 1945 & 1946, inching its way towards recovery only by the very end of the decade.[56] Compared with the cinema of the 1930s, historian Santiago Pozo claims that the higher production figures of the 1940s were artificial. During the latter decade production was less contingent upon the law of supply and demand than on legislative measures, international affairs, and the greed of producers.[57]

In the 1940s Spain's market had the capacity to consume anywhere from 300 to 500 films a year, yet local production at best met 15% of that figure.[58] Spain's share of its internal market peaked in 1942 at 31%, but dropped to 14.8% by 1948. Throughout the 1940s, as has almost always been the case, foreign pictures consistently ruled Spain's box office.[59]

Spain's film industry had traditionally exhibited few signs of entrepreneurial daring, a tendency cemented during the Franco years with the appearance of state patronage. Prior to 1941 Spain's film industry had relied almost entirely on private capital to finance its production and distribution operations. From 1942 through 1948 the Crédito Cinematográfico Sindical provided over ninety million pesetas in loans to film producers, approximately 17.5% of the total average cost.[60] In 1943 only 7.6% of Spanish feature films obtained some sort of government subsidy, but by 1945 the percentage had skyrocketed to 78.3%, peaking the

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following year at 97.2%, a figure indicative of the severe crisis that had overtaken the industry. It stabilized around 85% for the remainder of the decade.[61]

1.4a Distributors and Producers

In 1945 there were twenty-five major Spanish distributors; by 1948 there were over sixty national and regional distributors, which in turn headed a network of more than one hundred and sixty branches and agencies. Among those distributors already operating before the Civil War were C.E.A. and CIFESA. Suevia Films, Chamartín and Astoria Films were among the distributors in existence after 1939. The usual pattern of exhibition entailed an exclusive premiere at a prestigious theater. After this initial run the film would move to a second-run theater —in Barcelona films were shown in several theaters simultaneously, usually owned by one impresario— before going on to broad release nationwide and finally hitting neighborhood and small-town theaters. Before the war, any distributor was free to buy films directly from the producing source, but after 1939 only producers of Spanish cinema could obtain import permits for foreign pictures.

Spain's main studios were located in Madrid and Barcelona. Between 1939 and 1949 a total of 245 films were shot in Madrid and 152 in Barcelona. Orfea Films, Trilla Orfea, Lepanto and Kinefón studios were located in the latter city; Sevilla Films, Ballesteros, C.E.A., Chamartín,

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and Roptence were in the capital. Shooting often took place in adverse circumstances, with frequent blackouts —as a result of which average shooting time neared fifty days, twice as much as in Italian studios— and a lack of basic comforts such as heat in the wintertime.[62]

Among the most important production companies during the 1940s were CIFESA and Suevia Films, way ahead of the competition in revenue and volume of production; Alhambra Films; Ballesteros S.A.; Aureliano Campa; C.E.A.; Chapalo Films; Emisora Films; Producciones Edgar Neville; and Producciones Orduña.[63] Small production companies, like Emisora, coexisted with larger entities, like CIFESA. The latter proved the strongest national alternative to Hollywood's hegemony and, for better or worse, its production has often been taken as the yardstick for the entire cinema of the 1940s.[64]

Founded in Valencia in 1932 by impresario Vicente Casanova, CIFESA produced many of the biggest hits of the first half century, including such milestones of the Spanish cinema as Benito Perojo's *La verbena de la Paloma* (1935), Florián Rey's *Nobleza baturra* (1935) and *Morena clara* (1936), Rafael Gil's *El clavo* (1944), and a significant part of Juan de Orduña's oeuvre. The studio also created and fostered a star system of its own modeled on Hollywood's; developed an infrastructure unrivalled by any Spanish studio since; and aggressively sought to open international markets

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for Spanish films, a policy whose most fruitful results were seen in Latin America.[65]

Casanova's strategy emphasized both mass production and specialization. Between 1942 and 1945 the studio produced and co-produced thirty-two films; many of these were low-budget comedies, shot quickly and efficiently.[66] Film historian José Luis Téllez argues that the studio consciously pursued the creation of a cinematic imaginary endowed with national-popular projection, fusing elements from folklore and popular culture with high art. Although CIFESA's most artistically ambitious films were generally aimed at an educated middle class, its pictures were broadly designed to appeal to wider audiences. Proven genres with crossover potential —melodramas, musicals, comedies, *sainetes* (satires set in urban, working-class milieus), and adventure films— prevailed. Stories easily graspable by a mostly illiterate populace were refashioned as myths that transcended class and regional differences in line with Fascism's emphasis on organic communities.[67]

Although over the course of twenty years CIFESA produced films encompassing a broad range of genres, it is best remembered today for the cycle of expensive and grandiloquent historical epics made between 1947 and 1951.[68] CIFESA's move towards these ostentatious superproductions in the aftermath of World War Two may have been dictated by basic economic reasons (i.e, the desire to emulate

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Hollywood's glamour and opulence in hopes of duplicating its box-office success), yet they seemingly responded as well to a psychological need for dazzling spectacles that distracted beleaguered audiences and belied the material inadequacies of the moment. To film historians like Fernando Lara, CIFESA's historical melodramas and costumers epitomized a "totalitarian" cinema that promoted official ideology and enforced conformity upon a submissive, passive, and non-reflective spectator. According to this scenario, CIFESA's movies functioned essentially as a conduit for the dissemination of *franquismo*'s program.[69]

Lara's position is shared by other critics and historians who believe that CIFESA's fortune was inseparable from its political collusion with and cultural accommodation to Franco's policies.[70] Conversely, Téllez has argued that CIFESA's biggest hits articulated values tangential, when not opposed, to Francoist ideology.[71] He believes that CIFESA's dealings with the government were mostly ambiguous and contradictory. There is no doubt that Casanova sided with the *Nacionales* and curried favor with the new administration. It is less clear whether CIFESA's film production lived up to the regime's expectations or whether Casanova consistently received preferential treatment over other producers and distributors.[72] In any case, regardless of any privileged rapport with Franco's government, spiraling budgets and a string of box-office disappointments

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eventually pushed the studio into bankruptcy.[73] CIFESA produced its last picture, Orduña's *Lola, la piconera*, in 1952, and from then on limited its activities to film distribution.

1.4b Directors[74]

Filmmakers active in the 1940 may be broadly divided into three categories. First there was a stable of directors who identified with and were consistently rewarded by Franco's regime. The list includes the leading filmmakers of this period: José Luis Saenz de Heredia (1911-1992), Rafael Gil (1913-1985), Juan de Orduña (1907-1974), and Antonio Román (1911-1989). To the above, one may add the names of Florían Rey (1894-1962) and Benito Perojo (1894-1974), who did their best work prior to 1936 but remained active in the new decade.

A second-tier would include those directors whose films met with varied degrees of state support and recognition, yet who never occupied a position of leadership. Some, such as Fernando Delgado (1891-1950), Edgar Neville (1899-1967), Luis Marquina (1904-1980), and Eusebio Fernández Ardavín (1898-1965), had begun their careers during the Second Republic; others, like Ignacio Ferrés Iquino (1910-1994), José Luis López Rubio (1903-1996), Luis Lucía (1914-1984), or Ramón Torrado (1905), started under *franquismo*. By 1948 a new cadre —Antonio del Amo (1911-1991), Manuel Mur Oti (1908), José Antonio Nieves Conde (1915), Arturo Ruiz

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Castillo (1910-1994)— emerged and prepared the transition into the cinema of the 1950s.

Lastly, directors like Carlos Serrano de Osma (1916-1984) pursued a passion for formal experimentation that placed them at odds with the mainstream; others, like Lorenzo Llobet Gracia (1911-1976), labored at the periphery of the industry.

1.4c Genres

Historians like Román Gubern and José Enrique Monterde believe a genre-based approach to the study of Spanish cinema is more fruitful than an auteurist perspective, especially in regard to the cinema of this period.[75] The 1940s bore a number of specific genres that had little or no continuity in future decades. The most militant voices in Franco's coalition, from politicians to ideologists, clamored for the State to finance, or at the very least promote, films reflective of their ideological worldview. Producers were also courted and lobbied to make these movies, whose fate was subject to political vicissitudes and shifting allegiances.

Histories of the period typically underscore the recurrence of three genres: the military epic, the historical film, and the nineteenth-century costumer, often adapted from a novel.[76] The first two genres faded as the ideological authority of Fascism waned and Spain's political relations with the West were normalized; the third genre

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would re-emerge in the 1970s and 1980s. Romantic comedies inspired in Hollywood models and their Italian counterparts —the white-telephone films— were popular among audiences, but disappeared in the 1950s. They were rarely if ever recognized with official awards and, consequently, their producers received few import permits. Other favored genres, such as the religious film and the folkloric musical, stretched back to the silent and early sound cinema, and persisted well into the 1960s.

Monterde draws a basic distinction between autochthonous genres, inspired by native traditions, and those mimicking foreign prototypes. He also notes a degree of hybridity resulting from the desire to "hispanize" American and European formulas. For film historian Juan Miguel Company this hybridity even affects the very internal structure of certain genres, which are submitted to a process of deconstruction with highly idiosyncratic results.[77]

1.4c(i) *Military Films*

The decisive role played by the Army in the uprising against the Second Spanish Republic and its prominent presence in Franco's coalition left its imprint in the cinema of the 1940s.[78] Although films celebratory of the military ethos were made throughout Franco's lifetime, they were rarely as militant as those made in the early post-Civil War years when Falange's sway was still undiminished.

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In general, these pictures, some of which were financed by military institutions or personnel, portrayed the military as a community of men committed to duty, self-sacrifice and the safeguarding of the nation. Beginning in 1946, an annual prize ("Premio Ejército") was handed out to one film of "military interest" that exalted and popularized the deeds and lives of army men or past heroic feats.[79]

1.4c(ii) *Historical Films*

In order to justify their bloodshed and economic devastation, the *Nacionales* sought grounding for their cause in past Spanish history. The historical films of the 1940s thus evince a search for origins that frequently reverts to the Middle Ages or the *Siglo de Oro*, sidestepping in the meantime periods of decadence, social and political unrest, or ambiguous ideological ferment. Critic Diego Galán maintains that historical films of the 1940s were essentially and insistently political, constantly reminding its audience of Franco's victory.[80] Past events were used as guidelines for present behavior and as confirmation of the principles and values of the new era, establishing a continuum between the present and a selective historical past.

1.4c(iii) *Literary Costume Dramas*

Spain's cinema had turned to literature for inspiration before 1936, and would do so again with renewed vigor after Franco's death, but rarely with the resolve of the 1940s.

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Obviously, the spectrum of literary sources was limited by the ideological restrictions imposed by the regime. These affected not only works whose content ran afoul of *franquismo*, but sometimes nearly the entire oeuvre of authors whose politics condemned them in the eyes of Franco's administration.[81] Filmmakers and producers turned instead to ideologically safe, nineteenth-century literature.[82]

1.4c(iv) *Religious Cinema*

In the beginning the Church was deeply suspicious of the cinema's potentially detrimental effect on the people's faith and moral fiber.[83] In time, it was won over by the medium's possibilities for proselytizing and was as actively involved in the production of religious pictures — biographies of saints and renowned clerics, missionary films, dramas with religious content— as it was in monitoring and censoring the industry.[84]

1.4c(v) *Comedies*

Falangist critic Carlos Fernández Cuenca felt an authentically Spanish cinema need not always be political in nature; comic farces were equally valid as long as directors pictured themselves rendering a service to the nation by entertaining their audience.[85] Spain's film industry agreed, for comedies outnumbered by far genres usually considered stalwarts of Franco's cinema.[86] Comedy's dominance may be understood as an attempt by producers to exorcise the dismal

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day-to-day reality of post-Civil War life with scenarios of fantasy and escapist entertainment.

Monterde doubts the existence of a specifically Spanish prototype of comedy during these years. What producers cranked out instead were, on the one hand, movies of a cosmopolitan sensibility inspired by Italian white-telephone or Hollywood screwball models, and on the other, an eclectic array of films drawn from a variety of autochthonous sources.[87] The first prototypes were geared to high and middle-brow audiences; the latter two appealed essentially to the masses.

1.4c(vi) *Folkloric Musicals*[88]

Among the most popular and yet despised of subgenres, the folkloric musical combined rural and urban, working-class musical traditions; regional song and dance; and performative styles from the stage (i.e, the *zarzuelas* or Spanish-style operettas), the *café-cantante* (music hall), and the *tablado flamenco*. Producers crafted formulas that exalted regional musical expressions (*sevillanas*, Aragonese *jotas* etc.) in an attempt to appeal to the nationalistic feelings of Spain's various peoples and create an awareness of Spain's diverse heritage. More often than not, the musical was conceived as a showcase and vehicle for the talent of star performers such as Imperio Argentina, Estrellita Castro, or Juanita Reina. Essentially a conservative form that constructed an escapist vision of

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Spanish society, a site of fantasy in which social and regional differences were obviated in favor of a utopian scenario of class and national harmony, the folkloric musical could nevertheless allow heterodox forms of identification, convey subversive ideas, and serve as a point of self-recognition for disempowered audiences.[89] It is also a genre where one can see the sexual politics of *franquismo* most clearly enunciated. Although for some Falangist militants, the folkloric musical embodied ideologically suspect material, most middle-class critics condemned it on the grounds of taste. For them, these films embodied mass culture at its most vulgar and hackneyed.

1.4d Film and Propaganda

After the war, Falange was granted control over the media and the Ministry of Propaganda, exploiting this edge to publicize its mythology through countless tracts, radio broadcasts, ceremonies, and processions.[90] One way in which the cinema contributed to Falange and *franquismo*'s hegemony was through the mandatory screening of NO-DO newsreels before every feature. First created through a government decree of September 9, 1942, the NO-DO (Noticiero Documental) exploited the impact of the large screen to drive home Fascist ideology. In addition to documenting public spectacles and conveying their grandeur to distant communities, it also presented information on world affairs and highlighted the project of national reconstruction.[91]

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By and large, it was the production of feature films that garnered the greatest attention of politicians and ideologists. Openly militant Falangist critics, like Luis Gómez Mesa, exhorted filmmakers, often in shrill and belligerent terms, to abandon old paradigms and produce a cinema in tune with the revolutionary spirit of the moment.[92] From the pages of Primer Plano, Luigi Chiarini called for "a cinema that praises the actions and feats of those who fought for and surrendered their life to the mission and greatness of the Motherland, with an utterly Spanish spirit and vital attitude." He added: "We demand a cinema that exalts the submission to discipline and the fulfillment of shared duty in the military progress of the State."[93]

A cadre of Falangist intellectuals and cinephiles seconded the need for a cinema of propaganda and indoctrination. Falangist polemicist Bartolomé Mostaza argued in its favor:

> The cinematic apparatus undoubtedly represents the most efficient weapon of any political movement in the fight for its ideals. It would be foolish to reject its use to catechize the masses, to move them, to compel them towards action, to teach them whatever the politician deems necessary and convenient.[94]

Joaquín Romero Marchent, director of the film magazine, Radiocinema, also clamored for a national production at the service of the State that reflected "the essential ideas of our program, doctrine and tenets."[95]

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These writers had clearly in mind the model set by the Soviet cinema. Films like *Battleship Potemkin* were widely screened during the Second Republic and admired across the ideological divide for their commanding visual style and profound psychological impact. The way in which these films cast the masses as political protagonists, in addition to their configuration as spectacle, their glorification of violent political action, and their call for social justice, appealed to the progressive wing of Falange. In addition, the prominence assigned to the medium by the Soviet government and its use to indoctrinate Russia's huge illiterate population set a standard to emulate.[96]

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CHAPTER 2

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF 1940S CINEMA

There has been a long-standing habit among many Spanish film historians and critics to disqualify Francoist cinema as mediocre, parochial, backward, and morally and aesthetically bankrupt.[97] Just as many Spaniards wish their country had not undergone four decades of totalitarian rule, so do many scholars prefer that Spain's cinema had followed a different course. Distinguished film historian Román Gubern, for example, has deplored the alleged failure of Spain's cinema to maintain a high level of artistic achievement and to articulate a cosmopolitan identity and a socially progressive agenda.[98] Gubern's opinion is fairly representative of the negative estimation that has haunted the image of Spain's film production. This attitude has particularly colored the perception of Francoist cinema and contributed to the historiographical neglect of its principal figures.[99] This is nowhere more evident than in the treatment reserved for the films made in the period between 1939 and 1951.

Produced during a time of political isolationism, fervid nationalism, intense repression and economic deprivation, the cinema of the 1940s accompanied the institution of a right-wing political and ideological order in the wake of a bloody civil war. Sandwiched between the

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highly esteemed cinema of the 1930s and the oppositional, auteur-driven work of the 1950s, the film production of the 1940s has generally been impugned as either shallow escapism or, as Marxist film historian Domènec Font maintained, flagrant mouthpieces for the economic interests and social privileges of Spain's oligarchies and propaganda vehicles for the ideology of Falange, Spain's Fascist party, and the Catholic Church's most reactionary doctrine.[100]

On the one hand, it has been, by and large, repudiated on aesthetic grounds as formally crude, thematically vacuous and stylistically derivative. Compared to the rigorous formal and narrative demands of auteurist cinema, Francoist cinema, essentially a popular type of film production, has been deemed artistically inferior and criticized for its limited creativity and its resistance to innovation. On the other hand, common wisdom has viewed the cinema of the 1940s as the compromised offshoot of a totalitarian regime eager to impose its ideological agenda upon its citizens.[101] As a result, a fascinating, protean body of films has been reduced to little more than unidimensional ideological tracts. While this unfavorable evaluation was already in place by the 1960s[102], the harshest assessments stem from the twilight years of Franco's dictatorship.

Let us look at the work of four important Marxist film critics of the 1970s. In 1976 Domènec Font discounted the films of the 1940s as purely reactionary and anti-modern

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tracts that embodied and promoted the ideology of Spain's semi-feudal agrarian oligarchies.[103] At about the same time Antonio Castro asserted that Franco's administration valued the cinema solely as a tool of indoctrination without any concern for creating a minimally honorable cinema.[104] For critic Diego Galán, Francoist cinema as a whole constantly reaffirmed the victory of Franco's *Nacionales* and continuously defended their legitimacy, whereas for Fernando Lara the escapist costumers and historical epics of the 1940s deliberately and relentlessly brainwashed their spectators into a passive state of conformity and submission.[105] More recently, Alfons García Segui has claimed that the cinema of the 1940s, especially the films produced by CIFESA, the most important Spanish production and distribution company of the early post-Civil War era, articulated a rabid apology for the ultra-conservative political and social agenda of the most reactionary segments of Spanish society, without even a trace of the revolutionary aspects of Falange's program.[106]

This critical onslaught has not abated in recent years. In 1998 Aurora Bosch and María Fernanda del Rincón described the cinema of the 1940s in the following terms:

> Woodenly repeating the regime's grandiloquent rhetoric, these films bore no relation to the daily lives and the experiences of Spaniards. Of poor quality, they had no popular appeal.[107]

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Sweeping overstatements like these have marred and muddled the study of early Francoist cinema, creating a misleading picture of its accomplishments and failings.

On the opposite side of the spectrum, of course, we have the work of film historians ideologically committed to Franco's regime. The most preeminent scholar among them was undoubtedly Fernando Méndez Leite, whose two-volume study of Spain's cinema constitutes an important source of data, if hardly a model of objectivity.[108] Moderate voices have been the exception rather than the norm. Back in the early 1980s historian Santiago Pozo declared that the cinema of the 1940s was in dire need of academic rehabilitation. More recently, Juan Miguel Company has refused to continue regarding this body of work simply as "the pestilent and lethal emanation of an alleged Francoist ideology."[109] And José Luis Castro de Paz has reaffirmed the need to reexamine the film production of this convulsive era, if only to trace the textual marks of history lurking below its surface. [110] Moreover, British hispanist Jo Labanyi, one of the very few foreign scholars working on this period, has pointed to the ideological ambiguities that performance style and mise-en-scène introduce into many of these films, which may have allowed for polysemic, contrary readings among contemporary spectators.[111] And over the years a number of present-day Spanish filmmakers, such as José Luis Borau, Luis García Berlanga, and Fernando Trueba, have spoken with admiration

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and affection about the popular cinema of the early post-Civil War years.[112]

Given the extreme passions that consumed Spaniards on either side of the political divide created by the Nationalist victory of 1939, it is understandable that many left-wing film historians have felt compelled to denounce the cinema of the early post-Civil War years as an active participant in the consolidation and perpetuation of *franquismo*. While this position may have been strategically useful to a specific conjuncture in Spain's history, I believe the limitations of this approach today outweigh its advantages. Twenty-five years after Franco's death, such a narrow and politically biased model of historiography has run its course. New perspectives are necessary if a more balanced and accurate picture of Spain's cinema is to be attained.

2.1 Defining Historiographical Boundaries

The cinema of the Second Spanish Republic, long regarded as a golden age of filmmaking tragically thwarted by the Civil War, has cast a long shadow over Francoist film production. Up until now most historians have categorically defended the intrinsic qualitative superiority of the cinema of the 1930s over the film production of the 1940s on account of its progressive and less ideologically mediated nature. Román Gubern, Emilio G. García Fernández, Santiago Pozo, Emilio Sanz de Soto, Augusto Torres, and Antonio

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Vallés Copeiro, all prominent scholars of Spain's cinema, ascribe to this view.

Undoubtedly the cinema of the Second Spanish Republic produced works of remarkable aesthetic merit and great popular appeal, but, as film historians Luis Pérez Bastias and Fernando Alonso Barahona have pointed out, these amounted to a relatively small portion of the period's output.[113] Made for the most part during the last two years prior to the Nationalist uprising of July 1936, these films entailed a significant advance, as far as narrative and technical fluency is concerned, over the production of the 1920s and early 1930s. Yet in my view neither their liberal and democratic outlook nor their warm popular acceptance constitute automatic guarantees of artistic excellence. While the ideological discourses traversing the films of the Second Republic may be far more agreeable, measured against the film production of the 1940s, their preeminence as a whole must be qualified.

In their polemical book Las mentiras del cine español (The Lies about Spain's cinema) Alonso Barahona and Pérez Bastias deny that the Second Spanish Republic presided over a golden age of Spanish cinema. Instead, they regard this assumption as an "ideological fantasy," a foundational myth that has perpetuated inaccuracies and served to occlude and distort the facts.[114] The authors see no substantive difference in quality between the films of the 1930s and

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those made in the 1940s; rather they assert that, but for a handful of titles, the cinema of the Republic too often relied on generic formulas and trite subject matter, catering to an illiterate and backward populace.[115] Production figures were much lower than the averages of later decades and, according to their data, Republican film production was also far less profitable than Francoist cinema.[116]

The vaunted *Conversaciones de Salamanca* proved even more decisive in shaping the poor reputation of early post-Civil War cinema. In the spring of 1955 an ideologically diverse group of filmmakers, journalists, and administrators gathered in the Castilian city of Salamanca to assess the state of Spain's film industry.[117] By the time of the event's closure, the polemical and inflammatory statements of filmmaker Juan Antonio Bardem and critic Ricardo Muñoz Suay, editor of the film journal Objetivo, had delivered one generation's wholesale condemnation of its immediate predecessors. As Bardem put it: "After 60 years of films, Spanish cinema is politically ineffective, socially false, intellectually worthless, aesthetically nonexistent, and industrially crippled."[118] Bardem added that Spanish cinema lived in a state of isolation; its directors oblivious to everyday reality:

> It is isolated not only from the world, but from our own reality . . . The problem of Spanish cinema is that it has no problems, that it does not bear testimony to

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> our time such as our time demands of all human creation.[119]

For Bardem and his like-minded colleagues the solution entailed the adoption of a new aesthetic inspired by neorealism. Like their Italian counterparts, Spanish filmmakers should abandon the enclosed world of the studio to shoot in the market square, the factories, and the fields, shunning the putative escapism of historical epics and folkloric musicals in order to capture the present day-to-day struggle that marked the existence of so many Spaniards. All other options, as far as Bardem and company were concerned, ought to be dismmissed as politically and aesthetically illegitimate.

Alonso Barahona and Pérez Bastias have questioned the fairness of Bardem's harsh judgements and criticized his unilateral dismissal of an entire cadre of proficient directors that had determined, for better or worse, the configuration and identity of Spain's cinema. For Alonso Barahona and Pérez Bastias, a vocal minority of Spanish film professionals came to define after 1955 the goals and priorities of Spain's film industry, privileging a leftist, critical cinematic practice committed to exposing the sordid aspects of Spanish life and the failings of Franco's regime, at the expense of other alternatives.[120] Furthermore, the authors find Bardem liable for generating the black legend that swathed the cinema of the 1940s in silence and oblivion.

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2.2 Rupture and Continuity

Despite all the testimonies, coming from both leftist and right-wing authors, that have privileged discontinuity, the cinema of the 1940s actually exhibits far greater continuity than rupture, especially if the style and generic affiliations of these films are taken into account. Many movies revisited narrative, visual, and generic formulas already well established in the Republican cinema, if not earlier.[121] Generic models that had proved successful during the 1920s and '30s, ranging from sentimental comedies and melodramas to folkloric musicals and films about bullfighting, continued to be made and attract audiences during the post-Civil War era.[122] Moreover, notwithstanding the large number of film professionals incarcerated, purged and forbidden to practice, or forced into exile because of their Republican sympathies[123], there was essentially a continuity as well at the level of talent: directors, performers, and technicians overlapped both decades.[124]

A visible shift in tone from the cinema of the 1930s is definitely apparent and certain subgenres with little prior hold, such as the military film, the religious biography, and the historical film, acquired preeminence in the 1940s. However, Fanés argues that the retrograde ideology of the cinema of the 1940s represented a continuity, albeit magnified, of what had been even during the Second Spanish Republic an inherently conservative cinema.[125] Just as the

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social groups and institutions that supported Franco's bid for power were firmly in place before the outbreak of the Civil War, so did their ideology thoroughly permeate the cinema of the 1930s. As historian José María Caparrós Lera has indicated in his study of Republican cinema, the industrial and financial bourgeosie provided the capital essential to Spain's film industry, so its production was unlikely to attack the interests and values of the ruling class.[126] Save for a small number of militant and reform-minded films made under the short-lived Popular Front coalition, and later during the war by Communists, Anarchists, and other Leftist groups, Spain's film industry had rarely challenged the prerogatives of oligarchic groups or contested the Catholic Church's moral code of behavior. The cinema of the 1940s simply reinforced the status quo of Spain's film industry, amplifying its inherent conservatism and supressing explicit progressive points of view.

2.3 State Control: Myth and Reality

Franco's victory led to an unprecedented intervention of the State in the affairs of Spain's film industry, and yet producers and directors seemingly retained a modicum of latitude in choosing themes and genres that did not explicitly respond to the regime's ideological agenda.[127] García Berlanga has claimed that, in spite of Falange's rhetoric, there was never complete and absolute state control over the film industry.[128] Spanish producers of this

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period, he argues, enjoyed far more creative autonomy and were less subservient to the state than has been generally assumed. Instead a stringent censorship, usually exerted at the instigation of the Catholic Church, dictated the sights and sounds available to Spaniards of the 1940s.[129]

The end result of Franco's protectionist policies, according to standard historiographical views, was a dull and dogmatic cinema that uniformly foregrounded Francoist ideology.[130] This overdetermined view is in need of revision. Looking at the data, quite a different picture emerges. Comedies comprised approximately 50% of early post-Civil War film production. Conversely, military epics and war films and religious films represented only 4% and 2% respectively. In addition, 6% of the production of the 1940s were history films and another 6% dealt with Spanish folklore.[131] As these figures suggest, clearly only a small fraction of films made between 1939 and 1951 fulfilled the desire of certain Falangist ideologues and politicians for a militant and militarist cinema invested in the legitimation of Franco's claim to power.

If we look at the distribution of awards and other financial incentives, we find a similar pattern: next to canonical works such as *Raza*, *Boda en el Infierno*, *Escuadrilla*, *Los Últimos de Filipinas*, *El Santuario No Se Rinde*, *El Escándalo*, *Locura de Amor*, and *Agustina de Aragón*, pictures conspicuously free of overt propaganda also

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benefitted from official recognition: *Huella de Luz, El Fantasma y Doña Juanita, Espronceda, Mariona Rebull, La Calle sin Sol, Don Quijote de la Mancha, Currito de la Cruz,* and *Don Juan.* A glance at the list of "Films of National Interest," those that presumably embodied or echoed most vigorously the theses and interests of Franco's hegemonic bloc, reveals a comparable eclecticism. Films unabashedly celebratory of Franco's claim to power shared the spotlight with pictures of high culture pedigree, as well as popular commercial releases and works of a more personal nature. Franco's bureaucracy patently rewarded ideological correctness, but it held quality in equal esteem.[132]

In light of the evidence, can we affirm that Franco's government actively intervened and pressured the film industry to procure a cinema supportive of its cause? If so, did it succeed? In spite of thorough state control over Spain's film industry, a simple cursory look at the film production of this era reveals the existence of multifarious, divergent proposals and models. The monolithic image of Spanish post-Civil War cinema portrayed by many historians simply does not hold up to scrutiny. Hopewell contends that a good deal of this cinema was not even Francoist in nature, much less homogeneous or uniform.[133] On the contrary, a close examination uncovers a far more heterogeneous and ideologically diverse panorama in line with the fractured nature both of Spanish society at large

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and Franco's own coalition. Yet in many histories of Spanish cinema, a few dozen political, military, and religious films (amounting to about 10% of the total production) have been made to stand for the entire cinema of the 1940s. Although the five films examined in this dissertation constitute a small sample of early Francoist cinema, they handily attest to the heterogeneity and the varied ideological positions that characterized the film production of 1940s Spain.

The prominence of the most rabidly ideological films in most historical accounts of the period undoubtedly stems from their novelty. While a few historical and war-themed pictures had been made in Spain prior to the Civil War, none enjoyed the visibility of films such as *Raza* (1941) or *Los Últimos de Filipinas* (1945). Yet in sheer numbers the type of films generally regarded as representative of Francoist cinema were not necessarily dominant. If Franco's regime earnestly attempted to alter and dictate the nature and orientation of Spain's cinema, it undeniably failed in its mission. The figures indicate that Spain's cinema during the 1940s was, as a whole, overwhelmingly escapist and, on the face of it, apolitical. It was comprised mainly of genre pictures: musicals, melodramas, adventure films.

This is not to say that these minor films were ideologically innocuous. In truth, many of them embodied deeply conservative discourses. Yet they diffused their ideological manipulation through an intricate network of

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visual, aural, and narrative strategies that, depending on each individual film, worked as much for as against a transparent reading of the film's intended meaning. Furthermore, a number of these films manifest opposing points of view, ambiguous narrative focalization, and open-ended closures that problematize any straightforward ideological effect that may be said to have exerted.

Nor were Franco's film policies received with unanimity or total acquiescence. Producers, directors and critics voiced their disapproval of various elements of the administration's film policy, such as mandatory dubbing of foreign films and the subordination of the dynamics of domestic film production to the commercial interests of distributors and exhibitors.[134] These regulations were blamed for the persistent weakness, instability and underdevelopment of Spain's film industry and its inability to find an audience at home.[135] Yet at present historians like Aurora Bosch and María Fernanda del Rincón claim that Franco's rearrangement of Spain's film industry essentially satisifed all parties involved: "The regime got *its* films, the producers massive profits, and the public the Hollywood films they liked."[136]

2.4 Was There a Falangist Cinema?

Although some producers may have been personally disinclined to produce Fascist propaganda, in spite of all the professional and financial incentives, economic rather

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than ideological motives most likely determined the nature and direction of early Francoist cinema. Spain's film industry as a whole was extremely adverse to risk and innovation; producers generally opted for the certainty of tried formulas.[137] Furthermore, if they avoided a politically explicit cinema with a highly partisan and divisive message, it was probably out of fear of incurring the administration's displeasure.[138] The lack of clear indicators to Franco's taste no doubt abetted a state of uncertainty, propitiating a conformist stance among already inherently conservative businessmen.[139] Unless a project was sponsored by the highest echelons of power, as was the case of José Luis Saenz de Heredia's *Raza* (1941), based on a screenplay allegedly written by Franco himself under the pseudonym of Jaime de Andrade, producers and directors hesitated to tackle the Civil War and the Nationalist victory, as their point of view might unwittingly offend one faction or another of Franco's power base.

In spite of Falange's rhetoric, the film industry's pragmatism seems to have thwarted the party's attempts at creating a politically militant cinema.[140] In 1943 the writer known as *El Español* expressed his dismay at the way in which commercial considerations were frustrating the indoctrinary potential of the cinema;[141] other writers noted that producers perceived the subject of the Civil War to be potential box-office poison.[142] After enduring three years of

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relentless bloodshed and violence, most Spaniards had few desires to relive painful memories on the big screen. Thus, while the administration expected cinematic paens to Franco's victory, and these were occasionally made, producers by and large opted for a cinema devoid of explicit political slogans.

During the early post-Civil War era the State intervened directly in the production of only two films: *Raza* (1941) and *Alba de América* (1951). The former emerges possibly as the sole exponent of what was termed a "crusade" cinema.[143] *Raza* embodied the prototypical film championed by the state: "Shot in Spanish, with a Spanish cast, Spanish locations, landscapes and sound, [*Raza*] seeks to show the world the authentic spirit of a people that has renewed its history through heroism."[144]

Nevertheless, within certain Falangist circles *Raza* was not apparently regarded as a faithful rendition of the party's ideals. In August of 1942, eight months after *Raza*'s premiere, critic Fernando Fernández de Córdoba affirmed that a Falangist cinema was yet to be made and feared that economic interests would stand in the way, since films about the Civil War were commonly thought to be box-office poison.[145] He believed import licenses should be granted to films that promulgated Falangist doctrine rather than reward big-budget movies. Producers would thus feel encouraged to make more propaganda films of a national flavor and less

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cosmopolitan mimicry. An editorial in Primer Plano, published well over a year after *Raza*'s premiere, further denied Saenz de Heredia's film any likeness to Falange's vision. It squarely proclaimed: "Falange is a way of being; the cinema sent forward by our studios to roam the screens is propaganda diametrically opposed to the Spanish way of being we have set our minds upon."[146]

Much of the recent historiography on Spain's post-Civil War cinema equally questions the existence of a truly Falangist cinema. Cultural historian Fernando Vizcaíno Casas, a Falangist sympathizer, has admitted with sadness that Franco's government either failed to create a political cinema that served to legitimize its victory or simply lacked the desire to do so.[147] Film historian Domènec Font stated that "at no time in the history of Franco's rule could one speak of a cinema that responded faithfully to the national-corporativist agenda of the Falange," in spite of the fact that the latter, together with the Church, wielded control over the cultural-ideological apparatus.[148] Font locates the cause of this failed hegemony in the dislocations and ruptures generated by the shifting balance of power among the various factions comprising Franco's coalition; shifts that curtailed Falange's ability to impose its worldview with any sense of continuity. He writes:

> Each readjustment of the dominant system and each re-composition of the ruling block corresponded to a mutation, generally superficial but important for our purposes, of the ideology of its filmic proposals.[149]

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In addition, historians like Company and González Requena have remarked on the reluctance or inability of Francoist cinema to consistently imagine a Fascist present, much less a future.[150] More often than not film producers of the 1940s recreated narratives set in a distant past, which became the site for displaced ideological conflicts. This flight into the past may have stemmed from *franquismo*'s fear of modernity, its aversion to the social and economic forces and processes that were rapidly transforming the outside world and threatening to destroy the traditional Spanish way of life, sweeping away the institutions, practices and beliefs that had supported and legitimized the hegemony of Spain's ruling class.[151] Consequently, many post-Civil War films expressed a longing for the stability and certainty of past eras, wherein social and ideological tensions were easily managed and resolved. Other historians see the failure of a Falangist cinema to take root as linked to the erosion of Falange's political leverage as the Axis' defeat became apparent.[152] Finally, for González Requena this failure was the result of a socially introjected guilt complex towards the tragic magnitude of the Civil War.[153]

2.5 National Identity

Recent studies of national cinemas have focused on the manner in which motion pictures contribute to the process of nation building through their figurations of community.[154] According to this reading, films function as cultural

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articulations that represent the nation to itself, mediating its fears, anxieties, and aspirations. Andrew Higson, for instance, views films as texts that invite "diverse and often antagonistic groups of people to see themselves as a single body with a common culture."[155] In this sense, films supply audiences with the visual and narrative codes and discourses that enable them to construct a national and cultural identity.

For Susan Hayward, motion pictures usually articulate the nation around the bipolar alternatives of identity and difference. A national cinema generally resorts to indigenous traditions and modes of discourse to establish its national identity, often evoking collective memories in order to instill in audiences a sense of continuity with the past. This process is simultaneously predicated upon the rejection of foreign traditions and cultural forms, construed as signs of otherness that threaten to contaminate and erode national specificities. In their attempts to draw boundaries that cement the illusion of belonging to a particular community, national cinemas, according to Hayward, are deeply invested in fostering desires for wholeness and coherence that disavow the reality of fragmentation, diversity, instability, and change inherent to the formation of nation-states.

Higson locates the parameters of a national cinema at the point where production and consumption converge.[156] On

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the production side, Higson wants to draw attention to the discursive and symbolic operations by means of which the cinema constitutes the national. To put it another way, how does this industrial and artistic practice formulate a national identity through a recurring iconography and distinctive modes of address? What is being excluded or repressed in the filmic texts and discourses that define and represent nationhood and community? At the consumption end, one must examine the process by means of which a given public identifies with a film's representation of nationhood. Does national identity play a role in a picture's commercial fortune? Should we read the success or failure of a film as indicative of the degree of public identification with the fictional image of community and nation thereby advanced? Do audience reactions determine the course and evolution of a national cinema?

Francoism understood and assumed from the outset cinema's cultural role as a bearer and generator of national identity. Art historian Francisco Calvo Serraller notes that throughout the past century key figures of Spain's literature and visual arts made the question of Spanish identity an urgent topic of reflection, focusing repeatedly on the characterization and depiction of signs of Spanishness.[157] This concern was further exacerbated by Spain's social and economic stagnation, its turbulent history, and the political and cultural tensions that have

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marked Castile's relationship with the outlying regions of the Iberian peninsula.

During the 1930s, national unity became a pressing concern for the Right. In the wake of separatist movements that flourished in Catalunya and the Basque region under Republican rule, the Right underlined its commitment to an undivided nation. Falange's political platform regarded the decentralization of political power as tantamount to the state's dissolution. As the Civil War came to an end, a visceral nationalism, sometimes tinged with xenophobia, swept the country. Once installed in power, Franco's faction, appropriately known as the *Nacionales*, placed stress on the definition and representation of "Spanishness." Public events, such as rallies, parades, and masses, along with other spectacles and forms of mass entertainment, constituted an opportunity for stirring, orchestrated displays of patriotism.[158] This strategy served to mobilize support for the regime, castigate and repress subnational expressions, denigrate the international community for its alleged hostility, and demonize the democratic opposition in exile as non-Spanish (*la anti-España*).

As the principal form of cultural entertainment in the aftermath of the Civil War, next to soccer and bullfighting, the cinema continued and amplified the long-lived debate over Spain's national identity.[159] Marvin D'Lugo has referred

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to the obsession of Spanish filmmakers with the representation of signs of identity as "the burden of Spanishness."[160] The visceral nationalism of Franco's political culture could not but infiltrate the struggle to reconstruct and redefine Spain's cinema in the wake of the Civil War. In one extreme account, Falangist writer and militant, Bartolomé Mostaza demanded, for instance, that every camera lens should focus its shot with a Spanish vision.[161]

The fixation on "Spanishness" permeated film culture at other levels as well. In the inaugural number of the official film magazine Primer Plano, its founder Manuel Augusto García Viñolas welcomed state intervention and assistence and pronounced the creation of a national cinema a priority for the new administration.[162] García Viñolas envisioned a cinema invested with a recognizable Spanish identity that would nourish itself from the life and human lore of its people. In the wake of his manifesto, other voices joined in; film critics, journalists, bureaucrats, politicians, intellectuals, and film professionals alike made the nature of Spain's cinema a central topic in their writings. For while cinema's educational role was paramount, its function as a cultural ambassador abroad of all things Spanish was equally important to *franquismo*. Fierce arguments flared up in specialized film journals, as well as in the popular press, over what constituted authentic screen

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depictions of Spain.[163] Moreover, would the international success of Spain's cinema hinge upon a stereotypically Spanish sense of identity or should Spanish filmmakers adopt a cosmopolitan language and outlook that downplayed or eschewed altogether national idiosyncrasies and traditions?[164]

The debate was at its most spirited over the subject of the notorious *españolada*, a genre of films that dwelt on the exotic and colorful peculiarities of Iberian culture.[165] The hackneyed views of Spain circulated in the *españolada* alternately drew praise or condemnation as suitable representations of Spanish identity. For some they constituted a valid self-image that played with popular themes and motifs, some drawn from reality, others fictitious and highly stylized, yet endowed with collective resonance and an unmistakable Spanish flavor.[166] From a commercial point of view, the clichés of the *españolada* made good business sense, for they fulfilled foreign fantasies and expectations about Spain gleaned over the years from literature, music, painting, and previous films. For its detractors, the *españolada* performed a distorted and despicable assault on the authenticity of Iberian culture, substituting well-worn stereotypes of one region (mainly Andalusia) for the diversity and complexity of modern Spain.[167]

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Historians such as Font have labeled the *españolada* a figure of Spain's cultural underdevelopment[168] Others, such as Valeria Campresi, regard it as a positive form that managed to establish a special bond with its working-class audiences through its reliance on stock characters and a realist, accessible recreation of popular milieus.[169] In fact, Camporesi demonstrates that the *españolada* embodied divergent ways of representing Spanish self-identity and shaping its international image. Furthermore, the *españolada* emerges as a site where conflicting views of popular culture materialize and play out. And if one thinks of such symbolic and widely known works as Georges Bizet's opera *Carmen* or Manuel de Falla's ballet *El Amor Brujo*, the *españolada* is also a point where high art and popular culture intersect and dialogize. As filmmaker Eusebio Fernández Ardavín argued in 1943, it enabled the recasting and investing of Spain's artistic tradition with the popular resonance of folklore.[170]

2.6 High and Low: popular cinema and elite culture

CIFESA's strategy of building a national cinema on two basic staples –history and folklore– exemplified the national-popular identity of early post-Civil War cinema.[171] Gramsci coined the term "national-popular" to describe a coalition of forces and interests across regional and socio-economic divisions that, by virtue of its alliance of workers, peasants, and petty bourgeoisie, would shatter Fascism's hegemony, dislodging it from power and creating a

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new social order.[172] While his concept had primarily a political meaning, Gramsci also applied it to the domain of culture in order to analyze a crisis specific to Italian society, namely the gap between the people and the intellectuals and artists that had created Italy's official culture. The latter had proved unable to produce cultural forms that spoke about and to the people. For Gramsci a genuine national-popular culture should forge a bond between high and low in order to give birth ultimately to an organic cultural production capable of bringing about social and political transformation.

Part of the success of Fascism, Gramsci seems to imply, stemmed from its ability to generate a cultural production that successfully interpellated and mobilized a wide cross-section of the population, including the subaltern classes. Fascism strove to bridge the gap between high and low, often resorting to a populist brand of culture that mythicized the people.[173] Thus, public forms of entertainment like the cinema became a privileged site for Fascism's attempts to align the national and the popular. Of course, the national-popular culture of Fascism lacked the liberatory and transformative thrust that Gramsci had in mind, since it was mainly concerned with hegemonizing the people along the interests of the ruling class. Nevertheless, it was not entirely void of utopian and visionary ideals about community, as Frederic Jameson has admitted.[174] Fascism, it

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must be remembered, originally drew its ideological program and vocabulary from disparate sources, combining conservative and radically progressive beliefs, a call for social justice with a reverence for tradition. While Fascism's eclecticism inflected it with a certain hollowness, it also invested the movement with a flexibility that enabled it to move easily between opposite realms of cultural experience. Furthermore, its declared anti-intellectualism provided Fascism with the confidence to appropriate and reshape élite culture for mass consumption.

While Gramsci devised the concept of a national-popular culture in relation to a specifically Italian problem, I think it bears application to the context of Francoist Spain, albeit with some reservations. If we are to believe Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset, Spain's élites failed to generate a lasting hegemonic culture of their own. Instead, by the early 1800s they had freely adopted aspects of popular culture, championing native traditions touted as inherently Spanish and brandishing them to discredit and combat the cosmopolitan, reform-minded outlook of a nascent bourgeoisie.[175] Conversely, many nineteenth-century liberal intellectuals denounced popular culture, especially the debased versions circulated by the emerging mass media, as a hindrance to progress and modernization. Yet, as Ortega remarked, they did so in discourses fraught with the language of the popular.[176]

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Thus, the gap between élite and popular culture that Gramsci detected in Italy took on a different configuration in Spain. Ortega coined the term "invertebrate" to designate this particular condition of Spanish society, whereby the ruling class had yielded its cultural authority to its subalterns. Here élite culture was suffused with the popular, from the music of Manuel de Falla and Isaac Albéniz to the poetry of Federico García Lorca, Antonio Machado, and Juan Ramon Jiménez, and the painting of Francisco de Goya, Julio Romero de Torres, and José Gutiérrez Solana. This is evident even in many manifestations of Spain's avant-garde art, and literature.[177] And as writer Miguel Ángel Bastenier has indicated, the presence of the popular traverses and informs the very fabric of Spanish cinema.[178]

2.7 The Popular Face of Spanish Cinema

In spite of the mandate that Francoist politicians, bureaucrats, and film professionals envisaged for Spain's cinema, it remained, by and large, resolutely popular and populist.[179] If populism manifests an awareness of the masses as active political agents, popular cinema addresses these masses as consumers of entertainment. The category "popular film" has functioned as a synonym for a commercial cinema of genres, especially in the context of European cinema.[180] As such it has been unfavorably defined by its opposition to art cinema and avant-garde films.

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Historians drawn to the study of popular cinema have found the theories of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu helpful in better understanding the critical and institutional mechanisms that work to devalue commercial motion pictures as trivial and conventional vehicles of escapism lacking in the intellectual depth and aesthetic complexity of an art or avant-garde film. In his influential book Distinction, Bourdieu put forth the notion of *cultural capital*, i.e., the possession of specific forms of knowledge and competence that allow an individual access to and enjoyment of different cultural forms and practices.[181] According to Bourdieu, the exercise of cultural capital leads to a discrimination and hierarchy of cultural practices based upon the authority of taste, which in turn contributes to the reaffirmation of class differences and the maintenance of the dominant social and economic order. Bourdieu's work situates the reception and interpretation of popular cinema on an equal footing with high culture. He does not view popular taste as inferior, wanting, or shallow; on the contrary, he takes pain to point out that consumers of popular culture are required to master and exercise a fairly complex set of interpretative skills and a broad grasp of formal and generic conventions.

In the case of Spain, the study of its popular cinema has been neglected in favor of an auteur-focused scholarship that privileges the figure of the director.[182] In this sense,

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the preferential academic reception granted to the critical cinema of the 1950s, '60s and 70s cannot be dissociated from its status as an auteurist art cinema. Writers on Francoist cinema have lionized the work of dissident filmmakers (generally challenging, critical, and unorthodox films) at the expense of an in-depth analytic engagement with its commercial fare. As Bourdieu's work suggests, the historiographical neglect of Spanish post-Civil War cinema may be partly linked to distinctions made in the name of taste. Spain's cultural elites, by and large, ignored the cinema, which remained the province of the lower middle and popular classes, especially women and the proletariat.

José Enrique Monterde remarks that the popular cinema of the 1940s usually failed to appeal to Spain's middle classes.[183] Conversely, the art cinema of the 1950s reflected the aspirations of an urban middle and upper-middle class, especially its liberal intellectual set. In turn, it generally alienated popular audiences. To the extent that the cinema of the 1950s represented a break with the direction and tone of the cinema of the 1940s, it rendered visible two divergent experiences and views of Spain that had already surfaced and clashed during the Second Spanish Republic: a rural versus an urban nation, localism versus cosmopolitanism, tradition versus modernity. But at the heart of this attitude lies as well an implicit association of popular Francoist cinema with the regime's totalitarian

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politics.[184] This stance is even more pronounced in relation to the study of early post-Civil War cinema, which was essentially commercial in nature.

Jo Labanyi states that Franco's national-popular cinema resorted to a populist address in order to neutralize antagonism and secure allegiance from the masses to its conception of a hierarchal society.[185] This seems too generic a statement, for the films themselves are at times rhetorically ambiguous and gave rise to contradictory responses that problematize such facile determinations. During the 1940s some prominent professionals defended the notion of a cinema rooted in popular culture. For veteran director Florián Rey this connection was to be found in folklore; for his part, Edgar Neville exalted the theatrical genre known as *sainete*. Both directors strove to fashion a filmic paradigm that spoke both to and about the people, although from somewhat different positions. Deeply conservative voices, however, associated this populist cinema with the cultural program of the Popular Front. To their eyes, films that openly employed visual and enunciative strategies typical of the cinema of the 1930s were suspect of philocommunism. Such antagonism indicates that the representation of class and popular life in 1940s cinema was a highly contentious and slippery issue.[186]

Many popular films of the 1940s unquestionably strove to generate consent through narratives and images of unity

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and cohesion that warded off conflict and dissent. However, if these films are carefully scrutinized, the struggle for ideological hegemony becomes apparent at various points and stages of their textual production. As fictions that strive to impose coherence, uniformity and closure on their disparate materials, these films attempt to deny difference or cancel and conceal unresolved social and cultural tensions. But narrative gaps, formal dislocations, highly stylized visual strategies, and precarious closures often expose the very cathexis invested in that repression.

With the advent of *franquismo* and its draconian censorship, openly progressive perspectives may have vanished from sight, but the representation of working-class life did not entirely disappear from the screen, nor did social conflict or issues of class difference. While escapist genre pictures of the 1940s provided welcome respite to a beleaguered, traumatized nation, they staged a potential arena for a contested view of social relations and moral behavior. First, and foremost, they often placed the people, or as some strident voices would have it, the rabble, on center stage. Unavoidably, issues of class, social inequality, and economic disparities insinuated themselves into a wide range of films. Allusions to poverty and hunger were not that rare. Seen in retrospect, the fantasies of social mobility that, according to Fanés, abound in CIFESA's comedies can be said to betray a degree

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of nonconformity with everyday reality. Closures that reaffirmed the hegemony of dominant groups seem often forced and are not always persuasive or inexorable. Gypsies and other marginal subaltern characters were frequently used beyond their stereotypical role to mouth fairly subversive views.

Francoist cinema may have sought to expunge social unrest from its narratives of harmonious, organic communities, but it could not keep the inequalities, economic hardship, and psychological anxieties of 1940s Spain completely at bay. Unflattering aspects of contemporary Spanish life eventually found their way into the films of this decade. Indeed, it is often in these formulaic texts that the struggle over consent is most clearly recognizable. Albeit defanged and subdued on account of censorship, viewpoints critical, or at the very least skeptical of the status quo managed to cut through the triumphalist rhetoric. The polemical reception greeting the films that Neville made inspired by the *sainete*, a theatrical subgenre set in popular milieus, indicates that the counter-hegemonic potential of popular film did not go unnoticed.

2.8 Spectatorship

For a long time historians of Spanish cinema have been reluctant to acknowledge the popularity of numerous Francoist films in non-disparaging terms. Even today, the

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claim that the Spanish cinema of the 1940s was made in contempt of its public still persists. It is true that primary and secondary sources abound in notices, anecdotes, grievances, and warnings about the poor reception of Spanish films at home. Important film magazines of the 1940s, such as Primer Plano, Radiocinema and Cámara, repeatedly published disheartened editorials and columns about the fickleness of Spanish audiences when it came to supporting their own cinema.[187] According to these sources, not only did spectators ignore scores of Spanish movies, including some of the most worthy titles of the decade, but they were also quite outspoken about their disdain. What some historians have tended to downplay is the degree to which Spaniards eagerly embraced a number of domestic films with such enthusiasm that they outperformed their foreign competition, surpassing in revenue many a Hollywood hit.[188]

Santiago Pozo believes that Spanish producers and directors from the 1940s did seek an audience and that spectators in turn embraced their films, if selectively. So do Valeria Camporesi, Fernando Alonso Barahona, and Luis Pérez Bastias.[189] Camporesi has established that Spaniards showed a predilection for the populist type of films that both conservative critics of the 1940s, such as Luigi Chiarini and Bartolomé Mostaza, and the 1960s proponents of the *nuevo cine español* condemned.[190] Both camps derided these pictures for their cliché-ridden depictions of Spanish life:

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the Right attacked them for their focus on class difference and their evocation of democratic politics, whereas liberals usually denounced them as reactionary melodramatic kitsch. Yet Spaniards often turned out in large numbers to watch these films, which performed well among lower-class viewers.

Camporesi proposes that we think of Spaniards' selective response to their own cinema in connection with the weight and hold of collective images of national identity.[191] According to this premise, Spanish films that did well at the box-office likely conformed to audiences' cultural expectations and their sense of a defined collective identity. They successfully fulfilled their fantasies and aspirations, and answered or, at the very least, allayed their fears and concerns about an inhospitable reality and an uncertain future. In short, the most successful films allowed spectators to imagine and visualize themselves as a community, however fictional or illusory.[192] As James Hay suggests in his study of Italian Fascist cinema, the development of sophisticated discursive and formal strategies around meta-communal cultural codes of identification was fundamental to this process.[193] Narrow and limiting as the scope of Francoist national identity may have been, Camporesi argues that it was never fixed or stable, but a dynamic, shifting process;[194] even, I think, in a society as closed, insular, and self-absorbed as Spain was during the 1940s.

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Just as the alleged animosity of Spaniards towards their cinema masks a much more nuanced experience, the premise that Spanish moviegoers constituted a uniform body with identical responses must be qualified. Such a position disavows the effect that sexual, social, regional, and cultural difference may have had in a film's reception. It homogeneizes audiences of the 1940s without due consideration to the riven and fragmented nature of this public, divided along ideological and political allegiances, social and economic status, and cultural interests.[195]

It would seem that, in spite of its allegedly retrograde sensibility, Francoist cinema spoke directly to a significant portion of Spanish society. In part, the apparent conservative values of CIFESA's production mirrored the world views of meaningful sectors of Spain's population. 1940s Spain was largely agrarian, pre-modern, deeply religious, and tradition-bound. It comes as no surprise that Falange's blood and soil rhetoric privileged the land, the peasant, and its rituals and folklore as the bedrock of the Spanish nation and the repository of Spanishness.[196] Gramsci himself acknowledged that popular culture contained backward and regressive elements, yet he opined that the people could only be successfully hegemonized if they were spoken to in their own language. Fascism understood this quite well; its various public events, spectacles, and mass forms of entertainment, including the cinema, aspired to bind the

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people to a collective, participatory experience of culture rendered possible through a simple, direct and highly affective language.

Nevertheless, the diversity of Spain's filmgoing public suggests that alternative, nonconformist, perhaps even resistant readings of the most reactionary and ideologically saturated Francoist films may have been not only possible, but habitual among certain sectors of the population.[197] Labanyi argues that Spaniards who had aligned themselves during the war with the losing faction, deprived of a political voice and of cultural organs to express their disaffection with Franco's regime, probably honed the ability to read the most ideological Francoist texts against the grain.[198] These spectators likely engaged in some operation of appropriation and resignification, a process which presumably varied in intensity and degree according to the ideological density of each film and the various circumstances surrounding its consumption. This activity was likely most common during screenings of popular films, such as folkloric musicals, comedies about lower-class life inspired in the *sainete*, and melodramas, which offered working-class audiences a variety of heterodox models of identification and entry points for counter-readings. This "unfixing" of dominant ideology holds the potential for a parallel unraveling of its pretenses of unity, harmony and consent.

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CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF FRANCOIST CINEMA

In thinking through methodological approaches and theoretical models, I have benefited from the insights proffered by recent studies on the cinema of other totalitarian regimes, e.g. Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. Scholars who have undertaken the study of German or Italian cinema have encountered an analogous bias that consigned the film production from those troubled eras to the dustbin of history. Rendered nearly invisible, these films have only been deemed worthy of critical attention in the past twenty-five years.

3.1 Looking at Nazi Cinema

While historians of Nazi cinema have traditionally focused on the most notorious propaganda films, to the point of equating the latter with the entire film production of the Third Reich[199], recent studies have shifted attention to the sphere of popular cinema, opening up a debate about the genuine nature of Nazi filmmaking. Was it exclusively driven by the imperative of ideological indoctrination, or did it mainly seek to entertain and distract the German people? Eric Rentschler devised his book, The Ministry of Illusion, as a response to this dichotomy. On the one hand, traditional scholarship has foregrounded the negative legacy of the Third Reich and reduced its cinema to a mere

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propaganda machine. On the other hand, recent scholarship has taken a revisionist position that wants to exonerate the film production of the Third Reich from partaking of and promoting its legacy of horror and destruction.[200] In the latter view, these films emerge as harmless nonpolitical entertainment; works that may even foster resistance to and subversion of the status quo.

In the context of this debate Rentschler proclaims his desire to achieve a middle ground. He acknowledges that most films from the Third Reich avoided overt political themes and were broadly tailored after the pattern of classical Hollywood cinema. Yet Rentschler refuses to regard these works, even the most escapist of fantasies, as anything but political and blasts those writers who seek to disengage Nazi films from their historical and socio-political context. According to Rentschler, Nazi cinema effected a seamless conflation of entertainment and propaganda. Its film production functioned as a dream machine that enabled Hitler's dictatorship, concealing its reign of terror with escapist spectacles and utopian fantasies.[201] Rentschler believes this was Goebbels' very objective: to provide the German people with the illusion that the narratives and images they consumed in the dark of movie theaters existed outside of and independent from the domain of politics, in a space of fantasy and pleasure divorced from the Nazi state of terror, discipline and mass manipulation.

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Rentschler's position is understandable as a reaction to the excesses of revisionist scholars. Yet I take issue with his problematic conflation of rhetoric and achievement, intent and effect. Rentschler works overtime to subsume nearly every aspect of filmmaking in the Third Reich, and virtually every genre and filmmaker, under the totalizing ideological intervention and control of the Nazi state. He resorts too often to grandiose terms such as "psychotechnology," which he uses to describe Hitler's media dictatorship, or "emotional engineering," which refers to Goebbels' ambitious design of all-encompassing mental control over Germany's filmgoers. Perhaps Rentschler's most dubious claim is the assertion that all aesthetic resistance within the cinema of the Third Reich was factored in and even fostered by Goebbels' master plan, "all the better to discipline distraction."[202]

It is undeniable that Goebbels set the conditions for a film industry in which, thanks to censorship and other various legislative interventions, openly oppositional views to Nazi ideology were nearly impossible. Yet Rentschler is forced to admit that at least a few films from this period seemingly contain strains of ideological resistance to Nazi ideology, thereby poking a hole in his overarching scheme.[203] Furthermore, he acknowledges in his prologue that Hitler and Goebbels' plans for Germany's cinema constituted a makeshift and precarious endeavor. He also later remarks on Goebbels'

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concern over the poor performance of many German films and the mercurial and not always predictable response of the audience.[204] In fact, Goebbels was known to be constantly monitoring and reacting to public opinion. If Goebbels' obsession with shaping and controling public opinion may be used as additional proof of Nazi dreams of omnipotence, it also implies that segments of the German population were not as easily persuaded or won over to Hitler's cause as is generally assumed. On the contrary, these continuous attempts to devise new strategies of luring Germans to the cinema, and Goebbels' parallel efforts to readjust and recalibrate narrative and visual forms, attest to the contingent, finite power of the Third Reich's illusion of mastery.

Unfortunately, Rentschler does very little with this information (other than allude to it in the title of his book), which could have led him to a more nuanced reading of Nazi cinema. Instead, he chooses to downplay evidence that suggests the limited efficacy of Nazi propaganda beyond its core base of believers[205], and insists on subsuming the very possibility of alternative readings, which he grudgingly concedes, back into Goebbels' master plan of total, overdetermined psychic control. Moreover, Rentschler underestimates the tension between Goebbels' desire to create a profitable film industry and his dreams of psychic control through the mass media. While his decision to

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conceal Nazi ideology under a veneer of escapism reflected a pragmatic approach to the problem of poor box-office receipts (i.e., the public's resistance to straight propaganda), the questions remains to what extent were audiences taken in by Goebbels' stratagem.

Indeed, in my view the greatest weakness of Rentschler's approach is its failure to engage in any significant way with reception and consumption. If these popular films were actually suffused with indirect propaganda, how did audiences uncover their latent meaning? What strategies of decoding, reading and understanding did they bring to their interaction with these seemingly innocuous texts? How did they reconcile the encoded ideological premises of a given film with their personal beliefs and daily experience? Rentschler is oddly silent on this point. And as far as the success or failure of these films as vehicles of indoctrination is concerned, Rentschler is at best ambivalent.

If I have chosen to linger on and elaborate Rentschler's position it is because it represents the most ambitious, yet ultimately flawed, attempt to analyze and explain the fascination and sway of Fascist cinema. In addition, Rentschler's book best illustrates the new parameters that are framing the discussion of cinema made under totalitarian regimes. It embodies as well some of their most glaring limitations. Rentschler's shift from

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overt to indirect propaganda and his focus on popular cinema manifest the influence of cultural studies, yet his study is, in the end, too indebted to the Frankfurt School's analysis of mass culture as manipulation and an instrument of conformity.[206] Rentschler writes:

> Standardized mass culture, Goebbels realized, was the secret formula for successful manipulation. Mass culture also became a crucial precondition for mass murder . . . The National Socialist state's production of death and devastation would not have been possible without Goebbels' dream machinery.[207]

Here we find as well echoes of Siegfried Kracauer's problematic reduction of Weimar cinema to a succession of symptoms reflecting a general psychological predisposition of the German people towards authoritarianism.[208] In analogous fashion, Rentschler appears ready to backdate and impute all the horrors of World War Two and the Holocaust to the film production of the 1930s, in an effort to prove that "entertainment can be far more than innocent pleasure."[209]

A more productive approach might have sought to elucidate the points of intersection between Hitler and Goebbels' political goals, on the one hand, and, on the other, audiences' common sense, their desires and fantasies, not all of which could have been directed or predicted from above. In this sense, I subscribe to Nicholas Reeves' caveat on the limits and influence of Nazi film propaganda:

> Attitudes towards the regime were always determined above all else by what the regime was doing: as long as its achievements broadly coincided with aspirations of the German population, it enjoyed very considerable support; once that changed then, no matter how powerful

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> the propaganda, attitudes towards the regime changed too. For all its considerable skill, Nazi film propaganda was only truly successful when it was giving its audience a message that it wanted to hear. The target audience is not the passive recipient of powerful propaganda messages; it always decides what it will do with those messages and it is even capable of refusing to expose itself to messages of which it strongly disapproves.[210]

I am not denying that popular cinema can articulate regressive ideologies, but I believe we must move beyond the cliché of a passive, monolithic audience, easily swayed by the seductive, yet fatal surfaces of mass culture. Patrice Petro has suggested that our comprehension of Nazi cinema might be better served if we were to place it at the intersection of popular culture, national traditions and classical Hollywood cinema.[211] Looking at Fascist cinema from such a crossroad would require that we also take into account a whole set of continuities, rather than merely stressing the usual discontinuities. It would force us to think through the appropriation and recycling of pre-existing, established forms and stories and their molding and transformation to fit the needs and goals of these various totalitarian regimes. Such an approach might provide us with a keener understanding of the motives or impulses that compelled audiences to embrace or ignore specific films, to consent to or reject more or less overt ideological interpellation.

To my mind Stephen Lowry's work on Nazi melodrama provides the most insightful directions for a way out of the

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impasse of Rentschler's problematic assumptions.[212] While he acknowledges the political and ideological dimensions of Fascist popular cinema, Lowry proposes a redefinition of the work of Nazi ideology as "a complex form of discursive regulation" that involved the audience in the production of meaning and sought to achieve an ideological effect based upon a "low level confirmation" of pre-existing attitudes, structures, and predispositions.[213] Lowry advocates a rethinking of the ideological operations of Nazi melodrama, and by extension Nazi cinema, as engaged in enacting a compromise between desire and containment. He sees it thriving on the tensions between the centrifugal force of emotional excess and the recuperative startegies of narrative closure, between a release in fantasy and an immobolization in ideology.

3.2 Looking at Italian Fascist Cinema

If we turn to the scholarship on Italian Fascist cinema, we observe a similar focus on popular cinema and a related interest in examining the connections between cinematic narrative and visual conventions, on the one hand, and the broader social, political and cultural aspects of contemporary Italian life on the other. This has not precluded, of course, the existence of opposing views. Thus, looking at a key text from the 1930s, Carmine Gallone's historical epic *Scipio the African* (1937), Angela dalle Vacche sees it as an embodiment of Fascist ideology,

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especially Mussolini's penchant for monumentality and Imperial Roman kitsch, whereas Pierre Sorlin is hard pressed to categorize it as anything other than an exciting adventure film.[214]

Among American scholars, James Hay and Marcia Landy have respectively authored the most significant contributions to the study of Italian cinema under Mussolini.[215] Their arguments evince primarily the influence of British cultural studies and neo-Gramscian theory's emphasis on hegemony and consensus. Within the last twenty years, cultural studies has become one of the most influential academic disciplines. Grounded in Marxist theory, proponents of cultural studies attempt to think culture politically, that is, as a set of practices nested within and traversed by relations of power. Making the study of the "popular" its central pursuit, the field of cultural studies views popular culture as a site of struggle between social groups. As Stuart Hall, one of the movement's leading theorists, writes, "popular culture is one of the sites where this struggle for and against a culture of the powerful is engaged . . . It is an arena of consent and resistance. It is partly where hegemony arises and where it is secured."[216]

Cultural studies seeks to examine and question the ways in which the popular is produced and consumed. As concevied by Stuart Hall, Tony Bennett, and Meaghan Morris, among

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others, it envisages popular culture as neither utterly deceptive and disempowering nor wholly genuine and liberatory. Whatever meaning may be imputed to popular culture, it emerges, according to Hall, from a dialectic between incorporation and resistance. Its meaning is never fixed or secure, but dynamic and contingent. It is created through an act of articulation that locates cultural texts and practices within a specific social structure, a specific moment in history, and a specific discursive formation.

Cultural studies has come in for its share of criticisms.[217] For one, it has been attacked for its excessive focus on reception at the expense of production and it has been accused of an uncritical celebration of resistance, appropriation, and pleasure. This had led to charges of aesthetic relativism and the evacuation of the conditions for any serious analysis of the ways in which popular culture is invested with regressive ideologies and prone to ideological manipulation.[218] While this may be the case among certain authors, at its best cultural studies has brought a renewed understanding of the ways in which audiences respond to and engage with popular texts and practices. No longer seen as passive dupes at the mercy of the masters of the culture industry, the audiences posited by cultural studies play an active and reflective role in the creation of meaning. Their interaction with popular culture is seen as a complex process predicated on

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negotiation and a dialectical tension between forms of culture imposed from above and those emerging from below.

In this vein, Hay and Landy refuse to view the films made under Fascism as mere agents of conformity that work their spell on a passive audience. They both regard the cinema as an important communal ritual and a key player in the process by which dominant groups seek to manage the cultural and social tensions, fears and desires aroused by the experience of modernity in order to preserve the status quo. Consequently, they wish to illuminate the complexity and connotative wealth of what appear to be only formulaic texts and ponder the varied and complicated ways in which audiences may have engaged with and negotiated their interpellation as subjects within Fascism. Although they acknowledge that Mussolini's government bore in mind the ideological potential of the cinema, Hay and Landy believe that Italian films of the 1920s and '30s are not transparent reflections of Fascist ideology.

Landy in particular places a premium on intertextuality and polyphony, and argues for a dialogical approach to the cinema that takes into account the gamut of discourses and perspectives on gender, class and ethnicity in all their heterogeneity and multi-layerednes.[219] Hay, for his part, views Italy's film production under Mussolini as a national-popular cinema informed by an array of competing, non-synchronous discourses that shaped and articulated public

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consciousness as it disseminated the myths and social codes of Fascism. This view leads him to underline the contradictory forces and desires at work in these seemingly straightforward and uncomplicated motion pictures. Rather than considering popular iconography as a means of normalizing society and concealing conflict, Hay wants to emphasize its ability to amplify difference. Both Hay and Landy favor a dialectical approach that highlights the tensions between escapism and propaganda, ideology and style, accommodation and resistance. Such an approach enables us to see Fascist cultural production not as a monolithic and uniform entity exacting blind allegiance to its propaganda, but as discursive practices riddled with friction and ideological contradictions.

3.3 Gramsci: Hegemony, Consent and Resistance

In his influential writings on Fascism, Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci reflected upon its apparently successful diffusion throughout Italian society.[220] Gramsci's analysis moved beyond the question of violence and coercion to focus on the concept of hegemony as a means to understand the manner by which subaltern groups accepted and incorporated the values and interests of the institutions and factions that backed Mussolini's dictatorship. Gramsci conceived hegemony as an exercise of indirect power that privileged interpellation, seduction, co-optation, and assimilation over the sheer use of force. Its ultimate goal

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was the achievement of consensus and the subordination of subaltern concerns to those of the dominant group. In Gramsci's view, hegemony was not a stable and fixed relation of forces, but a situation in constant flux that involved the ruling class in an ongoing process of reorganization and negotiation. Rather than focusing solely on its capacity to stifle its opposition, Gramsci suggests that the success of Fascism must be gauged against its skillful deactivation and incorporation of competing discourses. Therefore, hegemony cannot be theorized outside of a dialectical relationship to difference and defiance.

Gramsci believed that the workings of hegemony in Mussolini's Italy could best be observed in the sphere of culture, especially in mass media entertainment forms. These practices and texts sought to bind disaffected elements of society to Fascist ideology, thus securing its dominance. The task of the cultural historian, as Gramsci conceived it, is to dissect and open up the cultural forms of dominant groups in order to lay bare the very workings of hegemony. As its multiple layers are uncovered, a text will likely emerge as a site of conflicting views about society and the world. It is up to the cultural historian to counter the hegemonic text's pretense of consensus and cohesion by liberating the voices of resistance buried and repressed within it.

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Raymond Williams expanded Gramsci's theory of hegemony by emphasizing the fluid, adaptable nature of dominant culture. Hegemony, according to Williams, is a dynamic, ever-shifting condition that asserts itself through permutations and re-adjustments of power relations. Williams argues that a dominant culture must always reconfigure itself, if it is to remain hegemonic, adopting and adapting alternative meanings and values. As new resistant discourses arise, hegemonic groups endeavor to defuse and appropriate them in order to remain dominant. The ruling class' selective presentation of history and cultural tradition is subject to change as it confronts an array of emergent, sometimes oppositional discourses.[221] A dominant group's sway may be further undermined by the lingering presence of residual elements from past social formations that cannot be successfully hegemonized.

Gramsci's theoretical model, as it has been broadened and refined by Raymond Williams and Stuart Hall among others, encourages us to think of cultural and industrial practices such as the cinema in connection to ideological forces and social formations, but it compels us as well to consider them in all of their richness and complexity. Rather than reducing the products of mass culture to standardized, univocal vehicles of dominant ideology, Landy observes that Gramsci's position allows us to read the films made under Fascism as polyphonic sites of hegemonic

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struggle. Fascist cultural discourses strove to proffer a unified, harmonious vision of community and nation that neutralized social division and antagonism, yet they invariably evince the traces of hegemonic struggle. While oppositional stances are usually quelled and subsumed under hegemonic voices, their presence is never entirely erased. Their vestiges form part of the text's very structure and are integral to its ideological efficacy. Gramsci's approach thus enables us to acknowledge the paradoxes, contradictions, ambiguities, and dissonances that permeate films and other forms of mass culture, without foregoing an awareness of their role as conduits of specific ideologies.

3.4 Towards a Hegemonic Reading of Francoist Cinema

Gramsci's ideas are central to my understanding of Francoist cinema. While the circumstances of Franco's ascension to power differed from Mussolini's method, Spain's brand of Fascism manifested certain affinities to its Italian prototype. Moreover, the eclectic nature of Franco's power base ensured that hegemony remained central to his political strategizing. Although its exercise may have been more pronounced in later decades, as oppositional forces acquired greater visibility and clout, hegemony was already crucial to Franco's mode of governing in the 1940s. The *Nacionales* prevailed on the battlefield, but the struggle to command the minds of Spaniards was still being fought throughout the early post-Civil War years. Having gained

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control of Spain's destiny by unconstitutional means, Franco's claim to power had to be regularly articulated and legitimized. In spite of the climate of terror, repression, and hardship prevalent in the 1940s, at no other time during the dictatorship were memories of a democratic Spain so vivid, nor, I think, did the possibility of Franco's fall loom larger.

The eliciting of consensus not only allowed Franco to justify his recourse to violence, but it was of vital importance as well to the regime's survival at a time of political uncertainty on the international, and to a lesser extent, domestic front.[222] The executions, incarcerations, and other reprisals that proliferated during the early 1940s constituted one avenue for the consolidation of power. Starvation, rationing, and economic deprivation represented another. A third option involved securing the allegiance of the Spanish people by means of indoctrination in schools, churches, army barracks, the workplace, and spaces of public leisure.[223] Within the latter context, the cinema undoubtedly proved an important medium to accomplish this goal.

The film production of the 1940s must be seen as part of Francoism's attempt to generate consensus and mobilize support among Spaniards. Domènec Font defined the cinema as "the dominant ideological apparatus of the autarchic era."[224] Therefore, much can be gained from rethinking the Spanish cinema of the 1940s along a Gramscian model of hegemony.

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While escapism and indoctrination may have constituted chief exigencies for Spain's film industry during this era, Francoist films also evinced the imprint of the political and ideological tug of wars that destabilized the regime. Art historian Alexandre Cirici Pellicer regarded *franquismo* not as a doctrine or even a political system, but rather as "a *situation* and a corresponding shift and balance of forces."[225] Domènec Font has acknowledged that throughout the 1940s Franco's coalition was constantly readjusting the correlation of its contentious forces: Falange (Spain's Fascist party), the Catholic Church, the Army, Monarchists, aristocratic landowners, the industrial and financial bourgeosie, and the rural and small-town middle classes that had backed the Nationalist uprising. As each new crisis forced a shift in the balance of power, Font suggests that Francoist cinema modified its rhetoric and ideological cast accordingly.[226]

Cirici divided the early post-Civil War era into three stages characterized by the ascendancy of a particular faction/institution or the impact of a historical situation.[227] The first phase (1939-1942), which marked the Army and Falange's highest level of influence, corresponded to the Spanish government's closest alignment with Fascist ideology and the political and military interests of the Axis; the second phase (1942-1945) witnessed the rise of the Catholic Church as supreme arbitrator; and the third phase

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(1945-1951) experienced a surge in nationalism and xenophobia as a result of the Allies' international blockade.

According to Cirici, the Army and Falange's political momentum in the early post-Civil War years accounted for the prevalence of military epics and propagandizing war films celebratory of the new order. The ascendancy of the Catholic Church, on the other hand, prompted the release of religious motion pictures that promoted Church dogma and morality and indirectly bestowed legitimacy on the regime. While Cirici's periodization enables a preliminary understanding of the film industry's reactions to the successive shifts in the balance of power, it only begins to illuminate the complex, multi-layered character of early Francoist cinema. Political machinations and social instability had their effect on the direction and tenor of Spanish post-Civil War cinema. Yet it is important to consider as well the internal dynamics of the film industry, which even in Francoist Spain ultimately answered to economic motivations rather than political persuasion.

The variations and reaccommodations of early post-Civil War cinema suggest an industry not immune to the effects and stresses of hegemony and counter-hegemony. I think Williams' model can help us elucidate the modifications and recalibrations of Francoist cinema as it grappled with and appropriated competing discourses. The Spanish cinema of the

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1940s preserved residual motifs from earlier production contexts, some intrinsically conservative, others harboring progressive views. In addition, it incorporated alternative discourses borrowed from Hollywood cinema, which introduced a modern, cosmopolitan feeling into a backward-looking society, as well as emergent discourses, such as the desire for a critical realism.

More than twenty years after his participation in the Congress of Salamanca, Luis García Berlanga, one of Spain's most prominent filmmakers, expressed regret for his earlier blanket dismissal of post-Civil War cinema. While he agreed that the majority of these films did not directly challenge Franco's rule, neither did they openly convey support for his regime. Berlanga acknowledged that some of these pictures —and he is speaking here of the populist cinema financed and released by CIFESA— embodied a measure of resistance to the regime, if only by their refusal to exalt the values it most cherished.[228] These populist films, according to Berlanga, often articulated the values of social strata not wholly committed to Franco's political and ideological order. In fact, the social order they depict evokes the populist, reform-minded agenda of Falange's radical wing rather than the immobilism of the extreme Right, intent on reaffirming hierarchies based on rank and wealth. They also suggest the continuity of pre-Civil War populist subject matter, pregnant with motley progressive

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elements from which a potentially counter-hegemonic position could be articulated. Berlanga's musings are but one example of how Spanish post-Civil War cinema can be reconceived as a matrix where the residual, the alternative and, if somewhat veiled and muted, the oppositional intersect.

3.5 A Psychoanalytic View of Francoist cinema

While the methodology of cultural studies has enriched our understanding of Fascist cinema, it fails to provide a satisfactory answer to the enigma of Fascism's irrational sway or its intense and seemingly unfathomable appeal among a broad spectrum of Europe's population during the inter-war years. Nor can it manage to account fully for the fascination its aesthetic and ideological forms exerted over spectators of all ages, or its successful interpellation of the masses as *the people*, instilling in alienated segments of each nation-state a sense of connection and belonging, of fusion into an organic whole. Here is where a psychoanalytic approach may yield some fruitful results.

In the last decade it has become fashionable among certain quarters of the academic community to proclaim the demise of Grand Theory, by which they generally mean the amalgam of semiotics and psychoanalytic film theory dismissively referred to as apparatus or gaze theory.[229] It is true that many of psychoanalytic film theory's claims now seem totalizing, oversimplified and ahistorical, especially

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its depiction of captive, transfixed spectators, void of gender or other markers of identity, that function as passive receptacles of dominant ideology. Yet I would argue that, despite these theoretical problems, psychoanalysis still has important observations to make about the relations of films and viewers that are relevant to the study of cinema under Fascism.

Like Judith Mayne, I want to advocate a rethinking of "the complicated ways in which meanings are both assigned and created."[230] Mayne argues for an approach to spectatorship that focuses on the gap between cinematic address (the way in which texts attempt to construct viewers) and cinematic reception (how they are read or valorized). It is an approach that underlines the tension between interpellation and resistance, homogeneity and heterogeneity. Mayne favors the term "negotiation," which to her mind indicates a spectator's active, and perhaps ambivalent, engagement with the so-called dominant ideology of a text, as a valuable analytical tool that recognizes the existence of different, competing readings capable, as Christine Gledhill points out, of potentially "unfixing" a text.[231]

Negotiation has emerged as key concept as well in cultural studies, since it enables a theorization of the process whereby subaltern classes internalize and lend their consent to the hegemonic pretenses of the ruling class.

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Gledhill remarks that the concept of negotiation links the insights of semiotic and psychoanalytic textual analysis to the project of cultural studies.[232] Like the latter, psychoanalytic film theory grants the spectator a privileged position as the central mechanism of the entire cinematic operation, the key source, along with the filmmaker, of meaning-production in the cinema. Moreover, it views meaning and identity as processes that are never fixed or fully achieved.

According to psychoanalytic film theory, a motion picture engages its viewer in a complex amalgam of pleasure and meaning (of pleasure-in-meaning) through the mobilization of deep-rooted structures of fantasy, identification and vision around an economy of desire. Desire becomes a primary force in the process of subject-formation. The film-text postulated by psychoanalytic film theory presents a number of entry-points for the circulation and representation of spectatorial desire, tapping into both collective and individual wishes and unconscious fantasies and involving the spectator in an intricate process of projection and identification.

Mayne believes the notion of identification is worth retaining, for it is linked to a productive friction between the categories of viewer and subject of ideological interpellation, as it was propounded by Althusserian film theory.[233] However, for Mayne the model of identification

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should no longer be that of the passive, manipulated spectator, but rather the contradictory, divided and fragmented subject.[234] Identification must be reconceived as mobile and non-stable, unattached to any specfic categorization.

A mobile subject, capable of taking up different viewing positions and assuming varied identities within an imaginary scenario, is also implied in Freud's discussion of fantasy.[235] In their reading of Freud, Jean Laplanche and Jean-Bertrand Pontalis stress the nature of fantasy as a mise-en-scène that facilitates this shifting of subject/desiring positions and identification.[236] For Elizabeth Cowie the cinema's mise-en-scène of fantasy, by dint of its imaging of fictions that assert or adumbrate how things should be, enables the spectator's own "coming to desire." Herein lies the source of pleasure we derive from the cinema.[237] Since pleasure is seen as accruing from the mobility and oscillation of desire, the notion of fantasy offers a suitable model for understanding the multiplicity and contradiction of spectatorial engagement with the cinema.

A reformulation of psychoanalytic film theory that attempts to contextualize its notion of spectatorship within the social, historical and cultural domains can, for one, help delineate the relationship of broader social processes to the individual, the imbrication of one in the other.

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Because it claims that psychic life is both individual and collective, private and social, psychoanalysis provides a framework within which to examine the ways by which symbolic cultural discourses, such as the cinema, seek to engage the specific desires of their spectators for the purposes of ideological containment and hegemonic consent.

By adopting psychoanalytic film theory we can better contemplate the manner in which the movie screen becomes a site for the projection of fictions promoting fantasies of mastery and wholeness that play upon the public's ingrained desire for coherence and the dispelling of the contradictions besetting daily material life. Building on Sigmund Freud's account of his small grandson's playful reenactment of his mother's disappareance and return through the tossing and retrieval of a spool of thread in the fort/da game, Jacques Lacan theorized the articulation of language as intimately connected to a fantasy of mastery grounded in desire and a haunting experience of separation and absence. According to Lacan, people's adult lives are forever guided and informed by a generally nonconscious, but incessant, search for substitute objects of desire to fill the primordial void left by the child's separation from the Mother.[238]

Psychoanalytic film theory presumes that motion pictures are symbolic cultural representations traversed by desires arising from this constitutive experience of "lack."

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In this sense, the fantasies of the cinema create a mise-en-scène that supports and amplifies the presence and circulation of desires for states of presence and plenitude through various formal mechanisms which seek to bind the viewer to the film by creating an economy of desire that draws the spectator into a complex operation of projection, identification, and appropriation.

My approach to Spanish post-Civil War cinema builds upon the idea of negotiation as a matrix where the analysis of hegemony central to cultural studies merges with psychoanalysis' concern with identification and desire. Like Mayne and Gledhill, I believe that negotiation can be a fruitful concept with which to describe and elucidate the interaction of motion pictures and their viewers. This is a particularly important issue for the study of Fascist cinema, which relied heavily on ideological indoctrination and the interpellation and construction of the spectator into a subject with a specific national, ethnic, political, social and religious identity.

Among the sources I have consulted on Fascist cinema, only Linda Schulte-Sasse takes an explicitly psychoanalytic approach, anchoring her study of Nazi cinema around the role that fantasy played in the organization, channeling and management of desire and emotion.[239] The cinema of the Third Reich, Schulte-Sasse points out, conceived Germany as an imaginary social body, "a space of geographic wholeness."

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Its narratives repeatedly figured community as an entity that, depending on the historical juncture, was "molded, maintained, or retrieved," often not without struggle, sacrifice and pain.[240] Schulte-Sasse understands these films as imaginary projections of social harmony and communal participation that compensated for the isolation, alienation and conflictivity of modern life.

Schulte-Sasse argues that Fascism's illusory narratives of fortitude, potency and dominance disavow loss and lack of mastery. A latent fear of fragmentation and dispersal accompanies its emphasis on wholeness. The former is displaced onto outsiders, figures of Otherness that embody ideas, sentiments and actions inimical to the integrity and well-being of the German community. These characters assume the social negativity and antagonism that threaten to dissolve the social contract and destroy the pretense of power and collective solidarity.

Schulte-Sasse bases her main arguments upon the ideas of Lacanian philosopher Slavoj Žižek. In his book *The Sublime Object of Ideology*, Žižek contends that social-ideological fantasies that construct the community as an organic whole are compelled to project society's internal contradictions and antagonistic struggles onto an external element, a foreign body that accounts for its corruption and failure to live up to its own ideal. Yet Žižek argues that what is excluded from the social order eventually returns as

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a "paranoid construction of Otherness," a symptom of social antagonism that has punctured the surface of fantasy and come to function as a sort of "negative, perverted double".[241] Žižek sees this operation at work in the anti-semitic policies of Nazi Germany, which fetishized the figure of the Jew as a scapegoat that embodied the very impossibility of the Fascist project.

What value can psychoanalysis bring to an understanding and critique of Francoist cinema? I believe a psychoanalytic approach can contribute in important ways to the interpretation of Spanish post-Civil War cinema because it takes into account, on the one hand, the meaning of the film and the process of producing it, thereby recognizing that popular cinema can function as a vehicle of dominant ideology, and on the other, the activity of the viewer in engaging, identifying with (or not), and consenting (or not) to the primary world view the film attempts to shape and espouse through diegetic and visual forms of signification.

Moreover, I want to ground psychoanalytic film theory within the social, political, historical and cultural contextual specificity that generally eluded its original formulation in the 1970s. In this dissertation I seek to determine the degree to which the construction of certain Symbolic identities in Spanish post-Civil War cinema provided or failed to provide Spaniards with projections or symbolizations of unity and community that tried to mediate

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a traumatized social domain, smarting from the psychic wounds of antagonism, rupture, annihilation and fragmentation inflicted by the scale and inordinate brutality of the war. Among Spanish scholars, Felix Fanés and Jesús González Requena have fruitfully used psychoanalysis to interpret certain Spanish post-Civil War pictures.[242]

Franquismo, like other modalities of Fascism, realized that cultural texts can be ideological agents that shape and maintain identity and work to repress difference, promoting homogeneity and consent. But, as historian Paloma Aguilar has pointed out, Francoist rhetoric underlined difference and conflict with equal vigor. Driven by the need to legitimize their victory, the Nationalists framed their uprising as a crusade, a necessary and justified preemptive strike against a weak, atheist government that was leading the nation towards chaos and desintegration. Furthermore, they labored to deprive the losing side of legitimacy and even of its very national identity. Thus, Republican combatants and sympathizers were denounced as traitors and enemies of all things Spanish.[243] For Aguilar this dualism translated into an unstable oscillation between the affirmation and denial of difference and antagonism, which to her mind perpetuated a split identity that prevented integration and healing. Public spectacles and ceremonies functioned as primary sites for these discursive activities,

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but Aguilar states that the cinema contributed to this operation in important ways.[244]

Hence, on the one hand, Francoist film production proved fond of representations of the people as a community that compensated for and disavowed the anguish, struggle and inequality that ruled the lives of a majority of Spaniards in the aftermath of the Civil War. These symbolic figurations, or projections of a collective Spanish identity, played a crucial role in that, as Žižek argues, they masked discord and rupture. Yet they also pictured antagonism and difference, if only to impose their own ideologically appropriate closure. Spanish films of the 1940s should not, however, be construed as pure, air-tight vessels of Francoist ideology. On the contrary, they often internalize and encode the discrepancies and fissures of the social order they image or recreate, and the contradictions that Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset described back in 1925 as inherent to Fascism[245]. This occurs sometimes through narrative gaps and discontinuities, or by means of formal and visual tropes and techniques.

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CHAPTER 4

FRAMING SPAIN

For those determined to fashion a national cinema out of Spain's cultural heritage, its rich and varied literature, music, and arts promised an inexhaustible source of inspiration. Many historians and critics have taken Spanish directors to task for their excessive reliance on literary sources and propensity towards an overtly theatrical mise-en-scène. Numerous scholars of Spanish cinema have focused on its adaptations of novels and plays; others have noted the strong influence of musical forms, such as the *zarzuela*, Spain's operetta. Although a few authors have recently touched upon the subject, none has yet examined in depth the interface of Spain's cinema with the visual arts.[246] Little consideration, for instance, has been given to the role that Spanish painting may have played in the creation of a national film style or the manner in which it may have functioned as a marker of cultural specificity, or as a vehicle for reflections about class, gender, ethnicity, and national identity.

The important role of literature departments in the development of Spanish film studies as an academic field has resulted in a neglect of the visual dimensions of Spanish cinema. While the latter has never evinced as strong a pictorial vocation as Italy's cinema, over the decades a few

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Spanish motion pictures have incorporated or quoted pictorial references in an attempt to dialogize the history of art.[247] Strikingly, several of these films were made during the 1940s. *Franquismo*'s emphasis on national traditions undoubtedly played a part, and the advent of state intervention favored a greater exchange between film and high culture than had been the norm prior to 1939. Although Spain's cultural élites generally ignored the cinema, a minority of producers chose to bankroll quality motion pictures that would elevate the medium to the status of art by drawing on and promoting Spain's cultural heritage. Conceived as prestigious commodities for foreign markets, these films would act as disseminators of Spain's rich cultural past, witnesses to its triumphant present, and harbingers of its glorious future.[248]

4.1 The Aesthetics of Franquismo

It is now commonly accepted that cultural production played a decisive role in Fascism's political success and mass appeal. Historian Zeev Sternhell notes how before Fascism became a political movement, it was already a significant cultural phenomenon with roots in the late nineteenth century and, as such, formed an integral part of European culture. He argues that the rise of Fascism would not have been possible but for the pre-existence of cultural currents that paved the way for its speedy assimilation by large segments of the population.[249]

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Historian George L. Mosse observes how Fascism achieved its consensus through the eclectic annexation of ideas and longings from past eras.[250] Art historian Matthew Affron notes the bi-polarity of Fascist ideology: it paradoxically sought to reconcile high and low culture and bridge the gap between the elite and the populace. Utopian programs spurred by a sincere revolutionary fervor converged with authoritarian politics; progressive and reactionary tastes in art co-existed; past cultural traditions were resurrected and forged into a program of action for a new society.[251] From this synthesis Fascism fashioned an alternative worldview that emphasized communal values over bourgeois individualism, positing the nation as an organic entity of the highest order and thus disavowing its heterogeneous nature.

Angela dalle Vacche has examined how the visual culture of Fascist Italy drew on the heritage of classical art, Renaissance painting, and nineteenth-century opera to produce "an ideal mirror-image of the national self."[252] High culture was brought to the masses, albeit in a vulgarized fashion, primarily to evoke prestige, but also to elicit consent for Fascism's hegemonic order.[253] To the extent that it regarded avant-garde art as too original, ambivalent, individualistic, and disruptive, Fascism embraced kitsch, a move that, according to Dalle Vacche, exposes Fascism as the antimodern face of modernity.[254] In the case of France, art

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historian Romy Golan has shown how conservative artistic currents, i.e., a revitalization of landscape painting predicated on a return to the soil and a new interest in national art-historical lineages co-habited with modernism during the interwar years not as marginal trends, but as mainstream artistic discourses whose currency paved the way for Vichy.[255]

Artistic production in 1940s' Spain manifested, by and large, a similar eclecticism, a nationalistic bias, and an ingrained traditionalism. Art historian Gabriel Ureña feels that *franquismo* was more adept at denouncing its dislike of avant-garde art than stating a clear alternative.[256] Cirici Pellicer has denied the existence of art forms or a clearly defined aesthetics specific to Franco's regime. Cirici writes:

> *Franquismo* was not a doctrine; it was a *situation* and a corresponding shift and balance of forces . . . To talk about an aesthetics of *franquismo* entails discussing the adaptations that visual artists and critics . . . undertook in order to be compatible with the different stages of that trajectory.[257]

The heterogeneity and instability of Franco's hegemonic order translated into a diverse, protean post-war culture. Populist forms of art and entertainment co-existed next to instances of middle-class kitsch, bourgeois cosmopolitanism, and an underground modernist sensibility. On the one hand, Falange articulated a pseudo-revolutionary rhetoric. On the other hand, traditionalist Catholic sectors imposed a stifling conservatism. Published in 1935, Ernesto Giménez

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Caballero's El Arte y el Estado (Art and State) represents the most eloquent attempt to theorize a Fascist aesthetic model in accordance with a political system specific to Spain. Written just before the outbreak of the Civil War, the book crystallized an artistic language for *franquismo* in advance of its political reality.

The evolution of Ernesto Giménez Caballero, from a charismatic champion of avant-garde culture to a staunch supporter of Franco, is a curious one. Having founded La gaceta literaria, the most prominent showcase for modernist literature and art, with Guillermo de Torre in 1927, Giménez Caballero became in the 1930s the most dynamic apologist in Spain for an artistic program inspired by Italian Fascism, thanks in great part to his abiding interest in Futurism. An admirer of Marinetti and Mussolini, Giménez Caballero expounded in El Arte y el Estado a nationalistic and conservative program whose quintessential model was the palace-monastery of El Escorial, built by Juan de Herrera in the sixteenth century for King Philip II.[258] For Giménez Caballero, art is nothing but the revelation of the State. The creation of a state embodies the utmost genius of a people and is in itself a supreme work of art. Indeed, every great statesman is an artist.[259] The artist should renounce individualism and embrace principles of hierarchy, order and discipline. Giménez Caballero located the beauty of contemporary art in its collective vocation. Thus, he upheld

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the anonymous medieval artisan as a role model and the institution of the guild as appropriate for a corporativist vision of society.

Giménez Caballero also envisioned art as propaganda, as "a form of battle, an instrument of a militia" endowed with a belligerent, heroic impetus. Against an art of Communist persuasion and a purist, hermetic modernism that despised and turned its back on the masses, Giménez Caballero advocated an artistic practice grounded in the ancient traditions of the people and endowed with a collective vocation.[260] In his view, an art of the modern era should seek inspiration in peasant fabrics and pottery, shepherd carvings, popular dances, songs, *fiestas*, fairytales and carols. He confessed: "I am passionate about all those arts that almost lack a name and an author."[261]

Giménez Caballero was outspoken in his dislike of an art practice inspired by the machine, yet Marinetti's enthusiasm for technology doubtless underlay his appreciation of the poster, the radio, and above all, the cinema as quintessential artistic manifestations of modernity, conceived for and consumed by the people.[262] His single foray into filmmaking yielded an experimental short entitled *Esencia de verbena* (1930) which wed avant-garde technique to populist subject matter. During the 1930s, Giménez Caballero was also able to conceive of a parity, if not superiority, of popular culture vis-a-vis the avant-

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garde. A decade later, with the war behind him, Giménez Caballero had shifted further to the Right and assumed a less sympathetic position towards both avant-garde and popular culture.[263]

Another key figure in the elaboration of the aesthetics of *franquismo* was Catalan writer and art critic Eugeni D'Ors (1881-1954). His concept of *Noucentisme*, originally conceived ca. 1905 as a nationalistic program for a revitalization of Catalan art, stressed a Mediterranean classicist aesthetic. D'Ors' call for an art of order, balance, harmony and hierarchy appealed to sectors of Falange that wished to transplant a Roman, imperial sensibility to Spain. D'Ors later evolved towards a more conservative outlook, advocating an art grounded in ideas of Authority, Unity, Empire, and Catholicism that suited *franquismo* to perfection.[264]

4.2 Artistic Practices of the 1940s

Until quite recently, most historical accounts have emphasized the disruption provoked in Spain's artistic and intellectual progress by the Civil War. For liberals and leftists this myth of discontinuity served simultaneously to condemn the culture of *franquismo* and exalt that of the Second Republic. The right wing, for its part, also put forth a notion of rupture, but one that envisioned Fascist culture as a positive reversal of the abominable art of liberal democracy.[265] Current scholarship has brought a

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welcome corrective in illuminating how continuities outweighed change.[256] Art historian María Isabel Cabrera has shed light on the links between the cultural scene of the 1940s and the artistic and intellectual achievements of the 1930s. Many of the leading artists and thinkers associated with Falange, for instance, matured and formulated their work during the Republican years, often as a response to the avant-garde.[267] Cabrera equally indicates how many elements of *franquismo*'s ideological foundation can be traced to the historicist and traditionalist discourses extant in the art world of the late nineteenth-century and their anachronistic survival up to 1936.

Art historian Francisco Calvo Seraller underscores how the culture of this decade was one of survival and reconstruction mixed with intense nationalism. The surge of nationalist feelings in the nineteenth century fueled an ongoing search for signs of identity, to the extent that "Spanishness" became a significant component of a good deal of Spanish modern art.[268] This attitude only increased under Franco's watch. Many art critics of the 1940s wrote at length about the existence of a series of stylistic constants that thread their way throughout the history of Spanish art, often relating these traits to the notion of *casticismo*, a term that denotes an enduring, quintessentially Spanish spirit.[269] Even imported artistic

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motifs and idioms would be eventually transformed into recognizably Spanish expressions.

The more reactionary sectors of *franquismo* vehemently rejected the avant-garde as a conspiracy of Jews and Freemasons intent on destroying the essence of Spanish art.[270] Artists of the 1940s were exhorted to abandon avant-garde styles and rediscover Spain's own glorious heritage.[271] As far as painting is concerned, the more radical wing of Falange demanded a heroic, monumental history painting that commemorated and extolled the feats and the spirit of the Nationalist cause. Conservative critics expressed a vague yearning for a new art equally derived from nineteenth-century academicism, and the naturalism of the Spanish school of painting: Velázquez, Murillo, Ribera etc. Some called for a return to the art of the Counter-Reformation; its theatricality and rhetorical style matched Fascism's love of spectacle and grandiose expression.[272] Many artists retreated to a figurative art as far removed from international developments as it was from post-Civil War reality.

At first, Franco's cultural bureaucracy promoted a pseudo-classicism and tolerated genres, like landscape painting and still life, deemed inferior to history or religious painting but regarded as ideologically neutral and innocuous.[273] It organized retrospectives of nineteenth-century art by the likes of Eduardo Rosales, Mariano

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Fortuny, Joaquín Sorolla, and Hermenegildo Anglada Camarasa. These artists were honored because they had "nationalized" international trends.[274] *Franquismo* also championed a triumvirate of painters that represented the modern face of the regime: Ignacio Zuloaga (1870-1945), José Gutiérrez Solana (1886-1945), and Daniel Vázquez Díaz (1882-1969).[275]

The art discourses of this period reiterate key phrases, such as "continuity of a pictorial tradition" and "expression of a race," and "foreign contamination."[276] Spanish identity would manifest itself in an instrumental art informed by a respect for tradition, order, and hierarchy, translating into a national artistic project of unity abolishing all other ideologies and aesthetic options.[277] In opposition to the dehumanziation of avant-garde art, the artist should privilege content over form, the human and spiritual dimension of the work of art over an abstract or machine-like aesthetic. In lieu of an autonomous and self-referential art, artists should place their work in the service of Catholicism. The emphasis on content also explains Falange's preference for an art comprehensible to the masses, grounded in realism, often verging on kitsch, and far removed from the refinement, the obscurity, or complexity of modernism. Falangist art aspired to permanence and longed to restore "a hierarchy of eternal values" in the face of the ephemeral and capricious nature of modern art. Falange's program also led to a reevaluation of folklore,

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crafts, and vernacular architecture that squared with *franquismo*'s interest in fostering an autochthonous art as well as creating a popular culture that encouraged easy identification.

It is now apparent that the lack of a centralized, state-sponsored aesthetic allowed for considerable flexibility and an exceptional continuity with the pre-war period.[278] Of all the avant-garde movements, Surrealism proved the most resilient, experiencing a rebirth ca. 1947-48 with the appearance of the Dau al Set art group in Barcelona and its dominant presence in the seventh Salón de los Once in 1949. Surrealism was repudiated by franquismo as "an elevation of instincts unfettered by reason" yet after 1939 artists like José Caballero continued painting in a Dali-like style and art periodicals, even intensely conservative ones like Arbor, contained articles and essays on the movement and featured illustrations of an oneiric nature.[279]

Critics soon decried the mediocrity of state-sponsored artists and lamented the paucity of contemporary art. An enlightened minority kept alive the flame of modernism, in spite of official hostility and the indifference of the public. The writings of Eugeni D'Ors were instrumental in maintaining awareness of cultural trends from abroad.[280] Lorenzo Delgado claims that Spain was not as culturally isolated in the 1940s as is commonly thought. He indicates

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how Franco's government established frequent cultural exchanges with Germany and Italy between 1940 and 1943 and after 1945 tightened its bonds with Latin America.[281] In addition, Madrid and Barcelona, for instance, hosted two important exhibitions of modern art, one from France in 1943 and another from Italy in 1948.[282] D'Ors' modernist crusade culminated in the state-backed First Hispanic-American Biennial of 1951, which placed avant-garde art back in the forefront and was blessed with Franco's attendance. From that moment on the latent avant-garde activity of the 1940s was strategically appropriated by *franquismo* in order to simulate a semblance of normalcy and accelerate its incorporation into the Western bloc.

4.3 Fascism and the Aestheticization of Film

In his seminal essay of 1936, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," Walter Benjamin considered the aesthetic implications of the impact of technology upon the reception of art in connection with an analysis of Fascism.[283] In this intriguing, dense, and at times contradictory essay, Benjamin claimed that the mechanical reproduction of images that had given rise to the mass media had deeply altered the status of the work of art. In Benjamin's view, mechanical reproduction had a dual effect: it, of course, substituted a plurality of copies for a unique original, but, in doing so, it also destroyed the "aura" of the work of art, abolishing the physical and

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psychological distance that separated it from the masses and, in the process, desacralizing art by diminishing its cult or ritual value. By this very process of uprooting and detaching the work of art from its original location and context, mechanical reproduction precipitated a shattering of tradition, a liquidation of the conservative values of the cultural heritage. In place of the traditional work of art, Benjamin championed a new paragon, film, which had transformed the relationship of the image to the viewer.

Benjamin believed the cinema was the most powerful agent of shattering tradition. It not only minimized the cult value of art, but also substituted a new type of aesthetic experience based on an impression of shock and a state of distraction for the contemplation formerly demanded of the viewer by the conventional work of art. This effect was accomplished by film's technical and aesthetic relationship to fragmentation, exemplified in the discontinuities of perception and meaning effected by the intricate form of editing known as montage. Altogether, mechanical reproducibility, the fragmentation of montage, and its appeal to the masses endowed film with a new function: politics. It also elicited a new attitude from the masses, a "progressive reaction" characterized by a direct and intimate fusion of visual and emotional enjoyment.[284]

After hailing the cinema as a political tool capable of awakening a proletarian consciousness and steering the

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masses towards a transformation of their social and economic conditions, Benjamin came to recognize that the political instrumentality of film could be used towards the subjugation of the people to reactionary causes as much as for revolutionary ends. Indeed, Fascism eagerly embraced the mass media as vehicles and platforms for its campaign to win the hearts and minds of the people. Hitler, Mussolini, and even Franco understood the visual power and psychological impact of the large screen and took advantage of the medium's reproducibility in order to disseminate their ideology throughout the geographic confines of the nation and beyond.

Benjamin ended his essay with an acknowledgement of Fascism's attempts to infuse politics with the sensuous, captivating power of the beautiful Gestalt. According to Benjamin, Fascism blurred the difference between art and public life by giving the masses a venue for self-expression in mass rallies and other collective events, and then using the medium of film to project back to the masses in amplified form a mirror-image of the people as performers. As Susan Sontag noted years later, Fascist cinema epitomized this penchant for spectacle, monumentality, and choreographed bodies shaped in visually pleasing configurations.[285]

Benjamin implied as well that Fascism deployed the cinematic apparatus for the production of ritual values,

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thus resurrecting the aura that had been destroyed by the very reproductability of the medium. Thus film under Fascism lost its progressive edge and became committed to a restoration of tradition. Distraction gave way to a new emphasis on contemplation. Montage no longer wielded the shock of fragmentation to critique capitalism or the dominant social and political order. Instead, it was employed to glorify the charismatic Fascist leader and create an overwhelming, polyphonic spectacle of imaginary collective participation and communion. Fascist cinema juxtaposed shots less for intellectual purposes, that is, to make a comment or state a point, than to stir the spectator's emotions and induce a state of rapture. Ecstasy and subjugation substituted for rational detachment and self-affirmation.

In a brief reflection, Benjamin talked about the differences between painting and film. The former invites the spectator to contemplate and be absorbed by the work of art, something impossible in the latter because the moving image cannot be arrested. Moreover, film works with fragments, whereas painting aspires to obtain a totality.[286] Benjamin's remarks provide us with a basis from which to consider the manner in which Francoist cinema entered into a dialogue with the history of Spanish art. Namely, how was the intersection of painting and film placed at the service of a Fascist program that emphasized tradition,

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authenticity, wholeness and the sacralization and ritualization of daily life?

4.4 Cinema and Painting

In his book Cinema e pittura Antonio Costa examines the different modes in which film and painting intersect and interact. Painting can function as the object of a filmic representation, as in documentaries and fictional films about painters, or as its internal model, a visual referent that informs a motion picture's framing and spatial composition, lighting style, use of color, and mise-en-scène. Costa also notes that art historical references are often employed to lend historical authenticity and atmosphere to a narrative set in the past, since our view of history is frequently mediated and colored by its representation in painting.[287]

Costa devises a taxonomy of effects derived from the encounter of painting and film. On one hand, painted backdrops and blatantly ilusionistic sets generate a heightened artificiality that Costa labels *l'effeto dipinto*. On the other hand, an excessive pictorialism produces what Costa calls *l'effeto pitturato*. Finally, some directors arrange their mise-en-scène so as to evoke explicitly a specific canvas. Costa designates this device (the most extreme example of which is the *tableau vivant*) *l'effeto quadro*. It represents the culmination of the non-diegetic impulse of painting: the suspension of a narrative's forward

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movement and the opening of an interval for contemplation. At the same time, the congealed artifice of *l'effeto quadro* brackets any sense of realism by introducing an element of excess —an extraneous and superfluous component— that disrupts the internal coherence and transparency of the classical realist system by drawing attention in a highly self-conscious manner to the film's nature as a representation and constructed reality.

This was certainly the position of German theorist Siegfried Kracauer, for whom the introjection of painting into film challenged and overturned film's alleged inherent bias towards realism and objectivity.[288] For Kracauer the cinema stood in direct opposition to both the theater and the traditional arts. If a film was to qualify as art, it must clearly differentiate itself from the latter. Any attempt to introduce theater or painting into film destroyed the medium's aesthetic legitimacy. Conversely, Costa contends that the friction between the languages of painting and film —the immobility of the former clashing with and neutralizing the dynamism of the latter— can yield a productive dislocation as these differing modes of representation converge on the screen. Moreover, the interjection of painting into the realm of film, be it in the guise of *l'effeto quadro* or *l'effeto dipinto*, opens up a meta-textual, self-reflexive dimension that thwarts and problematizes the spectator's passive consumption of the

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work. Finally, the interface of painting and the cinema posits as well an ambivalent oscillation and unresolved tension between high and low culture. Put another way, painting may be seen as striving to extricate the medium of film from its base roots in proletarian pastimes and venues and lure it into the elevated and sublimated realm of art.[289]

4.5 Framing Spanish Identity

French film historian Jacques Aumont argues that painting and film come together in the very act of framing.[290] Although the frame generally assumes a self-effacing role, it exerts enormous power in limiting the fields of representation and meaning. It not only circumscribes vision and space; it provides closure at the narrative or diegetic level as well. As Jacques Derrida claims, the frame constitutes a rhetorical enunciation that sets the parameters of discourse through a dialectics of inclusion and exclusion, inside and outside, the intrinsic and the extrinsic.[291] Indeed, Louis Marin states that "the frame tells us that a painting is a discourse."[292] Thus, both the picture frame and the camera lens regulate our access to vision, meaning and knowledge. The title of this dissertation, "Framing Spain," suggests that the mode in which film and painting join to enact a representation of Spanish national identity is predicated on this dialectical discursivity.

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I want to stress that the artistic exchange between film and painting is by no means intrinsically Fascist. Historically, it predates the appearance of Fascism and, in any case, cannot be abscribed to a unique political or ideological orientation. But Fascism's professed obsession with unity (territorial, racial, political etc.) led it to value the singular, organic totality, what Romy Golan has termed a "perfect harmonized Gestalt."[293] Angela dalle Vacche calls painting film's "forbidden object of desire" because it evokes an organic oneness within a medium predicated on infinite duplication.[294] The invocation of painting in the cinema thus entails a process of "re-auraticization" performed inside the very medium most responsible for the aura's loss; a retrieval of originality and uniqueness which is made more distinct since it is set against the multiplicity and sameness of film.

In the context of post-Civil War Spain, the social divisions made painfully visible during three years of bloodshed, the latent fear not only of fragmentation, but even moreso of disintegration into chaos and annihilation, powered an obsessive insistence on unity and consensus, when not unity under coercion. I want to argue that under the aesthetic imperatives of *franquismo* the dispersive, centrifugal impetus towards fragmentation that Benjamin noticed and celebrated in the medium of film had to be

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countered by the centripetal and unifying character of Western figurative tradition from the Renaissance onwards.

In its attempts to instill a nationalist zeal into the masses, *franquismo* appropriated and mobilized painted figurations of community, commonly accepted and popularized over the decades, when not centuries, as repositories of Spanish cultural identity. As advocates of cultural purity confronted the cosmopolitan views and lifestyles put forth by American cinema, efforts were undertaken to recover, defend and display signs of Spanishness against perceived threats of cultural imperialism, insidious liberal propaganda, and the contamination of a barbarous democratic egalitarianism.

Within this framework, Spanish painting acquired a complex and ambiguous role as it was inducted into the ideological force-field of Francoist cinema. It came to perform a symbolic task of nation-building and regime stabilization, generating and fostering consensus around preferential and often partial visions of community and national cultural identity. If, on the one hand, painting sought to impart the low origins of film with the prestige and sophistication of high art, legitimizing it as an art form, on the other it invoked a representation of tradition that pictured a vision of the nation's cultural heritage aligned with *franquismo*'s chauvinistic and anti-modernist stance.

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Of course, the cinematic frame is never static, but mobile and pliant, as it constantly moves from onscreen to offscreen space. Therefore, the meaning demarcated by the act of framing is never fixed. Instead, it is subject to continuous revision and rearrangement, to its own kind of reframing. Therefore, while Francoist cinema sought to project and delimit a specific image of "Spanishness," and made use of the expressive, symbolic and affective dimensions of painting for that purpose, I want to argue that its view of Spanish identity was always in a state of flux, shifting and reshaping just as the camera itself is prone to reframing.

Therefore *franquismo*'s moving images cannot be understood solely as uniform and immutable instruments of psychic coercion. I believe they must also be regarded as cultural artifacts riven by hegemonic and counter-hegemonic claims. Hence, the seductive surfaces of the pictorial, too, emerge as sites of contested power and ideological struggle. The pictorialist impetus of Fascist cinema did not shy away from co-opting masterpieces of the past and rendering them into instruments of hegemonic discourses seeking to restore social and political formations challenged and swept away by modernity. In this sense, Francoist cinema's predilection for narratives suffused in pictorialism could be a corollary to its nostalgic recovery of a pre-industrial, mythical past and its reliance on the incontestable authority of

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tradition. Nevertheless, even when high art was invoked in Francoist cinema, it rarely arrived uncontaminated by popular modes of address that reshaped the original sources, presenting them as paradigms of a collective heritage rather than purely elitist expressions. To the extent that the presence of these images presupposes their familiarity among filmgoers, they are already fraught with pre-existing, ideologically contrary meanings that may have given rise to counter-hegemonic readings.

Inasmuch as the cinema is a byproduct and key artistic expression of modernity, an emblem of and vehicle for mass culture, and a commercial operation that cannot survive in the long run without the support of the public, its co-option by dominant elitist interests can never be complete. As a discursive and artistic form caught between the allure and fear of modernity, between nostalgia for the past and an awareness of its remoteness, the cinema of *franquismo* shuttled between the realm of high art and the democratic levelling of popular cinema, giving rise to a hybrid text that echoes Fascism's rhetorical self-description as a political third way between capitalism and communism. Although the hybridity resulting from the intercourse of film and painting contradicts Fascism's stress on the singular and the homogeneous, it actually reproduces the eclectic nature of Francoist ideology, the plurality and

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heterogeneity of its power base, and the diversity of its cultural borrowings.

The five films from the 1940s that comprise the object of my study approach and enact the encounter of art history and film in different ways. Juan de Orduña's *Locura de amor* (1948) and Benito Perojo's *Goyescas* (1942) opt for *l'effeto quadro*, staging conspicuous tableaux vivants that quote famous Spanish paintings. Perojo's musical primarily cites Goya's tapestry cartoons, whereas Orduña's historical melodrama refers to nineteenth-century history painting. Edgar Neville's *Domingo de carnaval* (1945) pays homage to the work of Madrilenian painter Jose Gutiérrez Solana, particularly his Carnival series, but the references are more general than specific. With Neville's film it is less a matter of overt citation in the form of a *tableau vivant* than an atmospheric recreation of an aesthetic sensibility and a determinate look.

On the face of it, Luis Marquina's *Malvaloca* (1942) would appear to shun any dialogue with Spanish painting, but I wish to claim that Marquina's melancholic melodrama bears the aesthetic imprint of Julio Romero de Torres' sensuous and spiritual images of Andalusian femininity. Finally, Carlos Serrano de Osma's *Embrujo* (1947), arguably the most unclassifiable Spanish film of the 1940s, weds formal experimentation to its idiosyncratic vision of flamenco music and dance. Although painting itself does not play a

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significant role in *Embrujo*, I am including it in this study on account of its self-conscious presentation as an art film that mobilizes motifs from Surrealist painting and cinema.

With the exception of *Embrujo*, the films discussed in my study generally conform to the model known as "the classic realist text." According to Robert Stam, this model "evokes the reconstitution of a fictional world characterized by internal coherence, plausible and linear causality, psychological realism, and the appearance of spatial and temporal continuity."[295] David Bordwell claims that the dominant narrative paradigm of "classical cinema" favors clearly motivated plots, the various strands of which are neatly resolved in closure, driven by individual protagonists as the source of agency and causality.[296] It aspires to attain a high level of narrative transparency through the use of codes of spatial representation derived from Renaissance painting and codes of narration popularized by the nineteenth-century novel. Various film specific techniques, such as continuity and point-of-view editing, enhance the work's illusion of coherence and unity.

Working from this classical model, Neville and Marquina achieve the highest level of realism and narrative transparency, although *Malvaloca* does not exhibit a specially strong narrative agency and forward momentum. However, Orduña's manipulation of narrative time, stylized mise-en-scène and heightening of emotional effect, and

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Perojo's extreme pictorialism and self-conscious foregrounding of film technique (virtuosistic camera movements, special effects etc.) undermine the transparent realism of the classical text. Nor do these films conform to Kracauer's conception of the cinema. *Locura de amor* and *Goyescas* explicitly embrace the theatrical and the painterly. While *Domingo de carnaval* and *Malvaloca* ascribe to the realistic tendency espoused by Kracauer, their authors willingly blur at times the boundaries between the media, indulging in that "unnatural alliance," to use Kracauer's words, between the realism of film and the stylization of the theatrical and the pictorial.[297]

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PART II

THE FILMS

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CHAPTER 5

LOCURA DE AMOR

After months of intense advance publicity, *Locura de amor* (The Madness of Love) premiered on October 8, 1948 at Madrid's Rialto Theater, where it ran for a record-breaking 136 days eventually to become the most successful Spanish film of the 1940s.[298] *Locura de amor*'s enthusiastic reception in Spain and abroad unleashed a short-lived wave of lavish historical films, which have been construed as flagrant vehicles of Francoist propaganda, masquerading as lessons in history. If *Locura de amor* is generally regarded as the era's paradigmatic film, its director, Juan de Orduña (1907-1973), is considered to be the most representative figure of Franco's official cinema; the willing acolyte who rendered *franquismo*'s one-sided, self-serving interpretations of Spanish history on film.[299]

At the time of *Locura de amor*'s opening, the daily Ya hailed it as "the best production released by Spanish studios" and the daily ABC regarded it as the "most solid and assured film of our cinematic production." Although a few critics felt Orduña's film suffered from an excess of theatricality, the unanimously positive reviews of *Locura de amor* declared that Spanish cinema had reached with a new level of excellence. Praise was lavished equally on Orduña's vibrant, emotionally charged handling of the subject and on

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the impassioned performance of newcomer Aurora Bautista.[300] Nearly twenty years later Fernando Méndez-Leite, the premier chronicler of Spain's cinema during Franco's lifetime, still found it "an admirable film . . . among the best and most moving the screen has offered us in many years."[301]

Orduña's overwrought cinematic style was immediately parodied and lampooned, but it was only after Franco's death that *Locura de amor*'s critical fortunes plummeted. Critics from the 1970s and '80s like Diego Galán viewed it as the symbol of a dreadful era; a grandiloquent and pretentious film performed by mannered actors in front of ugly papier-mâché sets.[302] Film historians Emilio Sanz de Soto and Alfonso García Segui agreed that *Locura de amor* was a film in poor taste that could only offer the dubious pleasures of camp.[303] Film historian Domènec Font stated that *Locura de amor,* along with the other pictures of CIFESA's historical cycle, functioned as a vehicle for the political ideology of Franco's power bloc, especially the agrarian oligarchies still invested in feudal social relations. It glorified the past in order not to deal with the misery of the present.[304]

Although at present Orduña's cinema still gives rise to negative judgments[305], a number of historians —Felix Fanés, Francisco Llinás, Jean-Claude Seguin, and José Luis Téllez— have conceded that these films evince a greater complexity and ambiguity than critics have been willing to admit. Llinás has endeavored to find a middle ground for Orduña's

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oeuvre between those historians and critics who have denigrated it as symptomatic of the ills that beset 1940s Spain and spectators who have recuperated it as exotic and risible kitsch. If approached free of preconceptions, Orduña's films, according to Llinás, can be seen as the embodiment of a distinct sensibility that eludes reductionist views of Francoist cinema as a monolithic entity.[305] Seguin, for his part, has remarked on the unconventional concept of history, cyclical rather than linear, elaborated by *Locura de amor*.[307] Téllez, on the other hand, has re-vindicated the subversive potential unleashed by the film's melodramatic intensity. In his view, the stylistic excess of *Locura de amor*, what he calls the film's "hypertrophy of the sign," could not be further removed from the clarity and economy of the "classical" model, or even from a hegemonic cinematic practice blindly serving the objectives and interests of *franquismo*.[308]

Llinás, Seguin and Téllez are also alone in analyzing the use that Orduña makes of painting in *Locura de amor*'s mise-en-scène. It is commonly assumed that Orduña cited history painting in his films simply to indoctrinate audiences with *franquismo*'s slanted interpretation of the past. Seguin discusses instead the presence of pictorial references in relation to the film's art direction, while Téllez connects Orduña's use of painting to the conventions of melodrama. In the end, however, both authors fall short

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of accounting for painting's polysemic, multivalent function within the film's textual system.

This chapter will examine *Locura de amor*'s investment in the retelling of Spanish history and the preservation of memory. A prominent genre in post-Civil War cinema, the Spanish historical film rose out of revitalized historicist discourses fueled by mainly reactionary ideologies. Since Orduña's historical cinema wholeheartedly adopted the narrative and formal codes of melodrama —antagonistic articulations of good and evil, a hyperbolic sense of style, and an intense emotionalism—, I want to consider the reasons behind this embrace of "the melodramatic imagination," as well as to examine how this imagination is rendered on screen. I am arguing that Orduña resorted to melodrama's emphasis on enunciation and style in order to convey a sense of crisis and loss pervading Spain at a crucial junction in its history. Yet the complexities at the level of visual and narrative articulation that run through *Locura de amor*, punctuating both its diegetic and formal systems of enunciation, problematize its alleged transparent collusion with the ideological imperatives of *franquismo*.

Special attention will be given to Orduña's citation of famous works of history painting in the guise of *tableaux vivants*. While Orduña's use of history painting is undoubtedly predicated on a concrete, ideologically inflected view of history, its function is far more complex.

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There is a discursive role, for sure, to Orduña's pictorialism that capitalizes on painting's capacity to construct and foster a sense of community through signs and symbols of national identity that denote a shared past. Yet there is also a reflexivity to Orduña's pictorialism, in what amounts to a meta-textual operation that employs painting to make a statement about the nature of the cinema and its relation to the other arts.[309] Furthermore, the presence of painting in *Locura de amor* cannot be separated from its imbrication within a melodramatic discourse that ultimately invokes a concept of history rooted in trauma. Finally, I will argue for an understanding of how, beyond its categorization as excess and artificiality, history painting is deployed in *Locura de amor* to figure feminine identity, generate affect, and provoke cathartic experiences.

From Theater to Film

Shot between October 1947 and February 1948 with an extremely lavish budget of five million pesetas, *Locura de amor* recounts the life of Queen of Castile Joanna the Mad, known in Spain as *Juana la Loca*. Few figures of Spanish history have exerted greater fascination. Born in Toledo in 1479, Juana, the second daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, "the Catholic Monarchs," was married in 1496 to Archduke Philip "the Handsome" of Hapsburg, son of Emperor Maximilian I. She spent most of her married life at the Hapsburg court

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in Brussels, but she was ill-adapted to life in Flanders and grew increasingly jealous of her husband's sexual escapades. As her mental stability deteriorated, Juana's marriage to Philip came under great strain. Upon her mother's death in 1504, she inherited the throne of Castile and set court in the Spanish city of Burgos. In 1506 Philip died unexpectedly and Juana was driven over the edge, living thereafter in prolonged states of insanity. She had Philip's corpse embalmed but refused to bury him. Instead, she roamed the countryside with his coffin in tow, forcing her father to declare her unfit to rule. Confined to the castle of Tordesillas, she died there in 1555.

Juana's tragic fate inspired an enormously successful play by Manuel Tamayo y Baús (1830-1898) entitled La Locura de Amor (The Madness of Love), that was first staged in 1855, coinciding with the 300th anniversary of Juana's death.[310] Hailed as an important work in the canon of Spanish Romantic theater, the play was frequently revived throughout the ensuing decades and first brought to the screen in 1909.[311] In the early 1940s CIFESA purchased the play's rights and attached Juan de Orduña to the project. However, successive setbacks halted its production for several years.[312]

Locura de amor opens with the arrival of King Charles V at the castle of Tordesillas. He has come to visit his mother, Doña Juana (played by Aurora Bautista), whom he has

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not seen since childhood. Captain Alvar de Estúñiga (Jorge Mistral) greets the King and escorts him to Juana's chambers. The meeting between mother and son bodes well but Juana soon becomes agitated. Distressed by his mother's condition, King Charles turns to Alvar for an explanation. In an extended flashback, Alvar recounts the events leading to Juana's mental breakdown, beginning with his arrival in the Hapsburg court in Brussels with the news of Queen Isabella's death. In reaction to Alvar's news, a grief-stricken Juana parts in search of her husband, Philip (Fernando Rey), only to find him in the arms of another woman.

The action shifts to the Spanish city of Tudela de Duero. Saddened by the King's absence, Juana finds little solace in the large crowds that have gathered outside the palace to cheer their new Queen. Under the pretense of hunting, Philip is courting Aldara (Sara Montiel), a dark beauty who poses as an innkeeper's niece. Aldara, however, is in love to no avail with Captain Alvar, whom she has followed from the battlefields of Italy. Aware of the King's infatuation, Juana visits the inn and surprises Philip as he arrives for a rendezvous. The King is outraged by Juana's ploy and questions her sanity.

In the meantime, Filiberto de Were (Jesús Tordesillas), private counselor to the King, has struck a deal with Aldara: he will place her in the service of the Queen, on

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whom Aldara seeks to take vengeance, if she humors Philip's whims. Back in the palace, the Admiral of Castile (Juan Espantaleón) calls an emergency session of the Royal Council to thwart Filiberto's intrigues and Philip's devious designs on the throne. Unbeknownst to Juana, Filiberto has sent her a love letter written by Aldara to the King. Distraught, the Queen assembles all her ladies-in-waiting and one by one commands them to test their handwriting against the letter's signature. At this moment, the Admiral arrives and pleads that Juana take urgent action against her husband's maneuvers. Consumed by the desire to discover the identity of Philip's new mistress, Juana ignores the Admiral's request. Her suspicions finally fall upon Aldara, who reveals herself as the daughter of the last Moorish King of Granada and attacks the Queen with a dagger. Philip enters, proclaiming Juana insane and unfit to govern.

The following day Philip appears in front of the Cortes, the parliament of Castile, to claim his sole right to the throne and obtain Juana's seclusion. Back in the palace, Alvar returns and persuades Juana to defend her crown. Armed with the anonymous love letter, Juana makes her way to the cathedral of Burgos and denounces the King's infidelity before the Cortes. The document, however, is now blank. Defeated and humiliated, Juana flees as the Cortes declares Philip regent of Spain. The King, however, is

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suddenly taken ill and dies. Shattered, Juana believes him asleep and refuses to part with his corpse.

Like other historical and costume dramas produced by CIFESA, *Locura de amor* intertwines two distinct plots: a love story and a political intrigue.[313] With Orduña's habitual redundancy, each plot is submitted to a process of doubling, so that Aldara's unhappy infatuation with Alvar mirrors Juana's doomed passion for Philip, just as Aldara's schemes duplicate Filiberto's.[314]

Juan de Orduña: Accommodation or Subversion?

Locura de amor proved to be an ideal match for Orduña, whose acute theatrical sensibility and background as an actor assured an exceptional connection to the play's impassioned Romanticism.[315] Author of an eclectic body of work, Orduña made romantic comedies inspired by Hollywood cinema as well as folkloric musicals that reveled in the tropes of the *españolada*. On the one hand, he acknowledged as primary artistic influences the work of Hollywood-based European directors (Murnau's *Sunrise*, Hitchcock's *Rebecca*) and professed a debt to contemporary French and Italian cinema, especially the genre of white-telephone comedies. Moreover, critics have detected influences of Hawks and especially Lubitsch, his favorite director, on Orduña's frothy screwball comedies.[316] On the other hand, Orduña deeply felt the need to elaborate popular models imbued with Hispanic subject matter regardless of its triteness:

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> We must do a cinema of our own, purely Spanish . . . The most illiterate Spaniard possesses a rich and lively heritage of art, good taste, an artistic genius that the cinema ought to follow and exploit . . . Local color, when it is well done, is universal, precisely because of its originality and genuine character.[317]

Criticized, when not maligned, by leftist and conservative historians and critics alike, Orduña is a multifaceted filmmaker; a director that both embodies and transcends the cultural politics of Francoist cinema. Moreover, he is the closest thing to an auteur in Spain's official post-Civil War cinema. A uniform sensibility, marked by a an exuberant theatricality and uninhibited emotionalism, runs through his most renowned films. And it is the very pressure of this excess, bursting through the seams of the plot's ideological straightjacket, that resets Orduña's cinema within a dialectical tension between accommodation to and subversion of the reactionary ideology it purportedly inscribes.

Among all the filmmakers under contract with CIFESA, Orduña is possibly the most closely identified with the "house style." Just as CIFESA's cycle of historical films has overshadowed the rest of the firm's output and even dominated much critical and historiographic writing about the cinema of the 1940s, so is Orduña almost solely remembered today as a director of historical melodramas, in spite of his varied filmography.[318] *Locura de amor* in particular has come to denote the worst rhetorical excesses of Franco's cinema: a melodramatic, chauvinistic, and

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manichaeistic vision of history conveyed through grandiloquent speeches on honor, Catholicism, and Castile's imperial destiny. Although the extent of Orduña's compliance with Franco's cultural policies is debatable, the director's fondness for scenarios of exalted patriotism and communities menaced by foreign powers and their inside agents seemingly echoed contemporary political events and tapped into the collective psychological turmoil of post-Civil War Spain.[319]

The Historical Imagination of *Franquismo*

The profusion of historical movies in 1940s' Spain was tied to a resurgence in historical writing and thinking that drew inspiration from the writings of cultural historian Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo (1856-1912), the conservative voice of the generation of 1898, and Ramiro de Maeztu (1875-1936), a key figure in the development of Francoist ideology. In the face of a disintegrating empire, both authors resolutely re-affirmed Spain's imperial vocation and heroic past. In the 1940s, the pages of cultural reviews like Arbor and newspapers like ABC kept these historical perspectives alive and current.[320] In addition, *franquismo* ably and thoroughly utilized the educational system to propagate and impose its partisan vision of history.[321] In the process, it often resorted to "inventing" traditions of its own, fabricating a continuum between Spain's former grandeur and the aspirations of the present.[322]

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España es así (Spain is like this), one of the most widely read children's textbooks of the 1940s, best encapsulated Franco's historical discourse. The book's assertive title summarized the unquestionable authority of its historic vision and the unviability of dissenting views. Militarism, authoritarianism, patriarchy, conformity to tradition, nationalism, and xenophobia resurface in page after page. Momentous events illustrative of *los valores de la raza* (ethnic values) were foregrounded while entire periods that could not be recovered under such jingoism, such as Spain's decline in the seventeenth century or the disaster of the Spanish-American War, were underplayed. Heroic deeds from the past were angled to foreshadow and illuminate the contemporary feats of the *Nacionales*; former enemies —Arabs, Protestants, *ilustrados*— were presented as harbingers of "the perfidy of many evil Spaniards of our time."[323]

The turn of events at the end of World War Two made Franco's government feel increasingly insecure and vulnerable. Inside Spain, mounting dissatisfaction over the regime's evolution and the persistent economic deprivation, now aggravated by the international blockade imposed by the U.N. in 1946, was compounded by the infiltration of guerilla groups, *the maquis*, from across the Pyrenees into the Northern provinces.[324] Confronted with the very real threat of its political demise, *franquismo* asserted its historical

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existence by means of intensely manichaean scenarios opposing good and evil, right and wrong.[325]

The intense nationalism fostered by Franco's government had as its corollary a resurgent pride in self-sufficiency. The isolationist policies of the Hapsburg monarchs, who endeavored during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to seal Spain off from the threat of Protestantism and heterodox thought, were revived as a model. Autarchy was ordained and upheld on all fronts: economic, technological, and cultural.[326] Domestic hardship and internal political contradictions were disavowed and displaced onto the outside world. Whenever expedient, Franco's speeches cannily exploited the fears of a people under psychological and economic siege:

> Spain has been under attack every time it has tried to rise up since the days of Philip II . . . and the higher Spain has reached up, the more independent it has become, the more decisively it has removed a tumor or disease that was undermining her, foreign hostility has intensified.[327]

Increasingly at odds with much of the West as the 1940s wore on, Spain folded back upon itself and sought solace in fantasies of a restored Golden Age.

Spain's historical cinema made its appearance in the midst of this rarefied climate. Pío García Viñolas, head of the Departamento Nacional de Cinematografía, lamented in 1941 the disinterest the Spanish cinema had evinced until then towards historical themes. Director José López Rubio felt a historical foundation was unavoidable if filmmakers

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wanted to express the national spirit.[328] Critic Francisco Casares justified the need for an historical cinema:

> Once in awhile, in order to show the world we can do more, in order to expand the profile of our glory, to convey the grandeur of imperial Spain with greater vividness and force than books can accomplish . . . it would be profitable to express the best episodes and figures of our history . . . so Spaniards become fond of contemplating the past.[329]

Historical films were thus entrusted with a double mission: an internal one, namely to familiarize local audiences with Spanish history and encourage historical meditation, and an external one, as propaganda for the international community. In a separate article Casares stressed the cinema's importance as a political weapon and contrasted Marxism's alleged disdain for History with the paramount role historical cinema ought to play in Spain's new political order.[330]

The birth and rise of Spain's historical cinema were to a large extent contingent upon the fortunes of CIFESA.[331] Its head, Vicente Casanova, sought to produce an authentic Spanish cinema that rested on two pillars: history and folklore. Casanova declared: "Where could a feeling for our history, rendered onto film, be any stronger than on our own Spanish soil? . . . Our historical cinema, a cinema of our own, has universal appeal."[332] Although CIFESA bankrolled a variety of projects —musicals, high-profile literary adaptations, romantic comedies— since its establishment in 1932, it is best remembered today for the grandiose and

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costly historical and costume dramas made between 1947 and 1951.[333] CIFESA's move towards ostentatious superproductions has been accounted for as a strategy to distract beleaguered audiences from the material inadequacies of the moment, an impulse that parallels fascism's taste for monumentality and pageantry. Félix Fanés, however, attributes this shift in course to a desire to compete with Hollywood by means of dazzling big-budget spectacles that would appeal not only to Spanish viewers, but also foreign audiences. The clamorous, unexpected success of *Locura de amor* seemingly validated this gamble and propelled CIFESA in the direction of ever more expensive period films.[334]

History as Melodrama

In the past two decades, melodrama has been reclaimed as a genre worthy of scholarly attention and capable of communicating serious ideas about gender and class.[335] In his seminal book, The Melodramatic Imagination (1976), Peter Brooks argued for a re-evaluation of melodrama as "the principle mode for uncovering, demonstrating, and making operative the essential moral universe in a post-sacred era."[336] Brooks interpreted the emergence of melodrama as a response to the spiritual and moral upheaval unleashed by the fall of the Ancien Régime and the advent of modernity. In the wake of this crisis, melodrama reasserted a new ethical order. The genre accordingly favored stark, distinct contrasts between opposing discourses clearly identified as

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good and evil. Melodramatic narratives aimed at exposing evil in order "to purge the social order."[337] If their ultimate goal sought the recognition and triumph of virtue, melodramas derived their forward momentum from the endless threat of its undoing.

While Orduña had dabbled in previous films with the conventions of melodrama, *Locura de amor* constituted his first fully accomplished exploitation of the genre's aesthetic and ideological potential.[338] As Marcia Landy has pointed out, historical films in general are particularly suited to melodramatic treatment.[339] The larger political, social and cultural forces at work are personalized, polarized along rudimentary, reductive co-ordinates, and subjected to a given moral code. In *Locura de amor* the conflicts of the past transpose and enact the struggles of the present with unusual boldness.[340] Although ostensibly set in early sixteenth-century Spain, at the dawn of its empire-building age, the film's evocation of Spain's momentous past seems also to function as an allegory of the geopolitical realities of post-Civil War Spain.

Hence, Fanés, Llinás and Seguin, among others, have suggested that *Locura de amor* conjures *franquismo*'s deepest fears and materializes them in figures of "Otherness." As Slavoj Žižek suggests, these "Others" condense the negativity within society that the Fascist system seeks to contain and disavow.[341] In the film Castile teeters on the

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verge of an institutional crisis as Philip, goaded by Filiberto's ambition, conspires to remove Juana from the throne. The greed of outsiders endangers Spain's peace; Spaniards side with foreign interests; Moors move about undetected; and the specter of a civil war rears its head.[342] The territorial and religious unity forged in war by Queen Isabella and entrusted to Juana is in danger of unraveling. Betrayed by her husband, taken for insane by her subjects, and deprived of her crown, Juana figures a nation at the mercy of foreign powers and undermined by internal enemies.[343] Her turbulent marriage arguably symbolizes Spain's own difficult and ambivalent rapport with the outside world, while her final descent into madness evokes Spain's own slide into autarchy and isolation.

True to Brook's theory of melodrama, Orduña contrasts the frivolity, decadence, and lack of scruples of the Flemish, and the disloyalty of their Spanish allies, with the severity, constancy, and courage of Castilians like the Admiral and Captain Alvar.[344] Aldara's climatic confrontation with Juana, a tempestuous sequence that has served to cement Orduña's reputation as a master of camp, equally foregrounds the text's antagonistic discourses in all their stark incompatibility.[345] The character of Filiberto de Were takes center stage in Orduña's film and becomes the unequivocal embodiment of evil. His exorbitant greed is the narrative's propelling force; Filiberto's sway over King Philip places

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the destiny of Castile in his hands. The polarization typical of melodrama operates on other levels as well. If Filiberto symbolizes the duplicity and treachery of the statesman, Alvar incarnates the soldier's integrity, moral superiority and spirit of sacrifice, a trope dear to *franquismo*.

Conversely, Orduña's perspective on the film's two other "villains," Philip and Aldara, is rather ambivalent. The King is limned more as a victim of Filiberto's schemes and his own moral weakness and sexual appetites than as a traitor to his royal office. It is true that throughout the film he is constantly denigrated by Castilians like the Admiral as a power-seeker and skirtchaser.[346] Orduña, however, presents him in a slightly more sympathetic light; his move to seclude Juana is motivated more by a desire for unsupervised sexual freedom than thirst for power. In spite of his compulsive womanizing, Philip is sincerely in love with his wife. He redeems himself eventually on his deathbed, proclaiming his love for Juana and offering his deception as a cautionary tale for future generations.[347]

As per Aldara, she rises above the thespian limitations of actress Sara Montiel to become the most multi-layered character of all. Her perfidy does not stem, like De Were's, from an intrinsic perversity; her hatred of Juana is motivated as much by jealousy as by a thirst for revenge rooted in a childhood trauma.[348] Unlike De Were and Philip,

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Spanish blood runs through Aldara's veins; her voice speaks for the other Spaniards, the ones expelled and dispossessed of their identity at the end of the fifteenth century.

When it comes to Juana, the viewer is paradoxically asked to identify with a flawed and equivocal protagonist: a possessive, temperamental, and mentally unbalanced woman. While Juana's demands on Philip conform to the ethical and sexual codes sanctioned by the Church and community —sexual honor and monogamy—, the ways by which Juana seeks to reassert her marital rights and political power are nothing short of transgressive of Franco's standard of female behavior. Tellingly, among the gallery of virtuous and exemplary heroines peopling the pages of the classic Francoist textbook for schoolgirls, Guirnaldas de la Historia (Garlands of History), Queen Juana is notoriously absent.[349] This should come as no surprise. Juana's excessive, demanding femininity embodies the antithesis of Fascism's timid, submissive archetype. A comparison with another historical melodrama of the period, Rafael Gil's *Reina Santa* (Holy Queen, 1946), illuminates the idiosyncracies of Orduña's cinematic universe, such as his marked preference for strong-willed, defiant women who rise against dire circumstances.[350]

Gil's film recounts the life of the Spanish princess Isabella of Aragon, Queen of Portugal (played by Maruchi Fresno), who lived from 1271 to 1336 and was canonized in

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the sixteenth century.[351] Like Juana, Isabella was married to a philanderer, but unlike her Gil's picture portrays Isabella as gentle and accommodating; a woman who accepts her lot with the resignation of a good Christian wife. Gil's scenario also depicts a nation (thirteenth-century Portugal) in the throes of a civil war: the Crown Prince has rebelled against his father. Once again the public and the private interlock as the welfare of a kingdom hinges upon dissension in the royal family. Dealing equally with emotionally charged material, Gil's film is strikingly temperate and restrained by comparison to Orduña's hyper-emotional approach. As a model of femininity, Isabella is far closer to the prototype of the docile and accepting spouse upheld by *franquismo* than the rebellious Juana. Her self-sacrifice, faith, and abnegation finally win her the respect and devotion of her husband and bring peace to her kingdom. By contrast, Juana's vulnerability and irrepressible, inordinate desire lend her a quasi-tragic dimension.

Juana's major fault is an inability or unwillingness to separate the public from the private, her duties as queen from her conjugal affliction.[352] When Alvar begs her to thwart Philip's intrigues, she retorts:

> I only wish to forget there is a kingdom and its duties... Fighting is useless . . . I defended my rights as a woman and they called me insane; they would believe me mad were I to defend my rights as Queen.[353]

The Crown for Juana is a privilege but also a curse; love is bliss but also punishment and torture. "I know you loathe me

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but I don't care," she tells Philip. "I love you and since my love is your punishment, I shall love you more and more."[354]

Orduña's view of Juana is not entirely alien to the manner in which Falange, Spain's Facist party, reduced women to the status of emotional beings.[355] He confessed in an interview: "I adore this subject, the drama of a woman in love, the morbid process that leads her towards madness out of jealousy, the intimate reaction of a tortured soul."[356] In a separate article, Orduña professed:

> Above anything else, beyond the pomp of grand historical recreations or the trimmings of the genre, I have seen her human problem, the tremendous emotion of a passion carried to the brink of lunacy.[357]

Juana's ambiguous appeal is contingent precisely upon this surplus of affect. As a rule, melodrama affirms excess and foregrounds emotions and theatricality; it eschews containment, rejects nuance, and indulges in a state of perpetual exaltation. Even the banal and the ordinary are infused with passion and excitement. Hyperbole becomes the norm and is presented as a natural form of expression. Actors are encouraged to perform in forced terms: dramatic postures, exaggerated facial expressions, artificial and bombastic diction. The characters themselves may often lack real psychological depth, yet body language and delivery operate to reveal and underline moral positions. Indeed, melodrama enacts "an uninhibited play with style" placed at the service of a heightening of emotion.[358]

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A Prisoner of Melodrama

Among Spanish directors of the 1940s, Orduña proved the best suited to bring off the Romantic impetuosity and high-flown rhetoric of Tamayo y Baús' play. Llinás has called Orduña "a prisoner of melodrama,"[359] alluding to his intuitive understanding of, and at times overpowering fondness for, the affective potential of melodrama's codes. He was a filmmaker unafraid to wallow in extremes of emotion. Sanz de Soto, by no means a fan of Orduña's cinema, recognized that the director gave himself completely to the material. No matter how preposterous the project might have seemed, Orduña possesed a knack for making improbable scenarios convincing.[360]

As regards his handling of Tamayo y Baús' play, Orduña declared: "My direction will follow the subject closely, subservient to the exaltation of the story's emotional force and dramatic angle without at any moment succumbing to a spectacular grandiloquence."[361] In keeping with his approach, Orduña amplified to an extreme the play's sensational twists and revelations, worked to energize his mise-en-scène, and raised the emotional temperature of his actors' performances.[362] These strategies, according to Thomas Elsaesser, were common among Hollywood melodramas of the 1940s and 50s (e.g., the films of Vincente Minnelli and Douglas Sirk), which also aimed at dramatising space and

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engineering discontinuities in the level of emotional intensity.[363]

Orduña introduces his dynamic approach to space and his apititude for creating emotional rollercoasters —staging a succession of climaxes and collapses— in an early sequence. Having just heard of her mother's death, Juana sets off to find her husband in order to share the sad news. As she enters the King's hunting pavillion, she stumbles upon an orgy in progress. Building on narrative suspense and the viewer's budding identification with Juana's emotional state, Orduña's camera tracks with Juana as she traverses the room in a diagonal towards a gate rendered in an ornate gothic tracery, from the other side of which the sounds of a harpsichord can be heard. The film cuts back and forth twice between the sight of Philip wooing his mistress with words of love and reaction shots of a stunned Juana, framed between the gate's ornate tracery. Heartbroken, she flees the scene, with a stationary camera recording her departure from the other side of the gate.

Orduña returns several times to this method of building emotional identification with Juana to a climax, only, as Elsaesser puts it, "to throttle it the more abruptly,"[364] most notably in the scene that takes place in the cathedral of Burgos. As Filiberto is about to crown Philip, thereby dispossessing Juana of her throne, the Queen's arrival is made public. As she enters the cathedral, an extended

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tracking shot follows her, upright and regal, down the aisle towards the altar, while the Admiral recites out loud Juana's numerous titles and territorial possessions. A heated confrontation ensues at the foot of the throne, as Philip and Filiberto attempt to portray Juana as mentally unbalanced and thus unfit to rule. Orduña cuts between Juana's speech and medium shots of the courtiers whom she denounces as traitors. Juana hands the King's love letter, her only weapon against her husband's machinations, over to the Admiral to have it read in front of the entire parliament. But, as the spectator already knows, Filiberto has substituted a blank document for the letter. Juana walks away as the Admiral unfolds the scroll, while the camera cuts to the expectant faces of the various attendees. Bewildered, the Admiral turns the letter's empty surface towards the camera. A tracking shot zeroes in on Juana, who cringes at the realization of her defeat, as an elated Filiberto asks: "Can she be any madder?"[365] Orduña shoots Juana's departure as a clear reversal of her triumphant entry. Her body hunched in humiliation, she flees the cathedral as Filiberto's offscreen voice is heard hailing Philip thrice as King of Castille.

In addition, the viewer is witness to at least two of Juana's mental breakdowns, signaled on the soundtrack by the resurgence of the harpsicord melody and Philip's words of love to his mistress, and heard as figments of Juana's

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troubled state of mind; a state exteriorized in Bautista's wild gestures and outbursts. The significance of these melodramatic strategies becomes apparent if one considers how Franco's autarchic policies complemented economic rationing by also encouraging and exacting restrictions in the social and psychic domains. It has been argued that under Fascism libidinal energy must be channeled towards the preservation of the family and the building of the state.[366] Yet melodrama embraces characters who refuse constraint and repression, whose affective excess breaks through legal and social conventions.

Llinás points out how the Spanish cinema of this period, with counted exceptions, likewise repressed the outward manifestation of feelings.[367] By contrast, Orduña stood out for his uninhibited affectation and rhetorical redundancy. It seemed that Orduña, a director rumored to cry of emotion as he shot his takes, was incapable of self-control. He believed that audiences expected and desired violent contrasts and oscillations between laughter and tears.[368] Orduña once stated: "We had to forget a little that American style of performance, to forget that damned restraint."[369] In fact, Llinás feels the most stimulating moments in Orduña's cinema lie precisely in those borderline situations where the stakes are at their highest and emotions spin out of control. In Bautista, an inexperienced twenty-one year old stage actress whom Orduña championed

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against his producers' opposition, the filmmaker found the ideal vehicle to realize a vision that flew in the face of a self-denying economy of the emotions.[370] Throughout the film her forced, high-strung performance, bordering on parody, imbues *Locura de amor* with a feverish, overwrought sensibility.

Orduña admitted his approach to filmmaking was less concerned with historical veracity than with fantasy.[371] In fact, Landy observes that factual accuracy, even the plot itself, ceases to be of primary interest to historical melodramas because the spectator generally knows the outcome in advance; what matters is the tone of the narrative and the intensity of the performance.[372] Llinás observes how this also true for Orduña, who cared less about a linear account of his story than the modality of its delivery.[373] Because Juana's fate was presumably familiar to many spectators, Orduña does not hesitate to disclose the denouement of *Locura de amor* in the very first frames: the opening credits are superimposed upon an engraving of Francisco Pradilla's famous 1878 painting, Juana La Loca (Fig. 1).

Melodrama and the Painting of History

Brooks pointed out that nineteenth-century melodrama, in its efforts to exteriorize internal ethical conflicts and achieve a "*visual* summary of the emotional situation," often ended up invoking the language of painting.[374] Orduña's melodramatic sensibility and his propensity for heightened

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theatricality and pathos translated equally into a mise-en-scène marked by recurrent pictorial citations, as in the visual references to history paintings by Eduardo Rosales and Francisco Pradilla in *Locura de amor*.[375] In fact, the release of *Locura de amor* followed a resurgence in the practice, study, and exhibition of history painting after decades of neglect. A retrospective of painter Eduardo Rosales (1836-1873) in 1939 and a show of nineteenth-century painting in 1940, both held at the National Museum of Modern Art in Madrid, were key milestones of this revival. In his acceptance speech to the Academy of Fine Arts in 1944 critic and historian Elías Salverría spoke of history painting as the highest ambition of any artist and acknowledged its role in the political indoctrination of the masses through the evocation of exemplary actions and the rekindling of patriotism. Moreover, Salverría noted how many of our recollections of historical events are deeply mediated by images.[376]

As in other European countries, history painting emerged as a dominant genre in Spain during the Romantic era, coinciding with the rise of nationalism and the notion of community.[377] Art historian Enrique Arias Anglés has linked the preeminence of the genre to an institutional policy concerned with the sustenance of national identity. Nineteenth-century Spain witnessed the dissolution of its empire, the conflictive process of modernization, and

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successive wars between liberals and absolutists. The depiction of heroic exploits was intended as "a regeneration of national self-esteem," conjuring in times of crisis a shared past that could be used to consolidate a common future.[378]

Franquismo fomented a history painting of its own to commemorate the victory and exploits of the *Nacionales* and honor the martyrs of its cause.[379] The regime's fetishization of History led critic Samuel Ros to explain that "a democratic society is nothing else but the will to unpaint History, and a totalitarian society the will to paint it."[380] According to politician Rafael Sánchez Mazas, a picture should "preserve memory," tell us what to remember and what to forget. He wrote:

> Painting would not be very much . . . if it were ahistorical and apolitical. A picture is a historical event . . . a complex revelation of an idea of order or disorder in the face of one's age . . . Tell me how and what you ought to remember and I shall tell you who you are, what you know, what you expect.[381]

Sánchez Mazas' ideas concerning history painting shed some light on the relationship of the cinema and historic memory. Historical films also select meaningful episodes from the past and fashion them into an order that organizes and preserves memory conforming to an ideological understanding of history. Just as Franco's cultural politics regarded history painting as the most eminent of pictorial genres, the repository of moral and patriotic values, so did

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historical cinema occupy a privileged position in the early post-Civil War years.[382]

Although other Spanish historical films from the 1940s revealed the influence of painting in the design of their mise-en-scène, *Locura de amor* was the first Spanish film to weave history painting into its visual and narrative discourse in a salient and coherent fashion.[383] Llinás relates Orduña's strategy not only to an attempt to dignify film's low-brow status with allusions to high art but, more importantly, to an anti-realistic aesthetic that infuses concrete actions and sequences with the intense affect generated by painting.[384]

The presence of pictorial references in the cinema has often been understood as extraneous, self-conscious, and disruptive, as what falls within the definition of style and excess.[385] Charles Tashiro states that their presence alters the logic according to which film narratives have traditionally been constructed. In other words, the pictorialist logic privileges a fragmentation of the unified filmic illusion into static moments that encourage the viewer to revel in the sensual surface of the image, at the expense of the forward motion of the narrative. Pictorialism also posits a self-conscious spectator, one who is expected to recognize the quotations, and thus be placed at a distance from the narrative, fully aware of the

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technological means used in the manufacturing of the pictorial effect.[386]

Llinás observes that Orduña favored episodic narratives built around *tableaux vivants* that erode a film's textual unity, fostering a contemplative engagement with the text over an immediate, uncritical immersion in the forward drive of the narrative.[387] Téllez, for his part, argues that by incorporating these works of art as *tableaux vivants* into his mise-en-scène Orduña is not so much retelling history but staging the well-known signs (i.e., historical painting) that have previously narrativized and legitimized it. Given the audience's presumed familiarity with the events of the past as they have been codified, sanctioned, and circulated through engravings and schoolbook illustrations, what Orduña's film demands of the spectator, according to Téllez, is not attention to a lesson in history, but a surrender to the emotions evoked and reified by the *tableaux vivants*. Téllez writes:

> Orduña apparently says to us, "You know beforehand what I am about to tell you. Do not expect either a critique of or a divergence from the beliefs that official historiography, through these famous images, once more enforces upon you. Surrender, then, your spectatorial will to the effusion of feeling in which, from this point onwards, they will endlessly surge.[388]

The *tableaux vivants* that Orduña stages in *Locura de amor* interweave history, politics, memory, film, and painting. Roland Barthes discussed the tableau's dual nature: it distills emotion in a powerful, concentrated form

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while disrupting the narrative flow in a self-reflexive manner.[389] The *tableau vivant* is an intellectual entity insofar as it embodies social or moral meanings through the concept of *peripateia*, that instance in the course of the action when all hangs in the balance.[390] Similar to Lessing's "pregnant moment," *peripateia* communicates vividly and unambiguously the moral dilemma at the core of the action. It is this moment of utmost, transcendental meaning, allied to the visual gratification obtained from an aesthetically pleasing composition, that the *tableau vivant* so effectively freezes and sustains. The historical meaning of the depicted action is conveyed by the actor's body through a set of gestures in which past, present and future can be simultaneously apprehended in one grasp; gestures that render this ideal meaning tangible through their very anti-naturalism.

According to Téllez, Orduña regularly conceived and framed many of his shots as autonomous, self-sufficient units modeled after the aesthetics of the *tableau vivant*.[391] *Locura de amor* was Orduña's first attempt at developing this pictorial approach to filmmaking. Queen Juana's life inspired several remarkable canvases by nineteenth-century painters Eduardo Rosales, Gabriel Maureta, Lorenzo Vallés and, most notably, Francisco Pradilla, several of which are quoted by Orduña and incorporated into *Locura de amor*'s

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narrative system in ways that neither Llinás, Seguin nor Téllez fully explore.

Near the end of the film, after Philip expires, Juana paces around the room bidding the courtiers to remain silent less they wake the "sleeping" king. Juana's gesture of signaling silence with a finger pressed to her lips is possibly derived from Vallés' picture La demencia de doña Juana de Castilla (1866, Fig. 3, 4). Of greater narrative significance, two other nineteenth-century paintings, Eduardo Rosales' The Testament of Queen Isabella (1864, Fig. 5) and Francisco Pradilla's Juana La Loca (1878, Fig. 1), stand each as a *tableau vivant* at the beginning and end respectively of Alvar's flashback story, bracketing and suspending, as it were, his narration in art.

Following a lap dissolve from one fireplace to another, the beginning of Alvar's first flashback situates us in a chamber where Queen Isabella is about to expire. Orduña stages Rosales' painting at the center of an elaborate tracking shot that begins at the fireplace, crosses Queen Isabella's bedroom, pausing slightly in front of her deathbed, and ends facing a window lit by a flash of lightning (Fig. 6).[392] The brief pause of the camera underlines both Isabella's death and the *tableau vivant* effect; it draws attention to the scene in terms of its importance to the story, at the same time as it discloses a self-awareness of its contrived, theatrical nature.

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Moreover, it is a gesture that facilitates the viewer's instant of recognition, fostering what Tashiro calls "the social scenario of art historical identification."[393] Meanwhile, on the sound track, Alvar's voice-over narration conjures a kingdom in crisis as the point of departure for his tale: "It began the night when Spain lost Queen Isabella forever . . . and a wind of sad forebodings swept across the land."[394]

At the time of its unveiling in the National Exhibition of 1864, Rosales' painting could be read as a legitimation of the turbulent reign of Isabella II through a tacit association with her legendary namesake.[395] On a formal level, the picture also proposed a return to native pictorial sources —Velázquez— in opposition to the prevalence of French models. The privileged space given to Rosales' painting in *Locura de amor* might be also related to contemporary artistic discourses that revalorized Rosales, a painter who achieved maturity and recognition by abandoning the mimicry of foreign styles to seek inspiration in Spain's native school, as an example for painters of the 1940s to carry out their own renunciation of French avant-garde art in favor of Spain's figurative tradition.[396] Moreover, the use of Rosales' picture tacitly emphasizes the significance and validity for post-Civil War Spain of Isabella's legacy, namely territorial and religious unity, attained, like Franco's, by bloodshed and force.[397]

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Orduña's other *tableau vivant*, an exact replica of Pradilla's Juana La Loca, appears at the very end of the film: Juana, in regal mourning attire, stands over her husband's coffin in a desolate wintry landscape (Fig. 2). The ideological implications of Pradilla's painting are far less evident. Seen within the context of the painter's oeuvre, the picture could simply represent a late Romantic fascination with the eccentric and the morbid; with inordinate passions and transgressive behavior that override the conventions of society.[398] Carlos Reyero observes how Pradilla accentuated the poetic aspects and eerie mode of his subject, in contrast with the celebratory, politically affirmative nature of previous history painting. Reyero also notes that the extraordinary success of Pradilla's picture stemmed from its highly theatrical composition and flamboyant manner, which owed much to the German school of history painting (e.g. Menzel) in contrast to the dramatic restraint of the French school that had been so influential for Spanish artists.[399] Orduña's acute melodramatic sensibility would have been especially attuned to the Romantic excess of Pradilla's work, yet Orduña's invocation of history painting exceeds a mere obsession with madness and necrophilia.

Picturing Femininity

Rosales and Pradilla's paintings share a few features. For one, they embody an ingrained notion of History as the

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chronicle of the lives and deeds of the ruling class. In addition, the protagonists of both canvases are women in positions of power, even though they are portrayed in instances of powerlessness: madness, death. It has become a commonplace to mention that Orduña's historical cinema revolves around powerful female protagonists who, through fate or sheer will, take matters into their own hands.[400] The inclusion of these two paintings in *Locura de amor* underlines the privileged space that femininity already occupies in Orduña's oeuvre.

Brigitte Peucker and Angela dalle Vacche have suggested that pictorial references gender and sexualize the cinema, feminizing it. They have argued that the presence of painting connotes the moving image as feminine because it emphasizes a contemplative reading of the shot that contrasts with the goal-oriented, forward thrust of narrative, which they associate with masculinity.[401] In this sense, Orduña's pictorial citations work to reinforce an identification with femininity that is already implied in *Locura de amor*'s configuration as a melodrama, a genre heavily coded as feminine on account of its thematic exploration of the social and psychic identities of its predominantly female protagonists, in addition to its strong appeal among female audiences.[402] Furthermore, *Locura de amor* juxtaposes and identifies Juana's character with art throughout its course.

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The viewer is first offered a glimpse of Juana's youthful self in the guise of a portrait she is posing for; a tracking shot leads the spectator's gaze away from the canvas towards Juana, who is sitting under a canopy surrounded by her ladies-in-waiting (Fig. 7). There is a sense that from the outset Juana is constituted as image and representation. Moreover, a chain of associative meanings links the female body to art, artifice, and the performative. Orduña's mise-en-scène repeatedly frames actress Aurora Bautista next to or in front of the sinuous outline of gothic arches, the intricacy of stained glass and ornate latticework, and the delicacy of medieval and Flemish altarpieces (Fig. 8, 9).[403] In fact, art not only surrounds Juana as a projection of her self, but serves to exteriorize and amplify across the screen her psychological turmoil when words and gestures do not suffice.[404]

The interaction of narrative, mise-en-scène, and a highly pictorial decor is foregrounded on at least three separate occasions. In one scene at the beginning of Alvar's story, Orduña frames Juana peering at her unfaithful husband through a gothic window, caught in its ornate tracery as in a spider's web (Fig. 10). Banking on the metaphoric power of the decor, this shot introduces the theme of entrapment, which the plot will further develop, especially through the atmosphere of claustrophobia generated by the monumental, somber sets and the heavy draperies (Fig. 11). In a second

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sequence, Orduña plays with deep space and selective focus to stage the conflicting vectors of desire that crisscross the story. Aldara and Philip sit in the foreground, while Juana and Alvar play chess in the distant background. Aldara, who suspects Alvar is in love with the Queen, pretends the Captain has been flirting with her in order to awaken the jealousy of the King and have him banished from the court. As Orduña readjusts the focus, Juana and Alvar are delineated against the pure light streaming though a stained glass window, a possible visual metaphor for their innocence (Fig. 12). In the third sequence Alvar convinces a despondent Juana to rush to the Cortes to save her throne. Confident in her triumph, she clutches the anonymous love letter with which she intends to prove the King's infidelity. Orduña frames her next to a Gothic altarpiece depicting Christ's resurrection, an allegory for the Queen's own rise from defeat (Fig. 13).

The Traumas of History

Yet, if Rosales and Pradilla's pictures formulate, on one level, discourses about femininity, they are also haunted by the specter of death, i.e., Isabella's and Philip's demise. The Queen's death casts an ominous shadow over Alvar's narrative and foreshadows Philip's. In fact, in another instance of Orduña's penchant for parallelisms, Philip's death is staged in nearly identical fashion as Queen Isabella's: after a dissolve to a fireplace, a

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tracking shot leads away from the flames towards the King's bed. Conversely, Orduña's citation of Pradilla's work in *Locura de amor*'s final sequence eschews any camera movement and any physical gesture by the actors, who appear frozen inside the frame. Orduña renders Juana's necrophilia by stalling the forward temporality of the moving image in order to fixate visually on the immobility of the body.[405] Only one element disturbs the anti-cinematic illusion: the smoke drifting from a campfire across the screen.[406]

Jean-François Lyotard has suggested that *tableaux vivants* present their immobile human figures to the spectator as "detached erotic regions." Because for Lyotard the "erotic fascination" aroused by the *tableau vivant* cannot be wholly recuperated, stemming as it does from the form's opposition to the classical narrative economy of repetition and sameness, it must be dissipated, "raised, displayed, and burned in vain."[407] For Lyotard, emotion is thus "a motion towards its own exhaustion, an immobilizing motion, an immobilized mobilization."[408] Is this why Orduña chooses a *tableau vivant* —furthermore, one that thematizes the very notion of an erotic fascination with an immobile (dead) body— to collect and condense the libidinal surplus of his textual system for a final, prolonged combustion of affect?

The ending of *Locura de amor* builds on the tension between motion and stillness that arises from the attempted

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conflation of cinema and painting. Freud defined this wavering between movement and stasis as the hallmark of the Uncanny, the sign of a repressed trauma. Psychoanalyst Judith Lewis Herman contends that the understanding of trauma and its potential cure begin with a rediscovery of history.[409] For cultural historian Stephen Bann, the poetics of history is animated by an analogous dialectics of loss and retrieval.[410] Similarly, *Locura de amor* posits trauma as the source and motivating force of its narrative; its historical poetics is inseparable from an experience of loss, failure, and nonfulfillment.

Alvar's flashback is from the outset couched in grief and regret. Pressed by a troubled King Charles to explain the reasons for his mother's senility, the Captain warns the young sovereign:

> The story is so painful I wish you would excuse me from recounting it. . . . Perhaps my tale will cause you such bitterness that you may never forget it but, after all, it is the story of your own blood.[411]

Unfolding as a working through of trauma, Alvar's story does not seem to question the limited authority it obtains from its status as a private memory. On the contrary, as a simulacrum of official history, it aspires to a collective healing.

Much has been made of Orduña's reiterated and unconventional use of flashbacks, with their shifts in focalization and narratorial authority.[412] The final flashback in *Locura de amor*, for instance, technically never

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returns to the present of its narrative, ending the film in a suspended temporality that violates the conventions of classical cinema. As the story reaches closure, Orduña superimposes a faint frontal close-up of Alvar over a long shot of Juana's retinue as it winds its way through the Castilian landscape. Alvar's final words —"She still lives in fear. She still speaks to him. She still commands us to be silent so he will not wake up"— are no longer directed solely to King Charles, but are now addressed to a spectator conceived in the plural.[413] At the same time the narrative tense is relocated from the past into an ambiguous temporality that conflates the film's present with the audience's. This strategy ultimately positions the viewer as the privileged recipient of Alvar's narrative.[414]

It might be argued that Alvar owes his dominant narrative position to his military status. Naturally, *franquismo*'s vision of history would be focalized and colored by the viewpoint of a soldier, who gets to redress a King's erroneous knowledge of the past and utter a few chauvinistic lines ("Castile cannot be governed by a foreigner") that ought to have rung out in the tense political climate of post-World War II Spain. Certainly the notions of abnegation and service so beloved in the military ethos are in evidence and often exalted (e.g., the dialogue referring to Alvar's heroic actions in Italy under the command of the *Gran Capitán*). Nevertheless Alvar is far from

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an all-powerful hero. Let us take, for instance, his duel with Filiberto de Were. As he rushes to make Philip's coronation public, Filiberto is intercepted by Alvar, who challenges him to an ordeal by swordfight. The narrative could have easily vindicated the virtuous Castilian with a forthright victory. Instead, Alvar's life is spared only by the intervention of Aldara, an infidel, whose dagger pierces Filiberto's back as he readies to strike the Captain dead.

In the ensuing scene, Orduña resolves the conflictive relationship of Alvar, the Christian soldier, and Aldara, the Moorish princess, by means of a reconciliation of "good" and "bad" Spaniard, not on the terms of the first, but on the grounds of a common experience of pain and unrequited love.[415] In fact, neither character obtains their heart's desire nor is immune to the experience of trauma. Having failed to win Alvar over and fully avenge her father's humiliation, one wonders whether Aldara will ever master the voices inside her. For his part, Alvar manages to remain by Juana's side, yet emerges in the end as a pathetic character who has devoted his life and heart to a mad woman incapable of acknowledging or reciprocating his unconditional love: "I have only been able to love one woman in my entire life; a woman who ignores and will never know my feelings."[416]

Melodramas are peopled by characters who endure barren, loveless lives, their hearts and minds attached to elusive objects of desire. Téllez views the female protagonists of

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Orduña's historical melodramas as ever-desiring women motivated by an unrelenting and perpetually thwarted desire.[417] Indeed, all of the major characters in *Locura de amor* are caught in a roundabout circuit of nonreciprocated desire: Queen Juana loves King Philip, who lusts for Aldara, who is enamored of Captain Alvar, who pines for Juana. Short-circuiting the text's pretense at indoctrination through its sheer intensity and audacity, the circularity of this desire echoes the circular presentation of art in a film that opens and closes with the same painting.

Conclusion

Given history painting's role as a repository of a shared notion of community, *franquismo* placed it at the center of its model of national-popular culture. The film industry followed suit and turned out its share of historical pictures. As these recreated the past for present generations, they shaped and fixed national identity, and by and large constructed and defended the hegemony of dominant groups. As I mentioned earlier, some historians and critics have adamantly asserted that Orduña's cinema was compromised with, even deeply engaged in, supporting and promoting Franco's regime; that for all the director's stylistic indulgences and idiosyncrasies, he placed his talent at the service of jingoistic scenarios that legitimized and furthered Franco's agenda. If, as Sánchez Mazas claimed, totalitarian systems espouse a depiction of history tied to

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a hierarchy of memory —what to remember, what to forget—, then Orduña, as these authors suggest, would be guilty of devising the perfect model for *franquismo*'s regulation of the past. Hence the important role that flashbacks play in struturing his historical narratives.

As the product of an artist sympathetic to Francoist cultural politics, a film like *Locura de amor* accordingly epitomized a will to paint history on film. I believe, however, that Orduña's collusion with Francoist ideology, at least as far as *Locura de amor* is concerned, cannot be regarded as a given. Contrary to long-standing perceptions about Orduña's cinema, *Locura de amor* —with its fragmented flashback narrative lacking in a conclusive, authoritative closure— exhibits a formal structure that violates the modus operandi of classical cinema. Llinás and Téllez have said as much, pointing out that Orduña's visual, performative, and emotional excess adds up to a direct assault on and a dismantling of the commitment to realism and transparency that defines dominant cinematic practices.[418] To my mind, *Locura de amor* is not the monolithic discourse it has been taken to be, but a work of surprising complexity. It unfolds as both a polyphonic text, in which contending voices compete for hegemony, and as a palimpsest that discloses, through the character of Aldara, layers of erased past histories.

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The stark polarities so dear to the melodramatic imagination were ideally suited to the manichean worldview of Francoist historical discourses; they enabled Orduña to figure a purging of the forces of Otherness intent on corroding the national fabric. Taking a closer look at *Locura de amor*, however, one finds a familiar but hardly triumphalist episode in Spanish history. Whereas Francoist historicism may have endeavored to reassert harmony at the end of its narratives of struggle and pain, *Locura de amor* resists such closure. Nor does it harbor a utopian vision for a better future; on the contrary, the film ends on the bleakest of notes. Instead of exalting Spain's invincible might in defiance of outside hostility, Orduña exposes the frailty of its most sacred institution.[419] Indeed, film historian Juan Miguel Company has observed that *Locura de amor* revels in an undeniable perversity, as Orduña's strategies work to foster identification with, and demand allegiance to, a mad woman and a necrophiliac to boot! And Company seems to imply that this ostensible perversity redeems Orduña from a complete identification with Francoist ideology by opening up an entry for an alternative, if not resistant, understanding of history that cannot be characterized merely as accommodation. It is precisely here, in the gap between ideology and subversion, where I see the ambiguity of Orduña's cinema emerge.

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Nowhere is *Locura de amor*'s degree of complexity, and Orduña's ideological ambiguity, more blatantly and intriguingly displayed than in his treatment of the character of Aldara, who lies at the center of a struggle over hegemony and consent. Beautiful, defiant and proud, she stands up to Juana dagger in hand and proclaims her Muslim faith and identity. In a marked reversal from the original play's resolution, in the film Aldara never solicits Juana's forgiveness nor undergoes a conversion to Catholicism. Strong and steadfast in her convictions, she chooses voluntary exile in Africa rather than remain in the Spanish court. Subjective as this interpretation may seem, I cannot help but read into Aldara's figure and destiny a (perhaps not so) veiled allusion to more contemporary rebellious "bad" Spaniards. In other words, behind this victim of Queen Isabella's war of *Reconquista* Orduña is conjuring the losers and exiles of Franco's own crusade.

What is perhaps even more remarkable is the empathy that Orduña bestows on Aldara, allowing her in the end to depart with her dignity intact. A shot/reverse shot pattern of medium close-ups renders Alvar, the righteous Christian soldier, and Aldara as equals. What I find most extraordinary is the conciliatory tone of their farewell, in a scene invested with intense romantic wistfulness. In an affirmation of love over vengeance, Aldara leaves with an ecumenical blessing: "Let your God and mine watch over

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us."[420] A rather unorthodox resolution, I must say, from a director who has been so invariably identified with Francoist propaganda. It should stand as a further instance of Orduña's propensity to dilute and submerge ideology in waves of affect.

Furthermore, I want to argue that the scenarios of menaced communities and international conspiracies that recur in Orduña's historical melodramas from the late 1940s are not just allegories of an actual institutional crisis. Above all, they render history as trauma. If the healing of trauma begins with a rediscovery of history, as Lewis Herman has argued, then rather than just indoctrinate audiences in the tenets of *franquismo*, I believe *Locura de amor*'s recreation of history is invested in a healing process partaking of a dynamics of loss and retrieval; a dynamics that structures Alvar's flashback narrative, as it seeks to retrace the cause of Juana's traumatized condition. As the narrative shuttles between past and present, its reframing discloses a diegetic economy inconsistent with classical cinema's return to sameness and identity. Instead, *Locura de amor* subscribes to a different kind of narrative drive, one whose ambiguous, open-ended resolution finds in the *tableau vivant*, i.e, the field of painting, a point of no return.

In 1867 the academician José Caveda declared that in times of civil discord and emotional upheaval artists should depict stirring patriotic spectacles imbued with the energy

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of great passions.[421] In line with Caveda's injunction to the painters of Pradilla's generation, Orduña's historical cinema strives also for intensely dramatic, pictorially saturated represention of history in order to exorcise dark forebodings that threaten to destroy the nation. In 1940 Sánchez Mazas asked that history painters reveal the order or disorder of their time. Is this why Orduña fills *Locura de amor* with *tableaux vivants* that picture a body politic in the throes of crisis?

Certainly Orduña may be accused of carrying out his own aestheticization of politics, dressing a tendentious lesson in history with the sensuous and decorative power of art, yet his interest in history painting transcends the obvious ideological purposes of Franco's conservative artistic discourses. What mainly drew Orduña to Pradilla and Rosales' work is, in fact, an attraction of a different order; one that stems from a common awareness of the rhetorical mechanisms and psychological impact of melodrama. Hence, *Locura de amor*'s declamatory style, its lack of dramatic restraint, its theatrical mise-en-scène, and its overpowering orchestration of highly emotional scenes.

To the extent that we can discern the presence of a "politics of style" in Orduña's cinema, it is a method that reinscribes an anachronistic, nineteenth-century melodramatic sensibility that conceives performance and spectacle as an amalgam of theater and painting epitomized

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by the *tableau vivant*. Its presence in Orduña's film ruptures the cinematic illusion of a whole, unmediated reality, and interrupts the forward flow of the moving images with meta-textual pauses that elide the boundaries between media. The various reframings that result from *Locura de amor*'s discontinuous narrative, its doublings and parallelisms, and its ambiguous, open-ended closure work together to problematize the film's status as official history and discourse. The combined effect of Orduña's heightened theatricality and the hyperbolic emoting he elicits from his performers at the very least sublates its encoded ideology into the realm of affectivity and pathos.[422]

Of course, it could be argued that the overwhelming affect that overtakes and dissolves all other meanings evacuates reason and critical distance as well, precluding objectivity and resistance. On this point Alexandre Cirici Pellicer stated that Fascism made frequent use of stylistic hyperbole and exploited the people's "deep and eternal passion for the theater" to stir irrational emotions that bound the viewer to its ideological program.[423] But the reflexivity that characterizes both Orduña's narrative and pictorialist strategies constructs a spectator that is all but passive and fixed. Indeed, as Llinás has pointed out, Orduña's films require the complicity of their viewers by positioning them as subjects and interpeters of history. Furthermore, I find that *Locura de amor* constructs a

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spectatorial position that fluctuates between distantiation and intense identification. It invokes a spectator overwhelmed one moment with emotion and alienated the next by the blatant artifice, the rhetorical delivery, the stylized acting, and an awareness of the apparatus behind the pictorial effect.

A feminist reading of *Locura de amor* would undoubtedly remark how Juana's voice is elided by Alvar's narratorial authority, how her story is subsumed and retold as his-story. Condemned to madness and silence, a female voice is nevertheless re-inscribed in the domain delimited by Orduña's conjunction of melodrama, theatricality, and painting, insofar as the latter are associated in *Locura de amor*, however arbitrarily and problematically, with femininity. It might even be argued that the film's inability to arrive at a conventional closure manifests the impossibility of a patriarchal voice to fathom and speak for the Otherness of the female psyche. As the verbal yields to the visual, Juana's mandate of silence is fulfilled in the muteness and stillness of the *tableau vivant* that closes the film. Traversed and pervaded by intractable desire —an erotic drive that climaxes in necrophilia—, Orduña's film channels its surplus of affect into the libidinal stasis of painting.

The *tableaux vivants* in *Locura de amor* undoubtedly distill "pregnant moments" —Isabella's demise, Juana's

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mental unraveling— when the fate of Spain hangs in the balance. Their expression of maximum meaning is inseparable as well from an experience of visual pleasure, that is, from Orduña's efforts to stage and obtain aestheticized compositions, seeking perhaps to arouse that "erotic fascination" that Lyotard speaks of. Yet what the *peripateia* proffers in *Locura de amor* is not plenitude but loss. Through painting Orduña builds a crescendo of pathos, from the sorrowful restraint of Rosales' picture to the melodramatic intensity of Pradilla, freezing narrative and history to linger on a woman's mourning. By the end of *Locura de amor,* time stands still as the suffering of the past merges with the present, prolonged for a fraction of eternity. In Orduña's film, history painting becomes intensely cathected as the displaced site of trauma and desire, the locus for a continuous reliving of absence.

The imagined community posited by history painting enabled Orduña to leap from a personal to a national tragedy, from the sorrows of royalty to a collective grief. The success of *Locura de amor* presumably tells us that it met certain social and psychological needs of the Spanish people. Reviewing the film in 1948, Gómez Tello noted that much. *Locura de amor,* he wrote, "signals a landmark in Spain's cinema: the discovery of the public's emotion."[424] Reaching its poignant conclusion at the pictorial intersection of untrammelled eros and death, *Locura de amor*

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dwells on a (communal) feeling of loss and indulges in an overflow of primal emotions that, in my view, resist a straightforward and unilateral interpretation.

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CHAPTER 6

GOYESCAS

Spain's recovering film industry had cause for celebration in the autumn of 1942, for two veteran Spanish filmmakers obtained major prizes at the Venice Biennale. One of them was Benito Perojo (1894-1974), whose film *Goyescas*, a lavish and spirited musical set in early nineteenth-century Spain, was honored with a trophy.[425] *Goyescas*, Perojo's fifth post-Civil War film, was likely conceived as a cultured product for international consumption bearing an imprint, namely the art of Goya, that would be easily identifiable with Spain.[426] In this sense, *Goyescas* has been characterized as a forerunner of the costly and grandiloquent productions usually regarded as the hallmark of Franco's cinema during these early years. I believe, however, there is more to *Goyescas* than first meets the eye, for beneath its polished facade and light tone Perojo's film makes a probing commentary on post-Civil War Spain.

As an artist who has not only come to epitomize Spain's cultural identity[427], but who has also embodied the conflicting political and social forces of its recent past, Goya has been the subject of vindicatory readings from the most disparate ideological positions. The two most common interpretations pit a liberal and progressive painter against a man with deep roots in tradition, popular culture

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and Spain's artistic heritage. This two-sided, contradictory image of Goya has been construed as mirroring the internal rift of Spain's social body into two discordant selves whose enmity came to a head in the Civil War. Although Goya, the individual, is absent from the plot of *Goyescas*, his imagery is present throughout the film in a series of *tableaux vivants* from which Perojo constructs an oblique meta-discourse about Spanish social and cultural identity.

The presence of Goya's art, specifically his tapestry cartoons, gives rise to an unfettered pictorialism and a lively celebration of *plebeyismo* (the embrace of popular culture by Spain's ruling class), *costumbrismo* (the sensibility of genre painting and literature), and *casticismo* (cultural expressions and social practices allegedly imbued with an authentic Spanish essence). But Perojo profits as well from the polyvalence of Goya's art to fashion an allegory about the dueling forces of modern Spanish history that hints at the lingering social hostility of the post-Civil War era. *Goyescas*' protagonists, two women drawn from Goya's pictorial universe, physically alike but of different social stations, literally personify historian Ramón Menéndez Pidal's concept of the "two Spains."[428]

I want to argue that Perojo's metaphoric use of doubling, heightened by the fact that actress Imperio Argentina plays both central characters, not only governs *Goyescas*' narrative but informs its very textual system as

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well, generating a series of recurring antinomies. At the diegetic level, *Goyescas* alternately foregrounds and then disavows social difference and antagonism as it works through the issues of hegemony and consent. On the one hand, the plot advances an organicist view of Spanish society that stresses harmony and co-operation among the classes, yet, on the other, it creates dramatic conflict out of discord and defiance. Moreover, Perojo's dialectical approach manifests itself in *Goyescas*' pairing of escapist storytelling and a self-reflexive, highly stylized mise-en-scène, and in its dialogical articulation of aristocratic and popular voices. At the formal level, just as doubling erodes the boundaries of identity, Perojo's extreme pictorialism tends to collapse painting and film, dissolving one into the other in a precarious fusion of media usually held to be incompatible.

Benito Perojo: Between Tradition and Innovation

Benito Perojo was arguably Spain's most international and peripatetic filmmaker. His ambition and the vicissitudes of Spanish history led him to work in France, Hollywood, Germany, Italy, and Argentina.[429] Perojo's technical skill and professionalism were uncommon among Spanish filmmakers. His command of Hollywood's standardized approach to film production, coupled with his interest in formal experimentation, lent him a reputation as an innovator. Yet he also possessed a knack for devising films with a populist accent that appealed to broad audiences. Film historian

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Román Gubern has defined the Perojo "look" as an amalgam of Spanish content and cosmopolitan gloss. Covering a wide range of themes and genres, Perojo recast subject matter that was undeniably Spanish into a style perceived by many as "foreign."[430]

In spite of his liberal-minded cinema, Perojo not only settled in Francoist Spain but also chose to work in Nazi Germany during the Civil War. However, critics reacted with mixed feelings to the consecutive premieres in the fall of 1939 of the three pictures Perojo made in Germany. Moreover, voices from certain sectors of Franco's power bloc were downright hostile.[431] Perojo's populism may have constituted a successful strategy for the 1930s, but it problematized his re-integration into Spain's film industry under the drastically different circumstances of the 1940s.[432] Yet, because Perojo's cosmopolitan career and worldly attitude perhaps afforded him a critical insight into Spain's situation under Franco, I think his position in regard to Franco's regime was always rather ambiguous. Hence the critical consciousness that I believe permeates *Goyescas*, lending it a depth that belies its taste for spectacle and its picturesque representation of Spain.

Gubern, an admirer of Perojo and the author of the only monograph to date on the filmmaker, detects in *Goyescas* an implicit tension between Perojo's commitment to the humanist, liberal ideals of the Republic and the cultural

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imperatives demanded by the new political climate. However, he ultimately dismisses *Goyescas* as a paean to Spain's artistic heritage made for international festivals and the receipt of government awards. For other present-day critics *Goyescas* signaled a qualitative change from the fresh, hedonistic cinema created by Perojo during the 1930s. Julio Pérez Perucha regards it as a transitional work that combines the best of the Republican cinema —the saucy humor and positive portrayal of popular types— and the worst rhetorical aspects of Francoist film production.[433] On the other hand, Domènec Font's blunt rebuff of *Goyescas* as a vehicle for the reactionary ideology of an agrarian oligarchy is representative of a type of Marxist-inflected criticism that substitutes the impact of broad statements for the subtleties revealed by a close reading.[434]

Goyescas' success in Venice was promptly exploited by the state press to vindicate the new political order, even if the film apparently satisfied few and displeased many.[435] At the official level, *Goyescas* was awarded a prize by the Sindicato Nacional del Espéctaculo, yet it ended in sixth place, at the bottom of the list of recipients. This suggests that somehow — either because of its visual excess, its forthright populism, or its latent meanings— Perojo's film was not entirely to the satisfaction of Franco's film administration.[436] The dailies and the specialized film press were divided on the picture's merits. An editorial in Primer

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Plano strove to deflect criticism of *Goyescas*' evident reliance on certain stereotypes of Spain, but in the eyes of other critics the film scored barely a notch above the average *española*.[437] Luis Gómez Mesa, for instance, praised the beautiful *tableaux vivants* and the atmospheric reconstruction, but decried what he perceived to be Perojo's excessive focus on decor over storytelling.[438]

The Plot

Set in Goya's time, *Goyescas* recounts the story of two women from opposite social backgrounds who cross paths in romantic pursuit of the same man. The film opens inside the auditorium of Madrid's Teatro de la Cruz, where the actress Petrilla is performing for a full house. Among the spectators is the Countess of Gualda, who greatly resembles Petrilla. She is accompanied by her current lover, the Marquis of Nuévalos (Armando Calvo), of whom the actress is also enamored. As Petrilla ends her song, Nuévalos and the Countess depart together for her palace.

Backstage, the Corregidor, piqued by Petrilla's dismissal of his advances, tells the actress of the Marquis' inconstancy. A jealous Petrilla heads off to the Countess' palace to see the truth with her own eyes. At the palace, the Corregidor attempts to arrest Nuévalos but the Marquis fights his way out with his sword, mortally wounding his older rival. His life is now in great danger and he must flee the Court.

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Later in Church, the Countess meets Captain Fernando Pizarro (Rafael Rivelles), an officer from the Royal Corps, and agrees to a rendezvous at the *Verbena de la Paloma*, a popular street fair. When the Countess arrives at the fair, disguised as a *maja*, she is immediately taken for Petrilla. Meanwhile, the real Petrilla discovers the Countess' presence and initiates a singing duel in front of the inn where the noblewoman is hiding with Pizarro. Aroused by Petrilla, a mob storms the inn, but the innkeeper facilitates the Countess' escape through a back door.

Intent on avenging herself of the Countess, Petrilla performs for a Minister in exchange for a favor: a signed order transferring Pizarro to South America. Having accomplished her revenge, Petrilla steals into the Countess' chamber and confronts her rival. She entreats the Countess to reveal Nuévalos' whereabouts, but instead the aristocrat humiliates Petrilla and threatens to expel her from the palace. The singer leaves but not before warning the Countess of her imminent loss. In effect, the Countess learns soon of her lover's sudden transfer overseas. She requests the Queen's intercession and obtains a remission of the Minister's order. Dressed as a man, the Countess rides off in hopes of reaching Pizarro before he boards his ship, but is detained by a band of outlaws. Taken to their lair, she finds Nuévalos in their company. In order to protect her from his fellow bandits, he introduces the Countess as

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Petrilla. When her identity is questioned, she sings a popular tune with such charisma that she is accepted as the *maja*.

The Countess eventually escapes, only to be arrested by soldiers squelching an uprising. Thrown into prison, she stumbles across Petrilla, who has also been incarcerated. Locked together, both women finally come to an understanding. After they are released, the Countess reveals Nuévalos' whereabouts to the singer. The film ends as the Countess is reunited with Pizarro while Petrilla sets off in the company of bandits in search of Nuévalos.

From Opera to Film

Goyescas was loosely based on the homonymous opera composed by Enrique Granados (1867-1916) from a libretto by Fernando Periquet. Perojo and his wife wrote the screenplay, which bears little resemblance to the plot of Granados' work.[439] Originally conceived as a piano suite, Granados' late-Romantic opera effectively fused the elitist and the vernacular. Perojo's film preserved this synthesis by interweaving Granados' graceful melodies (*La maja y el ruiseñor*) with Petrilla's vivacious *tonadillas*.[440] *Goyescas* also adumbrated a new kind of musical, one in which popular and folkloric songs co-existed with classical music. A cursory survey of Perojo's filmography reveals a predilection for musicals, but whereas his earlier works drew from popular-folkloric musical forms (flamenco,

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zarzuelas, the Spanish music-hall tradition), *Goyescas* invokes culturally sanctioned forms like opera.[441]

Perojo's *Goyescas* was ostensibly conceived as a star vehicle for Imperio Argentina, then Spain's most popular actress. She plays a double role, tailor-made for a display of her singing and acting abilities: an aristocrat (inspired by the legendary Duchess of Alba, Goya's muse) and a commoner (possibly based on the famous eighteenth-century singers La Caramba and La Tirana.)[442] In certain ways, *Goyescas* was a representative product of the Spanish cinema of its time. The screenplay laced a convoluted plot, full of intense passions and chance encounters, with plenty of catchy tunes, composed by Rafael de León and Manuel Quiroga. *Goyescas*' hybrid fusion of melodrama, comedy, music and song attested once again to Perojo's mastery of commercial formulas and his instinct for pleasing audiences.[443]

However, *Goyescas* was also highly atypical of Spain's film production up to that time, since Perojo endowed his anecdotal narrative with a self-conscious plastic dimension —choreographed crowds, expensive costumes, elaborate sets, clever special effects, and pictorial references— that transcended the material's limitations. Although Perojo did not fulfill his wish to shoot *Goyescas* in color, his mise-en-scène reveled nonetheless in a luxury and opulence that reflected the influence of the Italian *calligraphic* school of filmmaking and the *kostümenfilm*, the period films of

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Germany's UFA studios.[444] This novel look would be much imitated by Spanish film producers over the next few years.[445]

Goya in context

Both Granados and Perojo drew inspiration for their respective works from the art of Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, whose prestige has at times exceeded even that of Velázquez as Spain's greatest painter. In an interview given later in life, Perojo spoke of his lifelong passion for painting and his admiration of Goya, an artist who has often been equated specifically with the Spanish temperament.[446] Partaking of national and international artistic currents, poised between tradition and modernity, the old and the new, Goya has come to personify intriguing paradigms of divided identity.

In his 1946 study of the tapestry cartoons, art historian Valentín Sambricio distinguished between an eighteenth-century Goya, the author of frivolous and picturesque canvases, and a nineteenth-century Goya, the creator of the haunted Black paintings and *Disparates*.[447] A number of other scholars have envisioned Goya as a breath of renewal in the stagnant panorama of eighteenth-century Spanish art, yet he has also been hailed as the one figure who carried on the creative spirit of the *Siglo de Oro*, the Golden Age of Spanish art and literature.[448] The nineteenth-century historian Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, who is

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regarded as the architect of conservative political thought in Spain, was among the first to express most forcefully this twofold assessment of Goya's position:

> Our painting, the creative élan of our race, was exhausted after the splendor achieved in the Golden Age . . . until, by the will of God, the genius of Goya came along to awaken it from the morose slumber in which it had fallen. . . . He alone, without disciples or followers, opposed to all yoke or doctrinal precepts . . . was at the same time the last sapling of the national genius and the arrogant incarnation of the revolutionary spirit.[449]

Thus, Goya embodied for Menéndez y Pelayo both the epitome and epilogue of a national artistic tradition.

Goya's paradoxes and ambiguities facilitated a degree of malleability that enabled opposite ideologies to co-opt him for their particular agendas. Beginning in the nineteenth-century, conservatives and xenophobic nationalists, liberals and leftists alike, all claimed Goya as one of their own. Ideological readings of the Aragonese painter alternately conjured Goya, the *afrancesado,* (the admirer of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution), or Goya, the *castizo* (the man of the people and a lover of Spanish traditions).[450] Renowned Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset (1883-1955) remarked upon Goya's predicament, torn between a desire to embrace modernity and an attraction towards the ancestral traditions of popular culture. In Ortega's view, Goya's alienation from his plebeian roots, originating in contacts with his aristocratic patrons and his friendship with the *ilustrados,*

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the supporters of the Enlightenment, provided the painter with the reflexivity required to apprehend "the particular mode of living that is essentially Spanish." This critical distance was possible because Goya "had ceased to have a typically Spanish outlook."[451]

On the other end of the interpretative spectrum, Goya's popular origins and his professed love of popular culture sustained the trope of a plebeian Goya, which served a wide range of political positions in the 1920s and '30s, ranging from the revolutionary reading of a Marxist critic like Francis Klingender to the conservative populism of Spanish writers Ernesto Giménez Caballero and Ramón Gómez de la Serna.[452] For Giménez Caballero, Goya's democratic convictions compelled him to transform the grand ladies of Spain into *majas*. He writes:

> (Goya) becomes a lover of the ladies of Spain's ancient aristocracy to humble them, to vanquish them by placing mantillas and fans in their hands. . . . He makes them popular, *majas*, women of the people.[453]

Ramón Gómez de la Serna depicted Goya as an anarchist and outlaw, an enemy of priests and officers. In Gómez de la Serna's view, the loose brushwork, vibrant colors, and impressionistic luminosity of his painterly style "pave the way for the understanding of democracy."[454] To Gómez de la Serna's eyes, the tapestry cartoons in particular represent "Goya's lyrical hour when he faces the smiling and human side of life." The jolly, carnivalesque world of the cartoons evokes a hedonistic public sphere infused with the

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vitality of the people and marked by tolerance and peaceful co-existence.[455]

Gómez de la Serna's optimistic populism arguably drained Goya's era of its complexities and idealized it as a Golden Age of festive *verbenas* (street fairs) and alluring *majas*. Yet it is an outlook whose full significance can only be gauged if it is pitted against the dystopia that reigned in Spain after 1936. Gómez de la Serna wrote: "Invoking his name, another Madrid emerges from present-day Madrid and another Spain from today's Spain."[456] In 1928, the date Gómez de la Serna first published his biography of Goya, this reference to "another Madrid" and "another Spain" may have simply bespoken the author's nostalgia for a pre-industrial world of innocence and harmony. However, reading this passage in the revised edition of 1937 one is struck by an added meaning, an unexpected measure of poignancy and melancholia accrued as a result of the Civil War. At a time of crisis, Gómez de la Serna looks up to Goya as a beacon of reason and hope in the midst of madness and despair.

That same year, 1937, as war raged in Spain, poet José Bergamín wrote an impassioned essay in the Republican cultural journal Hora de España that exalted Goya's painting as the transparent revelation of the revolutionary spirit of the Spanish people. For Bergamín Goya's painting was never more relevant, for as Spaniards struggled against the forces of obscurantism, the art of Goya would incite the masses to

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oppose and destroy the old world –the Goyaesque phantasmagoric triad of capitalism, militarism, and clericalism– and usher in a new era of freedom.[457] According to such a reading, Goya's paintings commemorating the martyrs of the War of Independence against Napoleon's invading troops (*The Second of May, 1808* and *The Third of May, 1808*, both painted in 1814) foreshadowed the revolutionary fight of the people of Madrid against Franco's armies. Bergamín wrote: "I doubt that anyone without personal experience of the popular revolutionary fervor that Spaniards live and share could understand the full meaning and the permanent value that Goya's painting has for us today."[458]

In the aftermath of the Civil War, Goya's appropriation by opposing sectors of Franco's regime rendered ever more patent the painter's ideological duality. Such was the case when two Francoist art historians, Valentín Sambricio and the Marquis of Lozoya, clashed in their assessments of Goya during the bicentennial commemorations of his birth in 1946. Sambricio vehemently disclaimed that Goya had ever been an *afrancesado*, that is, a lover of foreign, progressive ideas. Conversely, the Marquis of Lozoya, observing that Goya lived at a time when Spain was most receptive to ideas and influences from abroad, highlighted the universal aspects of the painter's art over an anecdotal *casticismo*.[459]

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Throughout the 1940s diehard conservatives underscored Goya's roots in and connections to vernacular culture and Spain's art historical legacy. Less dogmatic art critics acknowledged that Goya was a forerunner of important tendencies of modern art, but some displayed shameless chauvinism in reclaiming through him Spain's role in the genesis of modern painting.[460] Finally, others, including artists with avant-garde leanings, interpreted Goya's plastic innovations as expressions of an inner revolt against the absolutist political system of his time, a stance that provided an ethical and even political model to legitimize and foster resistance to Franco's present.[461] Thus, in the rarefied climate of the early post-Civil War period any discourse on Goya, even one emanating from the circle of power, reverberated with nuances and exhibited the potential for a historical reflection pregnant with contradictory, even dissident meanings.

Plebeyismo

Discourses on Goya in the 1940s were intertwined with an updated re-interpretation of the eighteenth-century phenomenon known as *plebeyismo*.[462] The ubiquitous presence of Spain's aristocracy in theaters, bullfights, popular religious festivities, and *verbenas* (street fairs) during Goya's lifetime has been much remarked upon by social historians.[463] Novelist and essayist Carmen Martín Gaite speculates that such a variation in social decorum may have

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been prompted by the growing presence of foreign visitors in Spain after two centuries of isolationism. Traveling across the country in the late 1700s, these adventurous tourists were the first to draw attention to local folklore and music. Spain's aristocracy followed suit.[464]

Ortega y Gasset, on the other hand, located *plebeyismo*'s origins in an inward turn of Spain's culturally isolated élite, which resulted in a recovery of native traditions and a concomitant rejection of new ideas coming from abroad. For Ortega y Gasset *plebeyismo* constituted an abdication of political and moral leadership on the part of Spain's upper classes. This *invertebrate* condition, by which the high adopted the culture of the low as their own, was responsible, in Ortega's mind, for Spain's backwardness and cultural stagnation.[465]

Either way, this realignment of taste enabled a segment of Spanish high society from the 1770s onwards to see their own traditions in a new, positive light, in opposition to other members of the ruling class who eagerly adopted French vogues in dress, speech, music, and literature. Men and women from the lower class, commonly known as *majos* and *majas*, positioned themselves as true heirs to a pure Iberian essence and confronted with open hostility the alien lifestyles promoted by a cosmopolitan and progressive minority. Captivated by the *majos*' arrogant and defiant manner, certain sectors of the aristocracy adopted their

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attitude as the paragon of style.[466] In the second half of the eighteenth century, the acclaimed *sainetes* (short, non-musical theatrical interludes) by playwright Don Ramón de la Cruz (1731-1794) popularized the body language and slang of *majos* and *majas* to the point that they were gradually coded as *castizos*, the authentic vehicles of a quintessentially Spanish popular spirit.

The vogue of *plebeyismo* among Spain's aristocrats, and their contingent appropriation of popular culture, is fraught with multiple, complex meanings.[467] Menéndez y Pelayo perceived the aristocracy's *casticismo* as a reaction against alleged threats posed to "the most genuine and ingrained traditions of the Spanish people."[468] According to this conservative viewpoint, the Enlightenment exerted a detrimental effect on Spanish society by introducing alien customs and ideas. In response the aristocracy assumed the role of defender and preserver of Spain's cultural heritage against foreign contamination. This convergence and conflation of high and low culminated in a hypostatizing of plebeian culture as the repository of *casticismo*, the essence of Spanish identity. Under this paradigm, the *sainetes* of De la Cruz, and by extension Goya's early painting, were construed by Menéndez Pelayo as "a faithful and poetic reflection of the national elements that remained in that confused and motley society."[469]

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In Goya's lifetime certain manifestations of *plebeyismo*, especially those that encouraged the mixing of classes, the dissolution of hierarchies, and the blurring of identity, were not always countenanced with sympathy from the seat of power.[470] Franco's cultural policies invoked the phenomenon of *plebeyismo* with a comparable ambivalence that mirrored the contending ideological positions within the ruling bloc. For militants of Falange, Spain's Fascist party, *plebeyismo* smacked of Bolshevism; its abrogation of rank required a reestablishment of hierarchies.[471] For conservative writers like Valentín Sambricio, José Llampayas, Agustín Serrano de Haro, and Rafael Calvo Serer, *plebeyismo* functioned as a myth that counteracted the left-wing populism espoused by the Popular Front during the final months of the Second Republic. *Plebeyismo* affirmed a commonality of interests and goals across the social spectrum and stressed unity and nationalism against external influences and radical politics. All these concepts were key components of Falangist ideology.

Sambricio located the origins of *plebeyismo* in "a continued and prolonged contact [of the aristocracy] with the people, in the frequent interaction and laughter at their jokes, in the mimicry of their tastes and language, in a virtual living of their life."[472] Llampayas cautioned against a liberal interpretation of this phenomenon and proposed instead an essentialist reading:

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> To call it a democracy would be improper since it predates and exceeds any law or politics. . . . The duchesses went to taverns and dressed as *majas* because the spice of Lavapies ran through their veins, not because they read Rousseau.[473]

Thus by the 1940s Francoist intellectuals like Sambricio and Llampayas could summon a tame model of *plebeyismo* that concurred with Menéndez y Pelayo's reading of Goya's cartoons as a "faithful reflection of the *national* [my emphasis] elements" in Spanish society. In an indirect manner such a move reclaimed Goya's paintings as manifestations of the aesthetic sensibility of Franco's *Nacionales*. Against the backdrop of Fascist xenophobia, *majas* and *manolas* become women "who thought and felt in Spanish" in contrast to the aristocratic ladies enamored of French fashion.[474] In this climate a film like *Goyescas* could be commended as "a faithful and evocative reflection of one of Spain's most important eras in which the classic and profound native style born from the people's very entrails rose against foreignizing attitudes and the ridiculous and effeminate fashion that the French attempted to impose."[475] If *plebeyismo* emerged in the eighteenth century in response to an identity crisis, its post-Civil War variation likewise sought to contain the desire "to be what one is not."[476]

Perojo's *Goyescas* vividly conjures the tropes of *plebeyismo*, evoking the era when charismatic interpreters of *tonadillas* like Petrilla were the toasts of Madrid.[477] The world of the stage, by drawing a cross-section of Spanish

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society into close contact, provided a privileged space for the interaction of the ruling class and its subalterns. It is perhaps not a coincidence that Perojo begins his film in a theater and that its protagonist, Petrilla, is a *tonadillera* (Fig. 14). As an actress, she possesses privileged access to both high and low, from marquises and ministers to bullfighters and outlaws.

Doubling

In one scene from *Goyescas* the Countess professes her *plebeyismo* to Captain Pizarro during their first meeting, stating her predilection for *fiestas populares*. Perojo skillfully capitalizes on the role playing and social inversion that are integral to the Countess' *plebeyismo* as an entry point into the theme of doubling and exchangeable identities. At the *verbena* the Countess uses her command of *majo* slang to deceive the innkeeper, who has taken her for Petrilla. This "biculturality" will come in handy at a subsequent moment when, captured by bandits, the Countess sings a popular song so convincingly that the thieves allay their suspicions and accept her as the *tonadillera*.[478]

On one level, Perojo milks the equivocations resulting from the protagonists' physical resemblance for their greatest entertainment value. The sight of Imperio Argentina coming face to face with herself on screen may have been fascinating to Spanish spectators, and, of course, in terms of the narrative it gives rise to a number of gags and plot

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twists that propel the story forward. Yet doubling is inscribed into Perojo's film in ways that transcend this gimmick, for it enables a frank venting of social antagonism and the enunciation of a class-based identity. By positing two characters of different standing who are so alike as to be indistinguishable and interchangeable, *Goyescas* enacts a destabilizing transaction of identities, and, within the limits allowed by Francoist censorship, portrays a world where hierarchy is challenged and difference contested.[479]

In the beginning of the film, during a visit to Petrilla's dressing room, the Corregidor informs the *tonadillera* of her uncanny resemblance to the Countess. If the latter were to don the attire of a *maja*, he says, there would be no way of telling them apart.[480] The potential for confusion and confrontation is first fully realized in the *verbena*, when the innkeeper mistakes the Countess for Petrilla thanks to her ability to speak in lower-class slang. Perplexed by the deception, he unwittingly enrages Captain Pizarro with a statement that renders Petrilla an equal to the Countess.[481] This very equality is what Perojo's film, in my view, declares and disputes, flaunts and disavows.

As Spanish film historian Félix Fanés has pointed out, the theme of the double surfaces with regularity in the Spanish cinema of the 1940s. Following in the footsteps of Kracauer's pioneering study on Weimar cinema, From Caligari

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to Hitler, Fanés identifies this recurring motif as the projection of inner fantasies and compulsions. He believes that Spaniards reacted to the trauma of the Civil War with denial and a rejection of personal responsibility, displacing political anxieties and guilt onto the psychic field by means of a collective process of negotiation.[482] This act of disavowal, evinced by the virtual silence on the conflict in the early Francoist cinema, triggered repeating scenarios of equivocation and ambiguity and a corresponding flight into worlds of fantasy and escapism that banished the dire conditions of post-Civil War life from the screen. Hence the motif of the double recurs in musicals, romantic comedies, and adventure films, but not in realist dramas of everyday life.

Gubern also reads the presence of the double in *Goyescas* as a surreptitious allusion to the war, although less in psychoanalytic than socio-political terms. According to Gubern, the double allowed Perojo to represent the interaction of two opposite spheres, aristocratic Spain and plebeian Spain, with a singular degree of freedom and audacity.[483] For instance, Perojo's sympathetic treatment of the character of Petrilla seems particularly daring to Gubern: works that depicted the aspirations of the lower classes with empathy and dignity were often denounced in 1940s' Spain as Bolshevik propaganda. In this respect, he asserts that Perojo's invocation of *plebeyismo* cannot be

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regarded as an innocent or neutral gesture. Rather it becomes an essential component of a veiled yet sustained critique of the prevailing climate.[484] Furthermore, Gubern sees the text's emphasis on the ambiguities of role-playing as an oblique portrait not only of the turmoil of early nineteenth-century Spain, but, more importantly, of the commotion and uncertainty reigning in the 1940s. For this was a period when people were known to switch allegiances and assume new political identities in order to survive in Franco's new order.[485] In light of this, Gubern concludes: "*Goyescas* is the great specular film of post-Civil War Spain."[486]

In another intriguing hypothesis, historian Paloma Aguilar suggests that Franco's legitimization of his victory and power was based on an institutionalized schism. *Franquismo* refuted interpretations of the war as a fratricidal conflict, rationalizing it instead as a justified crusade against the country's deliverance to foreign, atheist powers. Yet the regime's celebration of national unity and social harmony was irrevocably tied to its antithesis, an emphasis on difference. Its repressive internal policies clearly separated the winners of the war from the losers, "true" Spaniards from traitors, continuously replaying the opposition of a righteous *us* against the infamous *them*.[487] To Aguilar's mind, such manichaeism ultimately hindered social integration.

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While Gubern offers valuable insights to a consideration of doubling, I believe Aguilar and Fanes' theses, each in their own way, best elucidate the schizophrenic nature of *Goyescas*' plot: its paradoxical denial of, and yet its simultaneous insistence on *difference*. Earlier in the film, the singing duel at the inn between Petrilla and the Countess facilitates a rare airing of social tension under the guise of witty repartee.[488] Shortly afterwards, both women meet in Gualda's palace and all the preceding elision of identity is now countered by an aggressive insistence on *difference*. As they face off, Petrilla reminds the Countess of their basic equality, to which the latter responds by reasserting her aristocratic superiority (Fig. 15).[489]

Negotiating Closure

Although most films foster a degree of oscillation in spectatorial identification between various characters, *Goyescas* makes this mobility the very core of its diegesis. As the focalization shifts throughout the story between Petrilla and the Countess, the viewer is positioned in one station and then in another. As spectators of a bivalent fiction, we at times see the world from Petrilla's point of view, but at a later moment we are induced to empathize with the Countess' predicament. Finally, we find ourselves located at times in a site, that of masquerade, where difference collapses. Indeed, *Goyescas* persistently works to

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"unfix" any pre-given identification and world view, any one univocal meaning. In a way, the spectator's own split process of identification replicates the process of doubling that structures Perojo's narrative.

As *Goyescas* heads towards closure, a chance encounter leads to a truce. Locked up in the same jail, the Countess offers Petrilla an olive branch that requires the singer's recognition of the difference she previously denied.[490] After they escape together, Petrilla secures the Countess' freedom and then joins the outlaws to find Nuévalos. The ending alternates between scenes involving the two women:

a) The Countess arrives at the Palace of Aranjuez. In a long shot she climbs an imposing staircase to meet Pizarro at the top.

b) The film cuts to a frontal medium shot of Petrilla riding in a cart and gaily singing to the accompaniment of jingling horse bells.

c) The next shot is a close-up of the Countess and Pizarro in profile as they are about to kiss.

d) Perojo follows with another medium shot of Petrilla in the cart, then an inserted close-up of her face, a return to the medium shot, and a long shot of the cart riding into the forest.

e) The film ends with an extreme long shot of Pizarro and the Countess standing at the top of the staircase.

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On first viewing, *Goyescas* apparently concludes with a reconciliation of opposites and a celebration of social harmony, a key component of Falange's platform. Gubern, however, finds a somber and unequal resolution at work. In spite of all the plot's twists and turns, each woman returns to her proper place and the social order is eventually re-affirmed. Yet while the Countess is reunited with her lover and their affair is bathed in the light of certitude, Petrilla sets off alone, headed towards a dark forest, to join an outlaw in less than promising circumstances. Gubern reasons that, in spite of the text's persistent flirting with equivocal identities and class mobility, the political climate dictated a final underlining of the women's disparate social ranks.[491]

Given the director's choice of framing, musical cues, and spatial composition, I believe many contemporary spectators would doubtless have found the "happy ending" equally unconvincing. In the film's final shot, the Countess and Pizarro, situated at the top of a staircase like a monument on a pedestal, seem dwarfed by the grandiose set. Their isolation and distance from the foreground, in addition to their privileged height, endows the pair with the atemporality and inevitability of myth, but also with its remoteness. Conversely, our last image of Petrilla is framed in a medium shot, which is preceded by a close-up. This immediacy brings her nearer to the spectator and

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intentionally stresses her humanity. And even though the soundtrack's final chords shift musical registers from Petrilla's popular tune to Granados' elegiac music, the potentially radical lyrics of Petrilla's ditty are not wholly defused by the film's efforts at closure. As she is about to vanish into the forest she sings:

> As I head forward I am searching, I am searching
> for eyes as black as contraband, as contraband
> although I fear I shall not resist the sight of those eyes
> and become forever a contrabandist.[492]

Perojo softens the uncertainty of Petrilla's future with merry music, yet, by speaking so casually of becoming a contrabandist for love, her ditty assumes a measure of subversiveness.[493] Can we read here a genuine celebration of an illegal, marginal lifestyle mediated through colorful Romantic stereotypes?[494] Although Perojo's conclusion and viewpoint are vague, perhaps intentionally so, the open-ended fate of Petrilla, the film's truly sympathetic character, cancels a neat closure and undermines the tagged-on "happy ending." Contemporary spectators surely could not have entirely missed Perojo's strategy. Countering the text's pretense of conciliation and parity, *Goyescas*' unbalanced resolution mirrors the contradictions of a divided society whose government did not foster equality.

Perojo's Pictorialism: Doublings in the Visual Field

Beyond actual and metaphoric bodies, Perojo carries doubling and the dissolution of boundaries into the field of

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sound and vision through the intersection of aristocratic and popular culture, opera and *tonadilla*, and especially painting and film. *Goyescas* expands the intertextuality of Granados' opera to a dialogue between painting and cinema with few parallels in the history of Spain's cinema.[495] To my mind, Perojo's recourse to pictorialism, what Antonio Costa terms *l'effeto pitturato*[496], is not mere formalism or middle-brow kitsch. Rather the infusion of painting into the mise-en-scène performs in the visual plane a dissolution of boundaries between media (film and painting) analogous to the one effected at the level of identity by masquerade and doubling.

Motifs drawn from nineteenth-century genre painting figure in scenes from *Goyescas* such as the *verbena*, the tavern, and the bandit's lair (Fig. 16, 17). Lighting and set design work together to recreate the vibrant, colorful atmosphere of plebeian life so vividly rendered by the painters of Romantic *costumbrismo*.[497] For instance, Perojo uses deep space to portray the bustle inside an inn. As the main characters converse in the foreground, popular types move about in the background (Fig. 18). Later on, dramatic chiaroscuro lighting is used to convey the ominous atmosphere of the bandits' hideout, while low camera angles emphasize the outlaws' threatening physicality.

Works by Goya first appear as the background to the opening credits: the film's title, cast and technical

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credits are printed successively over eleven flipping tapestries while Granados' music is heard on the soundtrack (Fig. 19).[498] The next overt reference to Goya's painting occurs with a dissolve from Petrilla's dressing-room to a room in the Countess' palace: a tracking shot forward closes in on Imperio Argentina lying on a couch in the position of *The Clothed Maja* (Fig. 20, 21). Her body is in repose until her lover, Nuévalos, enters the frame from the left and sits by her side. The transition from stasis to motion accentuates the tableau-like effect but adds as well a degree of eroticism to a highly sensuous image.

Perojo deploys this technique to interesting effect on several other occasions. A subsequent pictorial reference recalls the portrait of the Duchess of Alba (now in New York's Hispanic Society). Here Goya's canvas is transformed into a mirror reflection of the Countess adjusting her veil and the initial moment of stillness contributes again to a tableau-like impression (Fig. 22, 23). Moreover, the frame of the mirror doubles as the picture's frame in a trompe l'oeil effect that stages as well a *mise-en-abîme* (the introduction of a representation into the visual field of another representation, duplicating an aspect of the latter). The indeterminacy of space heightens the image's ambiguity and momentarily destabilizes the spectator's perception.

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Perojo gives free rein to his love of Goya's art in the *verbena* sequence. It opens with panning shots of *majos* and *majas* strolling across a forest to the sound of popular music and songs. A number of famous paintings and cartoons (*The Puppet, La Gallina Ciega*) are distinctly quoted (Fig. 24, 25), while others, such as *The Picnic* or *Dance by the Manzanares River,* are alluded to indirectly. For instance, *The Walk in Andalusia* (Fig. 26) is enacted with Petrilla as a stand-in for the maja (Fig. 27). In these explicit quotes, Perojo resorts again to the transition from stasis to motion as a self-conscious means to emphasize the artistic reference.

In his most elaborate and sophisticated pictorial allusion Perojo uses a superimposition effect to evoke metaphorically and qualify the myths of *plebeyismo.* Retiring to her chamber, the Countess sits at the piano to play Granados' haunting melody, *La maja y el ruiseñor.* As she sings, curtains in the background above her become a screen upon which shadows of dancing *majos* and *majas* are projected. The ballet gives way to the moving silhouette of *La Gallina Ciega* (Fig. 28), which in turn dissolves into a slow-motion depiction of *The Puppet,* before fading out. Staged to resemble a projection within a film, this *mise-en-abîme* effect collapses painting and cinema, or rather makes cinema out of painting. At the same time, the mise-en-scène articulates a juxtaposition of aristocratic and popular

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culture as a reverie in which "high" and "low" are momentarily reversed, at least in the space of the frame, if not in the actual social order (Fig. 29). Moreover, the makeshift screen functions not only as a kind of filmic tapestry, alluding as it does to the tapestries made from Goya's cartoons, but also as a self-reflexive nod to the very origins of the cinematic apparatus: the shadows of the magic lantern.

A Politics of Style: Femininity, Spectacle, and Masquerade

Perojo's pictorialism is the most visible aspect of his self-reflexive filmmaking and of the alternative the latter poses to standard film practices. Although in essence *Goyescas* adheres to the model of the "classical cinema" through its use of linear narrative causality and spatial and temporal continuity, it shuns a realist aesthetics in favor of artifice, spectacle, and theatricality. In other words, *Goyescas* is a film that works to introject the theatrical into the quotidian, foregrounding performance and a self-conscious formalism, what Marcia Landy describes in the context of Italian Fascist cinema as a "politics of style."[499] Indeed, Imperio Argentina's characterization of Petrilla exploits the theatrical aspects of the *majos*' demeanor, language, and costumes, highlighting the performative qualities inherent in their expressions of *casticismo* (Fig. 30).

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Landy's term seems to suggest a political component to the emphasis on style she observes in many films made under Fascism. Were we to look at Perojo's love of theatricality for an underlying political agenda aligned with Francoist ideology, we could possibly find it in the manner whereby the folklore of specific gestures, utterances, and artistic expressions is made to signify a Spanish identity rooted in a popular, ethnic essence. The inclination to locate the substance of "Spanishness" in the idioms and practices of a *völkish* community was a key ideological tenet of Falange. In this sense, *Goyescas*' "politics of style" is not unlike the celebration of Spain's ethnic identity and popular culture that Sambricio and Llampayas read into Goya's cartoons.

Perojo links femininity inextricably to *Goyescas*' "politics of style." The film's foregrounding of performance, theatricality and masquerade squares with standard representations of female identity on film.[500] It is not a coincidence, for instance, that Perojo's film highlights Goya's tapestry cartoons, with their evident formal affinities to Rococo art, a style whose emphasis on ornate surfaces and contours, pastel colors, lightness of touch, and attention to nature and domestic spaces connotes femininity. Moreover, the Rococo flavor of the cartoons perfectly suits a film so reminiscent of an operetta, a genre also coded as feminine.

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Furthermore, the female body serves as the chief site for Perojo's technological virtuosity. *Goyescas* opens with a dolly shot towards the stage where Petrilla is presenting herself as spectacle to a diegetic audience. Perojo then embarks on a long lateral tracking shot whose final destination is the Countess. Other sequences that apply Perojo's mastery of the apparatus to the representation of femininity include the *tableau vivant* recreating *The Dressed Maja* and the one involving the portrait of the Duchess of Alba (Fig. 18 & 21). Whether it is through the erotically charged stillness of the Maja or the ideologically resonant image of an aristocrat proudly donning national attire, *Goyescas* appears to link and conflate femininity, painting, and the cinematic apparatus in a semantic and visual continuum.

In this sense, Goya's canvases and cartoons are the requisite foil for Perojo's exhibitionism of technical prowess (dollies, tracking shots, wipes, superimpositions, and trick photography) and the site of specular, trompe l'oeil, and *mise-en-abyme* effects. Insofar as Perojo conjures painting, in the guise of *tableaux vivants*, to halt motion and suspend temporality, *Goyescas* flaunts the filmmaker's godlike powers of reshaping the natural order of things. At the same time, Perojo's film demonstrates the control a male-identified technology like the cinema can

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wield over an art form that has often been associated with the feminine.

Perojo's fetishization of the cinematic apparatus harked back to the beginning of his career.[501] In *Goyescas*, however, Perojo's extreme self-reflexive use of the apparatus seems to betray an uneasiness over the cinema's condition as a mass medium and its legitimacy as an art form. Does this anxiety point to an aesthetic crisis stemming from the collapse of the democratic values that sustained Perojo's previous works? For all its desire to entertain and its inclusion of popular themes, *Goyescas* undoubtedly aspired to the status of high art. Just as Goya elevated popular culture for the enjoyment of his aristocratic patrons, Perojo takes the cinema, an eminently low art form, and envelops it in technical wizardry and the aura of painting presumably in order to please his aristocratic backers and attract a high-brow audience. And yet, as in plebeyismo, popular culture remains the locus of this operation of embellishment and commodification.

Walter Benjamin praised the destruction of the aura of the traditional work of art, that is, its organic, autonomous nature and ritualistic function, realized by the reproductive capabilities of modern technology. He perceived an emancipatory potential in technologically-driven art forms with popular appeal like the cinema. In *Goyescas*, however, Perojo relies on the very technology welcomed by

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Benjamin because of its alleged subversive effect for a celebration of painting that ironically restores to film the organic quality that, Benjamin claimed, it dissolved in the first place. Read this way, I want to argue that Perojo's technological bravura, which is mostly centered on the visual field of painting, works to counter the cinema's loss of aura. It disavows the medium's base origins in mass culture, and even seeks to play down *Goyescas*' affirmative representation of plebeian life at a historical conjuncture in Spain when images of the popular were fraught with controversy.

Picturing Hegemony

Although Perojo's pictorialism seemingly privileges the aesthetic, *Goyescas* is not entirely devoid of an historical and ideological dimension. The centennial of Goya's death in 1928 was an important event in Spain's cultural life. A retrospective at the Prado Museum drew large crowds and generated countless essays on the Aragonese painter. Among these I shall spotlight two divergent perspectives that foreshadow *Goyescas*' critical reception. In 1928 writer Guillermo Díaz-Plaja made the following comment:

> Velazquez is a Spaniard for Spaniards. Goya is a Spaniard for tourists. In Goya we can find all the elements of what is thought to be typically Spanish, all the topics needed to paint a crude, picturesque portrait of Spain. Bullfighters, majas, witches, horsemen, knives, fans, nothing is missing.[502]

That same year Ernesto Giménez Caballero declared that Goya, an artist whom he described as "the pathetic, most tragic

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and interesting personification of our national life," had caused Spaniards to reassess their entire history.[503] In another conflation of artist and community, Giménez Caballero resorts to Goya's divided self to allegorize Spain's own, ongoing schism.

As we have seen, Perojo's *Goyescas* was often assessed in the basic terms of Díaz-Plaja's argument, i.e., as a postcard-like representation of Spain's cultural heritage. If part of Goya's appeal abroad lay in the manner in which his painting both constructed and reaffirmed stereotypes of Spain, *Goyescas* was likewise seen to participate in the semiotic operations of the *españolada*: the recreation of a picturesque image of Spain for the entertainment of foreign viewers and the confirmation of preconceived notions of "Spanishness."[504] *Goyescas* could thus be dismissed as a "Spanish film for tourists." However, if we turn to Giménez Caballero's musings, a sharper and more profound view of Perojo's picture comes into focus.

In bringing Goya's *majas* and *majos* to life, I believe Perojo was articulating a discourse on the interface of antagonistic groups in Spanish society, thereby indirectly questioning the post-Civil War status quo built around the appearance of consensus. Perojo cannily summons Goya's pictorial universe to limn the hostility and interdependence of "the two Spains." Evidently his homage to Goya is selective, focusing on the pictures of *majas* and the

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tapestry cartoons. In these works, painted for the enjoyment of the nobility, aristocrats and a vibrant subculture of plebeian types appear side by side in harmonious co-existence, eliding a reality far more riven by social tensions. Whether adorned with a simple mantilla, dressed as a *maja* in a *verbena*, or singing *tonadillas*, the Countess in *Goyescas* stands as a comforting, self-affirming reflection of a ruling class staunchly protective of a particular tradition and invested in token displays of *casticismo*. Such an ideological position is not surprising in a film financed in part by aristocratic investors. Moreover, it echoes *franquismo*'s nationalist and organicist view of society, one that stressed integration and co-operation among the social bodies.

Goya's early paintings lent themselves to such an interpretation, but also conveyed, as the populist readings of Giménez Caballero and Gómez de la Serna suggest, an incipient democratic world view and contained the germ for a counter-discourse of popular life less susceptible to *franquismo*'s instrumentalization. In *Goyescas* the interaction of high and low seems conceived less as mutual admiration and more as a succession of strategic clashes and alliances. Indeed, the volatile rapport between Petrilla and the Countess must be understood as a dynamic, mobile and conjunctural agreement of social subordination along the lines of Gramsci's theory of hegemony. For Gramsci,

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subaltern consent is contingent and tends to shift over time, so the incorporation of dominated groups into the hegemonic order of the ruling class must be renegotiated along the way.[505]

Perojo's acknowledgement of the workings of hegemony is never less than ambiguous, but social friction is not totally expunged from *Goyescas*. Aroused by Petrilla's inflammatory words, *majos* and *majas* assault the inn where the Countess and Pizarro have their rendezvous, although in the end popular discontent is displaced onto the innkeeper and aestheticized into a diversion that re-enacts *La gallina ciega*, Goya's cartoon of a mannequin tossed in a blanket (Fig. 22). *Goyescas* seems to recognize that power relations are never fixed; they fluctuate and require that dominant groups overcome resistance to their power and reassert their privileges through a combination of interpellation, seduction, diversion, and co-optation.

Yet there is another remarkable incident of mass revolt, the tumult of Aranjuez, that dates *Goyescas* indirectly and lends Perojo's film the historical consciousness it seems to lack. In March of 1808 the populace stormed the royal palace of Aranjuez, captured the prime minister, Godoy, and forced King Charles IV to resign in favor of his son Ferdinand VII. In a matter of months, Napoleon's army invaded Spain and deposed the king, triggering the six-year long war of Independence, which

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Goya's Desastres de la guerra (1816-19) rendered in all its ferocity.[506]

The tumult of Aranjuez represents an exceptional, seemingly incidental intrusion of history into *Goyescas*' otherwise inconsequential plot. Factual references to the tumult's causes are silenced, its representation is limited to scenes of torch-bearing, stone-throwing crowds, and the spectator does not access the event from a specific point of view. Contrary to the historical events, popular discontent in this film is decisively quelled by the royal cavalry. Perojo's stance is rather ambivalent: are his sympathies with the masses or the soldiers? Is he depicting the people or the *vulgo* (the rabble), depicted here no longer as the Other feared and despised by the *ilustrados*, but rather as the unruly Marxist mob demonized by the Spanish Right?[507] One thing is certain: the tumult was far from a neutral image in 1942, and it is most likely that more than one spectator experienced flashbacks to the convent burnings, arson, and pillaging rampant during the early stages of the Civil War.

This sudden eruption of violence interpolates a momentary dissonant note of overt violence in an otherwise calm surface. In reality, the ludic masses of *plebeyismo* and the menacing *vulgo* of the *ilustrados* are two sides of the same coin, just as Petrilla, the pleasing *tonadillera* and the bold, temperamental *maja*, serves as a foil to a Countess who is alternately fond of plebeian culture and protective

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of her elevated station and privileges. Certainly the harshest edges of conflict are smoothed in *Goyescas*, displaced and sublated into the realm of sentiments. Yet just as art historian Janis Tomlinson has detected a critical outlook underneath the playful surfaces of the cartoons, I have argued that under its frivolity *Goyescas* conceals a disquieting picture of post-Civil War reality; a picture that resonates with the tragic undertones of Spain's history.

Conclusion

In ending I would like to return to the sequence of the Countess's reverie. Perojo's phantasmagoric sleight of hand, a sort of film within the film, orchestrates an elegiac fantasy of evanescent plebeians given over to the joy of dance and play. Elizabeth Cowie draws from Jacques Lacan's psychoanalytic theory to posit an understanding of fantasy and daydreams not as fulfillments of a given desire, but as settings for the acting out of desire. For Cowie films are public forms of fantasy that enact scenarios of desire arising invariably from an experience of lack. Hence, film as fantasy recreates a state of plenitude that answers to a loss already inscribed from the outset, affirming a presence that tacitly evokes an absence. Thus, the evocation of a presence in any fantasy entails an underlying experience of lack and absence.[508]

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Thinking of *Goyescas* as a fantasy in Cowie's terms illuminates the key role that Goya's painting plays in Perojo's textual system. Lacan theorized the ***objet petit a*** as that object of desire that signifies lack to the subject; that represents the subject's relation to the missing primal object of desire. In fetishism, the ***objet petit a*** simultaneously avows and disavows lack, and is invested with an excess of cathexis. For Cowie a good example in film would be those images that displace and block or delay the narrative; images that are shown and enjoyed for their own sake.[509]

I want to argue that Perojo's citations of Goya's tapestry cartoons assume in *Goyescas* the status of an ***objet petit a***. As indexical icons traversed by multiple vectors of desire, the *tableaux vivants* of *Goyescas* disavow in fantasy an absence that is nevertheless surreptitiously present. What lack am I speaking of here? Evidently all that was lost with the eruption of the Civil War: a democratic public sphere, a spirit of tolerance, a positive appreciation of the transformative power of popular culture.

The utopian strain that runs through Perojo's film underpins the status of *Goyescas* as a work of entertainment grounded in fantasy and visual pleasure. The imaginary state of plenitude that *Goyescas* endeavors to project addresses a loss already inscribed in its very inception, yet disavowed in Perojo's pictorial and technical excess, in those ghost-

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like bodies of gay, dancing *majos* and *majas* conjured by a people-loving aristocrat. Indeed, Perojo's dazzling exhibitionism of the apparatus' capabilities is symptomatic of a larger crisis, for it is not in vain that Perojo relies on Goya, of all painters (and especially on his tapestry cartoons), for a foregrounding of spectacle and technology.

Plebeyismo, already a highly contrived fiction in eighteenth-century Spain, sought to bridge the gap between high and low, veiling the moral and intellectual bankruptcy of Spain's ruling class and negating social tensions. In my view, *plebeyismo* is specifically reclaimed in the 1940s to cover up another void, a much deeper wound. It reasserts unity and harmony where none existed and cherishes a view, no matter how stylized or tame, of popular culture very different from its actual subjugation and severe circumscription under Franco. The art of Goya is inextricably caught up in the myth of *plebeyismo*. Just as the cartoons, at least on the surface, professed a commonality of interests between the people and the ruling class, the *tableaux vivants* in *Goyescas* call forth a social body unsullied by, if not entirely immune to, the antagonism and divisiveness that prevailed after 1936. There are echoes here of Gómez de la Serna's optimistic populism, but also of his dual understanding of Goya's personality: on the one hand, the optimism and revolutionary ardor of youth, and, on the other, the melancholy admission of defeat and loss.

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Although to some eyes *Goyescas* epitomizes the fusion of escapism and propaganda central to certain readings of Fascist cinema, I believe this position overlooks the tension that results from Perojo's attempt to place his commercial instincts and essentially liberal and populist sensibility at the service of a pre-ordained, conservative message. The Janus-like persona that Perojo assumes in the early 1940s to continue making films arguably determines *Goyescas'* own textual split, dramatized in the core interrelated themes of doubling and masquerade. And indeed, it is this textual tension that accounts, in my view, for *Goyescas'* oscillation between accommodation and dissent, between declarations of consent and oblique gestures of resistance. Rather than evacuate contradiction and nonconformity, Perojo's recourse to and foregrounding of popular iconography actually amplifies them.

Perojo's love of theatricality and masquerade also furthers *Goyescas'* fluidity of meaning through its embrace of artifice and its pronounced shifts in focalization and identification. These are underscored as well by the ways in which a self-conscious articulation of performance and spectatorship is predicated upon a sliding between the film's various diegetic audiences and the imaginary public sitting in the movie theater, to whom Imperio Argentina's songs and dances are actually addressed. Perojo's stylized approach to mise-en-scène and his penchant for experimenting

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with film technique are consistent with a personal, long-standing predilection for the musical, arguably the most reflexive of film genres.

In sheer numbers, musicals dominated Spain's early sound cinema, which coincided chronologically with the institution of the Second Spanish Republic.[510] Perojo's *El negro que tenía el alma blanca* (1934) and *La verbena de la Paloma* (1935) were among the most salient musicals from that period. *Goyescas*, thus, exhibited a degree of continuity with Perojo's pre-Civil War career. Although the indulgence in sumptuous sets and costumes represented a departure from Perojo's previous Spanish production, it continued the calligraphism he imbibed during his stay in Germany. It is true that Perojo set great store by the reconstruction of Goya's era, but he did so less to document history than to enhance *Goyescas'* visual pleasure. While the decorative and theatrical aspects of Perojo's film have led champions of critical realism to denounce it as a reactionary paen to Spain's ruling class, Landy would argue that this very visual excess provides for an opening beyond the direct vehiculation of ideology, and allows for the possibility of a less transparent spectatorial relation to it.

Even though *Goyescas* may well have been conceived independently of any knowledge of the critical and ideological debates surrounding Goya's art and life, and was undoubtedly enjoyed by many spectators lacking in such

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knowledge, I want to argue that the polyvalent, and at times opposing interpretations of Goya's painting during the years immediately preceding and following the Civil War must have significantly framed *Goyescas*' reception. Indeed, they are fundamental to the film's semantic mobility. As Charles Tashiro has suggested, *tableaux vivants* that cite famous paintings on film implicitly assume a spectator aware of the works' presence and cultural authority. They presuppose as well a sense of a painting's public role in the definition and representation of a community's cultural identity. Furthermore, they count for their intelligibility and effect on a shared set of values between audiences and filmmakers.[511]

The Republic's liberal cultural elites recognized and promoted the significance of Goya's art for their agenda of political, social and cultural reform. And revolutionary readings of Goya were not uncommon during the Civil War. From the other side of the political spectrum too, Goya's art was co-opted to serve the ideological interests of Franco's power bloc. As Tashiro observes, painterly quotes in a film place spectators momentarily in an alternative position to the classical structures of cinematic identification because they interrupt their "personal, isolated immersion in narrative in order to participate in the social scenario of art historical identification."[512] It is precisely the breadth and heterogeneity of art historical

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identifications made possible by the complex and contradictory meanings that Goya's imagery brought to *Goyescas*' social scenario, including the potential for counter-hegemonic readings, that is unique to Perojo's film.

In the end, and despite the antagonism raised by *Goyescas*' plot, Goya's painting enables Perojo to picture a nation made whole again, belying the political and social rupture of the Civil War and substituting a fantasy of social integration for the actual repression of popular, working-class culture. The film's textual excesses and its narrative paradoxes and displacements —its raising of social conflict, its destabilizing of identity, its emphasis on doubling and Otherness, its disruption of cinematic motion and temporality, and its problematic closure— point to the effort Perojo invested in disavowing both this rupture and repression.

Gubern defends Perojo's post-Civil War production as faithful to the cause of a "civilian" cinema in an inauspicious environment and strives to exonerate Perojo's continued presence in Franco's Spain on account of his unwillingness to make militarist epics or religious films, the two genres most commonly associated with Francoist cinema.[513] Certainly Perojo's cinema does not fit well into the conventional parameters historians have generally used to define post-Civil War film production. A film like

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Goyescas defies those parameters with its eclecticism, its embrace of ambiguity, and its relative open-endedness.

Of course, the evocation of painting also defines *Goyescas* as an art film made for upper and middle-class audiences that may have traditionally shunned the cinema as a proletarian entertainment with little artistic or intellectual value. But in the end, to the probable dismay of Ortega y Gasset, who decried Spain's *invertebrate* condition as that of a nation whose elites wallowed in plebeian culture, the popular element remains at the core of Perojo's apparently most elitist work. Perojo's blend of high art, populism, and escapist entertainment was admittedly made to appeal to the widest public, encompassing the intelligentsia and the masses, connoisseurs of art and classical music as much as lovers of *tonadillas* and folklore. Some viewers responded to its artistic merits; others found validation of their chauvinism; most simply enjoyed its catchy tunes, trivial plot, and pageant-like extravagance. Much of the film's appeal today hinges on Imperio Argentina's warm and engaging performance. Indeed, women in the audience may have liked the presence of positive and assertive female protagonists. In this regard, Gubern remarks how *Goyescas* was a rare woman's picture in the midst of a male-oriented cinema.[514]

Twenty years after its premiere Perojo still regarded *Goyescas* as one of his favorite films.[515] However, he did not

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witness its success. In September of 1942, shortly after completing *Goyescas*, Perojo boarded a ship to Buenos Aires, not to return to Spain until 1948. Gubern suggests that Perojo left Spain for professional reasons.[516] Perhaps Franco's imposed restraint was not to his liking. I would like to think that a haunting memory of Goya also played a part in his sudden departure.

In those years in Argentina, Perojo must have encountered Gómez de la Serna, who had been living there in self-imposed exile since 1937. Both had the opportunity to watch *Goyescas* when the film premiered in Buenos Aires in 1944. In the aftermath of the Civil War, Perojo's utopian representation of an equitable society, filtered, as Gómez de la Serna's own utopia was, through the artistic imagination of a kindred soul like Goya, may have seemed nothing but a daydream; as elusive and ephemeral as flickering shadows on a screen.

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CHAPTER 7

MALVALOCA

For many travelers, memories and fantasies of Spain are synonymous with the sunshine, landscapes, and folklore of Andalusia. More than any other Spanish region, it became a privileged locale for the inspiration of novelists and painters and the most common backdrop of films tackling Spanish subjects.[517] Although several films made in Spain during the 1940s were set in Andalusia, none captured its quotidian life with the delicacy and restraint of Luis Marquina's *Malvaloca* (1942).[518]

Based on a play written in 1912 by the Álvarez Quintero Brothers, *Malvaloca* sets up a love triangle between a fallen woman, Malvaloca, and two men who co-own a foundry in a small Andalusian town.[519] Very little has been published on Marquina's movie, a work that is often overlooked in anthologies of Spanish cinema. John Hopewell briefly discusses it in his short section on 1940s cinema.[520] Only film and art historian Félix Fanés has written at length about *Malvaloca*'s singularity, highlighting the graceful simplicity of its mise-en-scène, its melancholic undertone, and its oblique references to the Civil War.[521] Described in its shooting permit as a comedy, *Malvaloca*'s melodramatic components actually outweigh its dose of gentle, vivacious humor. Fanés has noted how the film never quite rises above an elegiac tone, an undercurrent of anxiety, and a

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smoldering, anguished eroticism that disrupts its placid surface and casual, witty banter. Its stress on grief and fatalism stands in stark contrast to the affable view of Andalusia commonly associated with the theater of the Quintero Brothers.[522] Indeed, compared to the breezy comic relief of classic movies of Andalusian content such as Florián Rey's *La hermana San Sulpicio* (1934) and *Morena Clara* (1936), Marquina's *Malvaloca* dwells insistently on scenarios of remorse, guilt, shame, jealousy, and spiritual torment.

Malvaloca's fatalism and melancholy are already evident in the play, yet Marquina's film resonates with an intensity and fervor that seem unique to its time, anchoring it within the system of beliefs, structures of feeling and practices of the culture of reconstruction that governed 1940s Spain. Although *Malvaloca* concerns itself primarily with the private sphere and the realm of sentiments, to my mind it also formulates a vision of community that makes the theme of Spanish ethnic and religious identity a central issue.

Malvaloca's moody atmosphere may be ascribed in part to the central role played by Andalusia's brand of Catholicism, with its particular valuation of suffering, renunciation, and self-sacrifice. American anthropologist Timothy Mitchell has subsumed these stirring, highly cathartic religious and folkloric practices under the term "Passional Culture." The Catholic Passional culture permeating *Malvaloca* functions at

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a number of registers. For one, it formulates an ethical perspective on social and interpersonal relations, including the boundaries of sexual decorum. This is particularly true of the character of Malvaloca, whose wayward sexuality the fiction seeks, at one level, to regulate and neutralize. Furthermore, the Catholic sensibility that pervades Marquina's film points to the Church's renewed hegemony and ideological sway in post-Civil War Spain, its jurisdiction over public and private behavior, and its power to define and punish Otherness.

As its plot unfolds, *Malvaloca* unveils an elliptical narrative that progresses from loss and lack to recovery and plenitude. The film alludes to a historical trauma haunting the fringes of its fiction by means of metaphors of rupture, absence and incompleteness —a broken bell, a rose stripped of its petals— that in the act of symbolizing Malvaloca's lost virginity also allegorize fissures in the social formation. In the process, Marquina resorts to the conventions of melodrama, exploiting the genre's penchant for evoking atavistic passions and its engagement and mediation of social conflicts and ideological contradictions through strategies that create and sustain emotion across a film's spatial and temporal range, its visual and aural dimensions.[523] In the case of *Malvaloca*, these strategies converge with the sentiment and pathos of Andalusia's Passional culture. Marquina heightens the text's emotional

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thrust through Passional symbolism and a prominent use of the affective power of song. Furthermore, religious rituals and symbols are harnessed seemingly to exorcise traumatic memories, stir the soul, and attain catharsis.

Marquina's *Malvaloca* has been accused of an inordinate preference for atmosphere and psychological characterization over dramatic action and a strong linear plot. Similar reproaches were made in their time against the plays of the Quintero Brothers. Rather than impute the film's languid pace to its theatrical origins, as film critics did at the time of its release, I want to suggest another source, the painting of Julio Romero de Torres (1874-1930), to account for *Malvaloca*'s contemplative stasis and its peculiar blend of sensuality, gravity, and pathos.

The Andalusian artist achieved international fame and legendary status among his fellow Spaniards for his paintings of sensuous women, which came to stand as icons of Andalusian, and by extension, Spanish identity. Romero's images of femininity fuse the sacred and the profane, sexual and spiritual rapture in ways that evoke the symbolic figure of Mary Magdalene. Malvaloca's parallelisms to Mary Magdalene also link Marquina's film to Passional culture and underline its discourses on repentance, penitence, and forgiveness. Marquina's mise-en-scène invokes Romero's painting in an indirect fashion, through a series of compositional set-ups, gestures and associations, in

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addition to an overall mood, that recall the mythic representation of femininity conjured by Romero's work.

The Making of *Malvaloca*

Film historian Julio Pérez Perucha has provided us with the only monograph on Luis Marquina (1904-1980).[524] A cultivated man who grew up around intellectuals and artists, Marquina brought to his cinema a touch of elegance, a measure of originality, and an interest in formal experimentation. He once declared in an interview a predilection for "themes with an emphatic local flavor that simply move our emotions and manifest human values."[525] As a director his aim was to achieve in his work the highest possible level of transparency and invisibility.[526] Marquina's conservative, Catholic convictions, along with a reserved and unassuming temperament, may have inclined him towards a conformist path, yet Perucha affirms that his cinema cannot be simply dismissed as *franquista*. Rather, Perucha proposes that Marquina be thought of as a borderline filmmaker who wavered between a formulaic cinema of genres and an "official" type of cinema indirectly supportive of Franco's cause.[527] While Marquina aligned himself with the new political order, his desire to create more personal work relegated him to a second tier within Spain's film industry. Consequently, he received only sporadic financial protection from the administration and had on the whole an

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unexceptional career marked by an occasional commercial success.

For film historians such as Fanés and Pérez Perucha *Malvaloca*'s calm, discursive tone accrues from a fitting match between Marquina's low-key personality and the original play's rambling style. Francoist film historian Fernando Méndez Leite's lukewarm appreciation of *Malvaloca* notwithstanding[528], film historians today generally regard it as one of Marquina's best post-Civil War achievements. However, the film was classified in the second of three categories devised by Franco's film bureaucracy and opened in Madrid's Cine Avenida on October 3, 1942 for a run of 32 days.

Although the reviews were divided over the film's merits, the majority of critics praised Marquina's unaffected recreation of Andalusian reality and avoidance of stereotypes.[529] Some reviewers decried the film's slow pace and theatricality, its emphasis on dialogue at the expense of forward action, and the persistence of melodramatic conventions.[530] Luis Gómez Mesa acknowledged Marquina's technical prowess, if not his artistic inspiration, yet he deplored the picture's anachronistic flavor.[531] A few conservative voices disapproved of the plot's concern over the fate of a dishonored woman, "a disreputable life that in spite of the dignified ending will never elude a shady past."[532] In this regard it should not be forgotten that

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Malvaloca touched on risqué subject matter for the prudish times of its production. The film implies that Malvaloca maintains relations out of wedlock first with Salvador and then with Leonardo. It is not surprising that the project met with a degree of resistance in the morally strict climate of post-Civil War Spain.[533]

In general, Marquina's version is rather faithful to the play; substantial portions are transposed into the screenplay. The Quinteros' work opens with Malvaloca's arrival in the town of Las Canteras to visit her old flame, Salvador (Manuel Luna), who is convalescing at a hospice from a work-related accident. Benito Perojo's silent version of 1926 added two acts at the beginning that fleshed out Malvaloca's past through the clues provided by the playwrights. Marquina's film adopts Perojo's prolog and picks up the Quinteros' storyline in act three.

The first act depicts the poverty and misery of Malvaloca's family and environment and her downfall at the hands of a local *señorito*, the scion of an aristocratic or wealthy family. The second act stages Malvaloca's meeting with Salvador two years later and his abandonment of her within two years time. In act three, Leonardo (Alfredo Mayo), Salvador's business partner, is immediately smitten with Malvaloca upon meeting her at the hospice. In spite of the unsavory rumors about her past, he shelters her, hoping to conceal their affair from his sister Juanela (Rosita

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Yarza) and Salvador. The arrival of Malvaloca's uncle, Jerónimo (Freyre de Andrade), an indolent and devious meddler, complicates matters. A distressed Juanela and a jealous Salvador soon learn the truth about Leonardo's liaison from Jerónimo. After failing to win Malvaloca back, Salvador leaves Las Canteras. Juanela for her part eventually comes to accept the affair and welcomes Malvaloca into her home for a reception. Overcome by shame, Malvaloca flees the house into a crowded religious procession. Leonardo pursues and retrieves her. As a church bell tolls, they exchange vows of love and marriage.

Malvaloca develops two subplots involving senior residents of the hospice whose affective lives revolve around a potent symbol: *La Golondrina*, the broken bell of the hospice chapel. Martín (Nicolás Perichot), a blind gardener, dreams of the day he will be able to toll again *La Golondrina*, whose sound used to enthrall his dead wife. Mariquita (Camino Garrigó), a lonely old woman, reminisces how her son, who died in the war, too used to delight in the peals of *La Golondrina*. A brief exchange of words between Mariquita and Martín reveals how the bell is intricately linked to their peace of mind and well-being. Sensing their pain, Leonardo takes Salvador up to the belfry for an inspection of the bell's condition. As a token of gratitude for his speedy recovery, Salvador pledges to recast the bell in his foundry for free.

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Fanés and others have argued that Marquina's *Malvaloca* feels occasionally constricted by a mise-en-scène extremely dependent upon studio-built domestic interiors: Malvaloca's home, the courtyard where she meets Salvador, the inn in Cordoba where he runs out on her, the hospice, the foundry, Leonardo's home.[534] However, a few short documentary-like sequences set in the foundry are interpolated among the studio interiors. One such scene depicts Salvador's accident; the other shows the recasting of the bell. In spite of its alleged staginess and preference for enclosed spaces, Marquina's film does not entirely ignore the landscapes and urban areas of Southern Spain. As in Perojo's film, Malvaloca's seduction is suggested by a ride through the countryside. Leonardo too first declares his love in a walk through a grove of olive trees. Finally, the staging of the story's resolution in an outdoor procession, Marquina's most salient innovation, relocates the private drama to the public sphere. By contrast, Perojo's silent version, like the play, staged the lovers' final commitment inside Leonardo's house. With Marquina the couple's plight is brought out into the open so that Malvaloca's absolution may be witnessed by all.

A Passional Culture

Malvaloca reproduces a set of commonplaces about Andalusian cultural and religious identity, such as the imbrication of Catholic penitential ideology and affect in

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what anthropologist Timothy Mitchell characterizes as a "Passional Culture."[535] Mitchell examines how Andalusians have set in place a series of religious and folk rituals associated with highly emotional cathartic practices, such as the processions of Easter week, that value suffering as a supreme cultural ideal. Within this culture of penitence every added amount of suffering translates into a "net increase in grace, in thaumaturgic capacity, in salvation."[536] Episodes from the Passion of Christ come to symbolize incidents of oppression and marginalization in everyday life.

Like Mitchell, anthropologist Isidro Moreno Navarro has noted how the Andalusian people have taken to the Passion of Christ as a symbolic expression of their own feelings of disempowerment.[537] For them the Passion becomes a narrative of endless suffering in which the hope and transcendence offered by the miracle of the Resurrection is minimized in favor of Christ's agony and death. The outpouring of affect unleashed by the *pasos* of Holy Week (images of Christ or the Virgin borne by groups of barefoot penitents) or the *saetas* (plaintive songs of contrition and love offered by the people to the *pasos*) provide a cathartic high that compensates for the dependency and lack of autonomy that most Andalusians experience in real life.[538] In the process these public rituals and spectacles stabilize communities by fashioning an emotional bond that bridges socio-economic

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distinctions. At the same time, they assuage guilt and administer penitence.

Mitchell observes how Andalusia's social and economic inequalities have fostered over the centuries a passive, resigned disposition and a high degree of social inertia. Fatalistic attitudes underpin many customs and psychological traits of the Andalusian people. To Mitchell's mind, the rituals and trappings of Passional culture exteriorize "the history of men and women determined to forget history and save themselves in exquisite moments of emotion."[539]

Malvaloca dramatizes several components of this Passional culture at the level of both its diegesis and its mise-en-scène. On the one hand, the narrative openly displays the psychic suffering of characters wracked by feelings of guilt and inadequacy, and torn between an ingrained fatalism and the transcendental power of emotion. Suffering is Malvaloca's lot; her dialog repeatedly figures love as a prison and a chain, and life as an endless journey of sorrow.[540] The plot builds up to a cathartic climax set in the middle of a religious ceremony featuring *pasos* and *saetas*. Marquina's mise-en-scène showcases these Passional folkloric practices and utilizes their affective power and transcendental force to provide his story with a highly moving closure.

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A Passional Painting

Andalusia's Passional culture found its most consummate exponent in painter Julio Romero de Torres. One of the most revered and successful Spanish painters of the past century, Romero de Torres embodied a mode of vision that, like the theater of the Quintero Brothers, seemed quintessentially Andalusian.[541] After a series of trips to Europe in 1903-4, Romero evolved from embracing a realist style of painting to crafting an artistic language that merged influences culled from the Early Renaissance, the Flemish primitives, the Pre-Raphaelites, and French Symbolism.[542] This syncretic art leaned towards allegory, manifesting a penchant for enigmatic narratives set in dreamy landscapes.

Romero's personal iconography was as far removed from the radical innovations of the avant-garde as from the prosaic realism of academic art. His painting blended a modernist sensibility with localist subject matter, updating in the process the Romantic stereotypes of Spain for the twentieth century.[543] In addition to high-art sources, Romero sought inspiration in forms of low art such as the *retablo* or altarpiece format. The melodramatic overtones of certain paintings such as Celos (1920) and Cante hondo (1929) also suggests an affinity for the scenarios of jealousy, heartbreak, smoldering desire, and compulsive violence typical of the serial novel or *folletín*. Most often Romero's art has been linked to folklore and popular poetry,

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especially the *copla*, a brief sentence in verse that conveys a moral and philosophical perspective on human existence.

During his lifetime, Romero de Torres' art quickly became a paradigm of Spanish identity; for Spaniards and foreigners alike his works functioned as icons of Andalusian culture. Nowhere was this more evident than in his signature motif: the dark-haired, swarthy woman, preferably semi-nude and possessed of an aura of mystery and sensual yearning.[544] By the time of his death[545], Romero de Torres' paintings had acquired mythic status; zarzuelas and musicals paid tribute to Romero's most famous pictures and under Franco his face even adorned bills of 100 pesetas. At the same time, his reputation began its steady critical decline.[546]

Like Federico García Lorca's poetry and theater, Romero's pictures drew from popular culture to achieve a seamless blend of modern artistic trends and regional folklore that fashioned an image of Spain poised between modernity and tradition. At a deeper level, Romero's canvases captured and fixed the duality of Andalusian identity: its enchanting, lighthearted side and a metaphysical undercurrent of pain and fatality.[547] These paintings hold as well the contradictory impulses of Eros and Thanatos in a delicate balance. In a Bataillean reading of Romero's art, Ana Basualdo notes how the archetypal women in Romero's pictures, often drawn from working-class models who lived off prostitution, appear to obtain a heightening

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of sexual pleasure in degradation.[548] Like much Symbolist art, although with a greater degree of ambiguity, Romero's painting figures women along the virgin/whore dichotomy, as symbols of chaste love or vessels of sin.[549] They foreground an image of woman as both subject and object of desire, as temptress and victim, an image that, while sharing certain epochal characteristics, is also grounded in Andalusia's cultural specificity. Onto these topoi Romero maps his personal fetishization of the female body, instilling underneath the serene and contemplative mood of his canvases an aura of morbid eroticism.[550]

However, the voluptuousness of Romero de Torres' art is tempered by a strong spiritual impulse.[551] Several canvases explicitly deal with religious subject matter; others include sacred images and symbols or stage religious scenes in the distant background. Moreover, the features of Passional culture play a prominent role. A picture such as La Saeta (1918) literally illustrates the theme: in the foreground a woman in black traditional garments, surrounded by the old and the infirm, kneels in prayer, presumably uttering a *saeta*, while a religious procession of *pasos* traverses the faraway background. To the left of the canvas a church looms over a *paso* of a crucified Christ; to the right a *paso* bearing the Dolorosa, a Virgin Mary in mourning, stands in front of a convent (Fig. 31).[552]

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Thresholds of Desire

In principle, *Malvaloca* evinces no overt homage to the painting of Romero de Torres. Unlike Benito Perojo, whose *Goyescas* premiered just a few days after *Malvaloca*, Marquina does not conceive his mise-en-scène in explicit pictorial terms. There are no scenes designed as *tableaux vivants* replicating famous canvases. And yet, I want to argue that the art of Romero de Torres is present in Marquina's film in important ways, even if they at first do not meet the eye.

1912, the year of *Malvaloca*'s premiere in Madrid, was also, according to most art historians, the year that marked Romero de Torres'recognition as an artist.[553] By that time, Romero had developed a personal iconography in which the Andalusian woman occupied a central place. In the early 1930s writer Rafael Cansino Asséns (1882-1964), one of Romero de Torres' most sympathetic and perceptive critics, pointed out the affinities between Romero's images of women and the Quintero Brothers' female protagonists, especially Malvaloca.[554] Both turned to Andalusia's folklore and popular culture for signs of regional identity and found an ideal vessel for their aesthetic imagination in its atavistic equation of gender and ethnicity. Indeed, it has been argued that Romero de Torres and the Quintero Brothers each recast Andalusia in the guise of a voluptuous yet tormented femininity. Writer Francisco Ayala once stated that the amorous and sorrowful women in Romero's painting personified

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the "sad soul of Andalusia."[555] Cansino too read Romero's melancholic beauties as a distilled essence of the tragic condition of Andalusia.[556]

Romero de Torres' art does not only furnish a gallery of "Passional" women that looms over the film's portrayal of Andalusian femininity as prone to an ambiguous conflation of sensuality and spirituality. Like Romero's painting, *Malvaloca* projects a serene surface, yet one perturbed by an ardent passion and an unfathomable sadness. *Malvaloca* pursues this elegiac streak, accentuating the crepuscular and contemplative mood of Romero's painting into an all pervasive melancholy. It is already present in the Quinteros' text; Marquina's film just amplifies it.

Romero's introspective manner matches the quiescent, contemplative side of Marquina's direction. The filmmaker's mise-en-scène echoes Romero's compositions in a subtle, veiled manner, perhaps in keeping with the filmmaker's stated wish for achieving maximum authorial invisibility. One allusion to the painter's work lies in the director's tendency to place Malvaloca by windows and under doorways, mirroring the many women depicted by Romero under thresholds or framed by windows. In her short monograph on Romero, Lily Litvak interprets the motif of the frame or the doorway in the painter's canvases as symbolic passages between two worlds or dimensions: the spiritual and the carnal, the real and the imaginary.[557] A typical example would be Carmen

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(1915) (Fig. 32), but this compositional device appears in other pictures, from early works such as Mal de amores (1905) (Fig. 33), La Niña de la Ribera (1907-10), or La Sibila de las Alpujarras (1911), to later pictures such as Celos (1920) or La Chiquita Piconera (1930).

Marquina introduces this spatial symbolism early on: right after the credits, the first establishing shot frames a threshold under which one perceives the shadow of a female figure. A few shots later, when Malvaloca enters her home after her chat with the *señorito*, she lingers for a few seconds under the threshold before walking into the living-room (Fig. 34). Brief as it is, this moment captures her at a juncture, poised between adolescence and womanhood, innocence and corruption. In the immediately following sequence, the film returns to the shadowy threshold as Malvaloca exits in the darkness of night for her rendezvous with the *señorito*. When she returns through this doorway it is with an awareness of sin and degradation, a pervasive sense of loss that dramatizes domestic space along an inside/outside axis.[558]

Two other scenes frame Malvaloca next to windows; in both cases this placement, reminiscent as much of Vermeer's painting as of Romero's, anticipates important events in her life (Fig. 35, 36). In the first instance, she is standing next to a window as the innkeeper enters with Salvador's farewell message; in the latter scene, she is anxiously

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awaiting Leonardo's return by the window of her apartment, but first her uncle Jerónimo arrives to tell her that Leonardo no longer loves her, and then Salvador drops by to ask her to leave with him. Gripped by doubt, she heads for Leonardo's home and meets Juanela for the first time.[559]

In light of the events that follow, Marquina invests each scene with a degree of visual anxiety that arises from an emotional galvanization of offscreen space. In the first scene, the inn is a safe haven for Malvaloca, a symbol of the sentimental and financial security she has achieved with Salvador. All that is about to vanish as the innkeeper makes his entrance. Malvaloca's position, looking out through the window presumably onto the street, evokes Salvador's words to the innkeeper in the immediately preceding scene: "I found her on the street. I am leaving her with a roof over her head. She cannot complain."[560] For in rejecting Salvador's money, Malvaloca in fact chooses to return to the street. The later scene in Malvaloca's apartment, which Leonardo has rented for her, similarly exploits the tension between inside and outside, onscreen and offscreen space through the direction of Malvaloca's gaze and the symbolic function of windows. For, as Malvaloca's affair with Leonardo seems to have reached a nadir, the dialectics between home and street, love and the lack thereof, are revived.

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Passional Women

Timothy Mitchell remarks upon the relevance of Mary Magdalene to Andalusian Passional culture, not only to its fascination with penitence, but also to its displacement and rechanneling of sexuality onto religious affect.[561] Art historian Susan Haskins notes that during the Counter-Reformation Mary Magdalene was a popular subject among Spanish Baroque painters such as José de Ribera (Fig. 37), Francisco de Zurbarán, Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, and Leandro Valdés Leal, several of whom were born or worked extensively in Andalusia; it allowed for a pairing of sensuous female beauty and religious piety. The image of Mary Magdalene prevalent in Spain tended to emphasize her ascetic and spiritual dimensions over her eroticism.[562] A common motif depicted the converted sinner ridding herself of jewelry and other material possessions meant to enhance her erotic appeal or embracing a skull and cross.

According to Haskins, by the nineteenth century concerns over the role of women in modernity and under capitalism, specifically the problem of widespread prostitution, lessened the religious significance of Mary Magdalene's image in favor of a social and moral reading. Haskins maintains that turn-of-the-century representations of the Magdalene should be seen not only as a product of male erotic fantasies and fears, but also as allegories about the socio-economic realities of poor women, whose

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sexuality is set off and opposed to that of their middle-class counterparts.[563]

Instilling the Spanish tradition with a modern sensibility, Romero's sensuous and contrite women have been regarded as so many Magdalenes (Fig. 38). The character of Malvaloca bears a passing resemblance to the mythic archetype of Mary Magdalene. Like her, she rises from an anguished carnality to the elation of spiritual grace. Cansino claimed that Andalusian women in particular experienced this tug between the spirit and the flesh with a heightened intensity. These lustful beings, driven by an atavistic impulse, surrendered to the pulsations of desire with such abandon that a hapless outcome was preordained. Looking at the protagonists of Romero's pictures, Cansino stated: "Love in Southern lands is too absorbing an emotion; those female creatures yield to it with such absolute devotion that it per force must be fatal. It takes possession of their entire destiny, leaving no space for anything else, closing off horizons, blinding them, shackling them, making them vibrate with an intensity that delivers pain even in pleasure."[564]

Marquina's *Malvaloca* subscribes to this construction of femininity that links female desire to a loss of self-possession. Marquina opens *Malvaloca* with a depiction of its protagonist's miserable background: an unemployed and alcoholic father, an abused and dejected mother, a lazy and

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treacherous uncle. To feed her family Malvaloca yields to the advances of a wealthy man, setting in motion her fall from grace and her conversion into an object of exchange among men. Marquina's mise-en-scène emphasizes with a certain morbidity the events surrounding Malvaloca's seduction. The filmmaker resorts here to metaphorical uses of editing and camera movement that exploit certain cultural tropes associating women to flowers, a symbolic discourse out of which the script equally fashions a series of puns.

In the beginning of the film, a long shot of a doorway dissolves to a medium close up of a shrub, the rose mallow or *malvaloca* that lends its name to the film and its protagonist. Another dissolve follows with a medium long shot of actress Amparo Rivelles watering the plant outside a house. An association between Rivelles' character, named Rosita, and nature is thus established. A few sequences later a *señorito*, a wealthy man from the city, drives by in his carriage and stops to flirt with Rivelles. As she sadly pulls off a rose from the bush, he calls her Malvaloca because she lives by the rose mallow plant. Marquina cuts to the inside of the house. Stationed by a window, Uncle Jerónimo overhears the conversation and predicts a lucrative future for Malvaloca if she accedes to the landowner's proposals. Sitting at a table, her father warily remembers that her grandfather did not wish that she be named Rosa. At that moment Malvaloca walks in with a rose in her hand and

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completes her father's sentence: "Because a rose will always be stripped of its petals." The camera tracks back as she approaches the table and says: "My mother named me Rosa so that I would be hapless, for there is not a rose in the world that does not die stripped of its petals."[565] Malvaloca leaves the rose on the table and heads for her room. Her father despondently reaches for a bottle of wine, but his wife removes it. The camera tracks in for a close-up of his face as he gazes offscreen, presumably at the rose on the table, and, leaning forward, conceals his head in his arms. The camera tilts down to the left and rests on the flower. The scene fades to black.

Two scenes later Malvaloca enters the house after a rendezvous with the *señorito*, silently puts money down on the table, and heads to her bedroom. Her mother follows in search of an explanation. Marquina cuts to the bedroom; Rivelles walks towards the foreground, sits on the bed, and, framed in a medium close-up, turns to the side and begins to cry. A lap-dissolve superimposes over her body a shot of the rose, its loose petals spread over the table. The scene then fades to black (Fig. 39).

With direct and economical means, Marquina alludes to the loss of Malvaloca's virginity through a metaphor played out during this entire first act that has linked Rivelles to the rose mallow. Graphic in its implicit meaning, yet highly plastic in its use of overlapping imagery, Marquina's

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handling of the ending to this scene comes across as a proper filmic equivalent to the Álvarez Quinteros' graceful prose, which is rife with floral symbolism drawn from Andalusian folklore. This prologue also strikes a balance of humor, present in the witty banter between Malvaloca and the other characters, and pathos that will resurface throughout the film. It introduces as well a recurring note of fatalism by suggesting that one's destiny can even be determined by a name.

This juxtaposition of femininity and flowers, by means of which Marquina symbolizes sexuality and sexual difference, continues in the second act. The action now takes place in the city of Seville, two years after Malvaloca's downfall. She appears at a festival decked in a shawl, embroidered with flowers; her hair too is adorned with flowers.[566] She meets Salvador and the camera follows them in a tracking shot across a courtyard as they converse (Fig. 40). A fade to black follows Malvaloca's exit, segueing into a medium shot of a window grill entwined with flowers. The camera pans and tilts to the right towards a table where Malvaloca and Salvador are dining. The dialog reveals that two years have passed since they first met; we also learn at this point that Malvaloca's seduction led to the birth of a child who has died. In her words she alludes to the seasonal cycle of flowers (nards, violets, jasmine,

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chrysanthemums) to mark the milestones of her relationship with Salvador.

Later on, when Malvaloca meets Leonardo for the first time, she is once again wrapped in a flower-embroidered shawl and wearing flowers in her hair (Fig. 41). Towards the end of the film, flowers return to play a significant discursive role. Malvaloca appears at Juanela's home looking for Leonardo. Juanela invites her in and, handing her a bouquet of roses, brings her to the balcony to watch the religious procession. This offering of flowers marks Juanela's final acceptance of Malvaloca's affair with Leonardo. The film cuts from the living-room to the street procession. A low-angle medium shot frames Malvaloca and Juanela on the balcony. As the *paso* of Christ reaches the house, a rain of flowers descends upon the statue from above. In the next shot Juanela and Malvaloca are seen in the upper part of the frame as the *paso* traverses the lower half from right to left. The film returns to the previous low-angle set-up framing Juanela and Malvaloca in the balcony, the latter, overcome by tears, abruptly leaves.

If at the outset of the film, the cutting of a rose foreshadowed the loss of Malvaloca's virginity, at the end the tossing of roses functions as prelude to her redemption. At any rate, the narrative develops a recurring symbolic discourse alluding to the beauty and fragility of flowers as a metaphor for the vulnerability of the female condition in

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Andalusian society. Women are figured as objects of aesthetic contemplation and desire at risk of being sullied and destroyed by men. The flowers and floral patterns with which Malvaloca adorns herself undoubtedly highlight her sensual appeal, but in symbolizing the female body as whole and undefiled, these flowers in full bloom also seem to operate as fetishes that disavow Malvaloca's shameful deflowerment.

Passional Men

If *Malvaloca* repeatedly links femininity to flowers, no such recurring trope occurs in Marquina's representation of men. His film, however, is no less concerned with figuring, and at times even critiquing, Spanish masculinity. It contrasts Leonardo and Salvador as alternative paradigms, mapping regional identities onto these divergent models of virility. Salvador is Leonardo's inverted reflection, as their conversation during their first meeting on a train suggests. When Leonardo tells him that he is from the Northern region of Asturias, Salvador comments in jest that "folding the map (of Spain) we overlap."[567] Speech inflections and body language code each man along familiar stereotypes that differentiate Northern Spanish men from their Southern counterparts. To Salvador's extroverted and jocular temperament, the film opposes Leonardo's introverted and taciturn disposition. While Salvador comes across as mercurial and at times irascible, Leonardo is sober and

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usually dependable. *Malvaloca* is thus structured along a set of oppositions between North and South that, as Fanés observes, highlights Spain's cultural and ethnic differences.

Malvaloca casts Andalusian men in an unflattering light, especially as regards their treatment of women. Indeed, the film evinces a certain unease over Andalusian masculinity, which is pictured as callous, irresponsible, and fickle.[568] The three male characters in the first act — Malvaloca's father, Uncle Jerónimo, and the *señorito*— carry negative connotations. Malvaloca's father is an alcoholic who cannot provide for his family, thereby forcing his daughter into prostitution; Uncle Jerónimo is seen as an idler abetting Malvaloca's corruption for the sake of money; and the *señorito* actually causes Malvaloca's ruin, thereby alluding to the predatory relation of Andalusia's upper classes to their subalterns.

When Salvador walks out on Malvaloca in the second act, he does so without notice, as if on a whim.[569] A charming and prodigal womanizer incapable of commitment, Salvador embodies a type of Andalusian male who, as Malvaloca phrases it, "is good because he is not bad." Rather than simply indicting Salvador, the film suggests that Andalusian men as a whole should be held accountable for women's undoing. Conversely, Leonardo appears possessed of the gravity, responsibility, and rectitude that Spanish common sense

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typically associates with the Northerner. At one point, Malvaloca tells Salvador: "Had you been the first man to propose to me when I was young, I would have become, in spite of your decency, the same wretched woman I am today; had it been Leonardo, my luck would have been different."[570] By deciding to shoot this conversation in a close-up that tightly frames the two characters, Marquina magnifies the text's fatalistic outlook on gender relations in Andalusian culture.

Malvaloca, the film suggests, can only escape this cycle of victimization through the intervention of an outsider willing to defy societal conventions. That this is not achieved without enormous psychic cost is evident from the film's depiction of Leonardo as a man nearly undone by a quasi-masochistic passion. Caught in a bind between his affection for Malvaloca and the patriarchal interdiction that condemns and ostracizes the "fallen woman," Leonardo struggles to reconcile his desire with the sexual code of honor that compels the Spanish man to repudiate tainted femininity as unworthy of true love. As if Malvaloca's pain and shame were not sufficient, the film implies that Leonardo's sexual and spiritual torment is an inevitable precondition for Malvaloca's ultimate redemption. Without his affliction, her sins, and by extension, the offenses and weaknesses of Andalusian men, cannot be erased. Indeed, *Malvaloca* suggests that unlike Salvador, who, in spite of

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his attachment to Malvaloca, ultimately regards her as damaged goods, only a stranger to Andalusia is capable of redeeming a fallen woman.

Malvaloca revels in Leonardo's agony over Malvaloca's defilement and his wish to put her past behind; the text insistently calls for oblivion and the attainment of a "clean" slate.[571] Leonardo's tortured obsession with Malvaloca invites a Bataillean reading around his transgressive cathexis of sin and defilement. For Georges Bataille the stain acts as a stimulus to desire; eroticism cannot be understood independent of notions of prohibition and sin. Bataille writes: "The taboo fashions the pleasure at the same time as it condemns it."[572] According to this scenario, sexual passion requires from the subject "a special sensitivity to the anguish at the heart of the taboo no less great than the desire which led him to infringe it. This is religious sensibility and it always links desire closely with terror, intense pleasure and anguish."[573]

In a way, Leonardo's desire for Malvaloca accrues from this transgression of religious interdictions and moral conventions, e.g., the taboo on nonmarital sex. It is inseparable from the dread and rapture generated by Malvaloca's tainted state and the allure of her sexual impropriety.[574] Leonardo's pleasure apparently stands in direct proportion to his anxiety. The bipolarity of his passion for Malvaloca exposes the ideological contradictions

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that the text's closure attempts to surmount, if not mask. Within the libidinal economy of the diegesis, Malvaloca is perceived to embody a lack, or as Kaja Silverman would have it, becomes the site upon which patriarchy projects and displaces its own failings and transgressive desires.[575]

According to this scenario, femininity evokes castration anxiety and all that patriarchy has repressed. The autonomy and mobility that accrues from Malvaloca's condition as a sexual outcast, however veiled this aspect is in the film, also fuels Leonardo's chagrin. He is haunted not only by her past liaison with Salvador, but presumably by all of the men she has given her body to. When Salvador divulges his cavalier treatment of Malvaloca, Leonardo, in his dismay, comes to realize the tacit complicity of his male privilege with her victimization.

Melodrama and Marquina's Catholic Imagination

In their mining of states of affect and turbulent scenarios where passion may lead to crime, Romero de Torres' pictures have frequently been seen as painted melodramas. *Malvaloca* presents obvious affinities with Peter Brooks and Christine Gledhill's respective definitions of melodrama.[576] The narrative manifests at various levels a preoccupation with loss and a desire to regress into the past and erase the desolation inflicted by the passage of time. *Malvaloca* undeniably shares melodrama's ethical vocation. It strives to vindicate its female protagonist before the wrongs of men

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and the cruelty of society. Malvaloca functions as a foil against which the ethical code of the Andalusian people may be judged. Her character allows Marquina to question as well the dominant fictions defining and safeguarding sexual difference in Andalusian society. Her undesirable status as Other is prescribed and preordained by societal norms regulating female sexual behavior and decorum. When she arrives unexpectedly at Juanela's house, her appearance is greeted with disdain by the townspeople gathered there for a reception. Once Juanela graciously asks her to stay, they walk out. By accepting Malvaloca, Juanela has positioned herself as an outsider to Las Canteras, just like her brother, during an occasion meant to cement her ties to the community. A divide between Northerners and Southerners surfaces along the faultline defined by the presence of the fallen woman.

The text's contradictions arise from its attempts to come to terms with patriarchy's asymmetric assumption of sexual difference and religion's collusion in sanctioning and maintaining such asymmetry. *Malvaloca* wants to absolve its protagonist of her sins, but struggles to accommodate her identity as a sexual being. Maria-Antonietta Macciocchi claimed that Fascist discourse imagines a body that is "rigourously chaste, pure, virginal," for its central aim is the extinction of sexuality.[577] Although the film ends on an upbeat note, this happy ending is tempered by the

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irresolvable nature of Malvaloca's condition. She remains an outcast in a patriarchal order that reduces her to a disposable object of male pleasure. Leonardo's acceptance does not guarantee society's pardon. As Marquina's film negotiates the intersection of male privilege and female desire, it exposes the structures and practices put in place to shore up the former and repress or manage the latter.

Although melodramas may articulate a subversive critique of the status quo, *Malvaloca*, despite its concern with victimization and redemption, offers no immediate, lasting alternatives to the sexual exploitation of poor women or their unequal position in society. Haunted by the stigma of prostitution, women like Malvaloca are figured as passive, helpless victims condemned to be redeemed by men. At its best, the film reveals the hypocrisy that underpins this state of affairs. Ultimately, Marquina must resort to a higher authority, that of God, to exonerate Malvaloca and restore her purity. Religion's moral authority, focalized through the sympathetic eyes and words of the hospice's nuns, encourages and bolsters the audience's identification with this fallen woman.

Upon her first visit to the hospice, Malvaloca is so moved by Mariquita's story that she surrenders her jewels as an offering for its poor residents. In the chapel scene Marquina frames Malvaloca in a medium close-up, her face bathed in the soft light of the votive candles, as she

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places her trinkets on the altar (Fig. 42). The shot fosters audience identification with the character, whose face glows with faith and virtue. When a nun questions her excessive charity, Malvaloca tells her that there is no other way for her to be good. As she leaves, the nun's countenance expresses compassion and approval in a rhetorical gesture intended to enlist the spectator's consensus.[578]

Indeed, Catholicism is fundamental to *Malvaloca*'s textual operations. Its acceptance and valuation of suffering, as epitomized in the figure of Christ, furnishes the film's characters and its spectators with a model of identification, however tinged with masochism. The sacred archetype of Mary Magdalene that figures the prostitute as a helpless and tragic creature worthy of divine compassion, also plays an important role. At the same time, *Malvaloca* images in the character of Leonardo a de-phallicized masculinity, namely, a masculinity embracing and incorporating lack, that is predicated on the example of Christ.[579]

Antoine Vergotte has remarked that Catholicism is shot with the language and discourse of desire, particularly among Spanish mystics such as Saint Teresa of Ávila and Saint John of the Cross. Vergotte interprets the mystic's quest to relive the Passion of Christ as a means to signify, project and achieve the cathartic gratification of a repressed sexuality.[580] Catholicism's eroticization of lack

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is never far removed from masochism and thus circulates within a domain where discourses of sexuality, power, and punishment intersect. In a way, the pathological anxiety that underlies *Malvaloca*'s sexual politics must be linked to the Church's renewed censure of sexual activity in the post-Civil War era. Its campaign against the sexual permissiveness of the 1930s, particularly among the working-class, invested the sexual life of Spaniards with a pervasive sense of guilt.[581]

Thus, the Catholic sensibility pervading *Malvaloca* attests not only to Marquina's personal faith, but obviously signals as well the Church's reclaimed hegemony and renewed vigor within the ideological landscape of post-Civil War Spain.[582] At the end of the war, the Spanish Catholic Church embarked on an organized campaign to take back a secularized public sphere and infuse every aspect of daily life with the power of the sacred and the moral principles of Catholicism.[583] An array of pageant-like ceremonies, such as processions, outdoor masses commemorating fallen soldiers, and the dedication of temples and sites of memory, proliferated in the wake of the Nationalist victory.[584] A wave of mass religious fervor was unleashed, with throngs of people entering religious orders, attending spiritual retreats or waiting in line for hours to worship holy images. These religious activities and spectacles proudly and combatatively reaffirmed Spain's Catholic identity in

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opposition to the secular and fiercely anti-clerical policies instituted by the Second Republic. They also served to exorcise the sacking and desecration of churches and convents, mourn the mass killings of priests, nuns, and Catholic laymen that took place throughout the 1930s, and pray for the conversion of Franco's enemies and Communist Russia.

Marquina's film wears its Catholicism on its sleeve, deploying various narrative and formal strategies that position and interpellate the spectator as a believer. *Malvaloca*'s mise-en-scène underlines the importance of faith and liturgy. The religious spaces —the nuns' hospice, named "Amor de Dios," its chapel and belltower— and rituals so prominently featured in *Malvaloca* denote the abiding influence of the Catholic Church in Spanish society, its power to determine and oversee public and private life, to condemn and absolve.

Having played a key role in unleashing and supporting Franco's rebellion, as well as in the repression, censoring activities, and moral re-entrenchment that followed the end of the war, Spain's Catholic Church was not immune to a rhetoric of revenge and retribution. Yet there was a minority of moderate clerics that disapproved of the Church's triumphalist stance and ostentatious pageantry and advocated reconciliation.[585] It is this latter stance, I believe, that informs *Malvaloca*'s recurrent calls for mercy

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and forgiveness, a stance that seems in keeping with Marquina's own character and personal beliefs. The picture's inordinate concern with penitence bespeaks more than an assuagement of guilt over the gender inequalities of Andalusian society; as Fanés implies, Marquina's film is deeply invested in negotiating the traumas of the Civil War.

Like the bell remade

As I noted earlier, Fanés remarks on *Malvaloca*'s crepuscular mood, so different from the blithe *andaluzadas* made during the Second Spanish Republic. He traces this undercurrent of grief to the calamity of the Civil War, which impregnates *Malvaloca* with its pervasive malaise.[586] The war is surreptitiously evoked through the haunting absence of Mariquita's only son, who has died on the battlefield. All she has to remember him by are his medals and a few letters mailed from the front. At every opportunity Mariquita has these letters read to her. A few brief exchanges between Mariquita, Malvaloca, and Leonardo glean the pathos of the old woman's mourning for all its affective value.

The play and Perojo's 1926 silent version explicitly identified the war as the colonial conflict in North Africa. Perojo included actual war footage shot in Morocco. Marquina's *Malvaloca* is far more elusive and elliptical, avoiding any scenes of combat, but Fanés believes the mise-en-scène dates the action as contemporary so that the

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conflict so discreetly alluded to is obviously the Civil War. The ambiguity is understandable given the deep psychological scars borne by so many Spaniards. In this sense, *Malvaloca* is no exception to the general tendency of the Spanish cinema of this period to avoid the recreation or even mention of the Civil War.

The metaphoric ramifications of the subplot concerning the hospice bell particularly invite a reading of Marquina's film as an underhand discourse on the schism of the Civil War. Within *Malvaloca*'s diegesis the hospice bell becomes a powerful, multivalent symbol identified with several characters and eventually with the community at large. For instance, while Malvaloca is primarily linked to flowers, she is also associated with the broken bell, *La Golondrina*. The text figures Malvaloca's sexual lack through the metaphor of the cracked bell that no longer peals with its former resonance. As preparations are under way in the foundry to recast *La Golondrina*, Malvaloca quotes a famous *copla*: "Let this mountain maid/be remade again/like the bells remade."[587] She tells Leonardo that she too longs to be, like the bell, recast anew. As the lovers embrace in a passionate kiss, the scene dissolves into a montage of shots depicting the flames of a furnace and streams of molten bronze, a documentary-like sequence rife with sexual symbolism (Fig. 43).[588]

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Thus, the repairing of the broken bell marks as much Malvaloca's regeneration as the recovery of Salvador, who in any case will leave town before it is unveiled. Furthermore, the hospice bell is a highly cathected object for Martín and Mariquita, one associated at first with death —Mariquita's son and Martín's wife— and mourning, and then with spiritual healing. Throughout the film symbolic statements about loss and recovery, lack and wholeness are voiced in connection with the bell. After hearing the news of Salvador's pledge, Martín is overcome with joy at the thought that *La Golondrina* will sound like it once did. Mariquita retorts that unfortunately her son will not hear it, but Martín asserts that its peals will reach the heavens. As the film proceeds, Mariquita too will eventually sublate her grief; the tossing of her son's decorations into a forge so they may be recast into the new bell signals the end of her work of mourning. Mariquita's gesture, hinging on a symbolic promise of redemption, binds the dead to the living, the sacrifice of one individual to the welfare of the community.

Just as *La Golondrina* and Malvaloca are made whole again, so I would argue is the community and, at a metadiscursive level, the nation. Fanés seems to advocate this interpretation, even though he stops short of perceiving the cracked bell as a figure for the nation at large. Prior to its damage, the bell played a vital part in the community of Las Canteras. As Martín puts it, *La*

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Golondrina used to toll for the dead and the sick, call the townspeople to prayer, and signal the time of the day. It is significant that the recast bell will be tolled for the first time during a religious festivity that integrates faith and community, a spectacle of death (the Passional image of Christ) and a promise of renewal and resurrection. In my view, Marquina's emphasis on psychic trauma and healing bespeaks a community whose very fabric has been torn. Hopewell too remarks that "the village's desire for salvation . . . hint(s) at a communal trauma to be healed by a purifying passion."[589]

Kaja Silverman remarks that the shock of profound historical traumas can threaten the stability of a dominant ideological system by bringing an entire collective into intimate contact with experiences of lack and psychic unbinding.[590] *Malvaloca* attempts to confront and work through this shattering experience, capitalizing on the cinema's mechanisms of identification and its aesthetic potential to evoke and sustain feeling. The quasi-fetishistic display of Mariquita's sorrow, for instance, aims at establishing a bond between the character and the spectator on the basis of a shared experience of mourning. *Malvaloca*'s lighting scheme generally favors an even distribution of lighting across actors and sets. In the forge scene, however, Mariquita and Malvaloca appear under low-key lighting, partially lit by the flames of the furnace against a dark background in a

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high-contrasted chiaroscuro (Fig. 44). Marquina's recourse to the intensely dramatic contrasts between light and shadow characteristic of low-key lighting dovetails the emotional tenor of the scene. As the bell is being recast, Malvaloca tells a teary-eyed Mariquita: "When *La Golondrina* rings again it will sound as if your son is calling out for you once more."[591]

Sounds of Ecstasy

Malvaloca's resolution is mediated and reinforced by the beliefs of Andalusia's Passional culture, especially the penitential ideology that links suffering to salvation. Various narrative strands converge in Marquina's handling of the final scene: the fulfillment of Salvador's vow, cathartic resolutions to Mariquita and Martín's work of mourning, the consecration of Malvaloca and Leonardo's romance.[592] The mise-en-scène links the erotic and the spiritual, human desire and divine grace through a potent interaction of image and sound.

Towards the end of the film, during the procession scene, a woman decked in a *mantilla* sings a *saeta* to a *paso* of Christ from behind a latticed balcony. The dark silhouette of her back occupies the middle of the screen while the float bearing the Passional image of Christ is brightly lit in the background to the left. At this point in the story, Malvaloca is full of remorse and gripped by doubts about the viability of her affair with Leonardo.[593] As

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she is about to run away, she turns to hear the song: "Show me the way; illuminate my path." It touches Malvaloca so deeply that, in the spirit of the *saeta*'s lyrics, she joins the penitents trailing the *paso*.

Marquina inserts shots from Malvaloca's viewpoint of the image of Christ, followed by shots of her contrite face. They suggest that, like him, she is being asked to bear the cross of her misfortunes. The legend of Mary Magdalene, who followed Christ to his death on the Cross, is evoked once more. If, according to Christian doctrine, Jesus died willingly in order to cancel humanity's sins, the editing, in conjunction with the mise-en-scène, seems to ask whether Malvaloca's past transgressions, like the Magdalene's, will be forgiven too. And, in fact, a kind of profane miracle will take place, or so the screenplay suggests, as the lovers meet in the middle of the procession and Malvaloca's shameful past melts away in Leonardo's embrace like metal in a forge. "Always with me, just as you deserve, bearing my name, united under the blessing of God," he promises her.[594]

Leonardo and Malvaloca's reconciliation takes place in a visual and aural state of transcendence that weds erotic plenitude to religious ecstasy. Following a low-angle shot of the *paso* of Christ winding its way through the streets of Las Canteras, the film cuts to a low-angle view of the hospice's belfry as La Golondrina rings out for the first time. The film cuts back to a close-up of Leonardo and

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Malvaloca as they listen transfixed to the bell's sounds. The ringing peals of *La Golondrina* seemingly pass judgment on Malvaloca and find her worthy; we are treated to a repeat of the *copla*, as Leonardo begins it and Malvaloca finishes it, but now it is no longer a wishful utterance. In the eyes and heart of her lover, Malvaloca, like the bell, has been remade, achieving an inner restoration of purity and innocence. For its final shot, the film dissolves into a close-up of the bell as it doubles against the sky; its peals have been invested with an affect that partakes of both the mystical and the erotic. They proclaim to the community the divine blessing of Malvaloca and Leonardo's union, a fusion of spiritual grace and human desire that transpires in a ritualised space.

The closing of *Malvaloca* is but one of Marquina's intelligent and evocative uses of sound, which brings an obvious advantage over Perojo's silent version. Thomas Elsaesser, Geoffrey Nowell-Smith and others have discussed how melodramas often displace unspoken emotions or untenable ideological contradictions of the diegesis onto elements of the mise-en-scène, such as lighting, color, or sound.[595] Marquina uses the latter effectively to convey pathos, melancholy, fatalism, and spiritual catharsis. Throughout the movie songs and other sources of music and sound comment upon the action.

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The film opens with panoramic views of a city; a soundtrack of Andalusian music, castanets included, locates this urban space in Southern Spain. A lengthy sequence involving a folkloric dance, a concession, no doubt, to the clichés of the *españolada*, unfolds as a backdrop to Salvador and Malvaloca's first meeting. An important interaction of image and sound occurs in the second act. Salvador and Malvaloca are dining in an inn. He descends to the tavern below to get some wine; a diagonal tracking shot moves from a counter on the left towards an alcove on the right, framing Salvador in the background as he walks down the stairs. In the alcove a woman is singing flamenco to the accompaniment of a guitar; her melancholy lyrics speak of a love that suddenly overwhelms the singer and compels her to flee.[596] Salvador stops and listens for a moment; as if prompted by the woman's song, he then turns to the innkeeper, hands him an envelope of money for Malvaloca, and walks away. When she receives the envelope upstairs, Malvaloca realizes that Salvador has abandoned her. As she leaves the inn, the singer's voice is heard: "Everybody has a story of love and disappointment."[597] Later, as Leonardo proposes to Malvaloca and tries to convince her to stay in Las Canteras, a *copla* is heard offscreen on the subject of a departing train.[598] Finally, a bugle is heard at the moment the decorations of Mariquita's son are tossed into the

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forge, a brief nod to the military ethos that informed much of Spanish daily life after 1939.

Conclusion

As art historian Francisco Calvo Serraller notes, from the vantage point of today's democratic Spain, a nation that fancies itself finally in synch with the outside world, it is difficult to engage the work of both Romero de Torres and the Quintero Brothers with equanimity.[599] Although they made Spanish cultural identity central to their respective bodies of work, they have long been derided as purveyors of *españoladas*, folkloric stereotypes of a backward, isolated, and complacent people. The same may hold true for Marquina's film; it too resonates with echoes of a distant, forgotten Spain. This perception most likely accounts for *Malvaloca*'s semi-neglect in histories of Spanish cinema.

Romero de Torres' continued popularity in the early Franco years had probably a lot to do with his painting's foregrounding of Andalusian folklore. Furthermore, the Andalusian women immortalized in Romero's pictures were often taken to embody a primeval residue, a sort of deep-seated racial identity. Like the protagonists of the Quintero Brothers' plays, they stood for a femininity free of foreign mimicry.[600] Romero's art was easily appropriated to foster the nationalistic cultural agenda that favored representations of Andalusia as metonymies of Spanish identity. Yet, in functioning primarily as icons of

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Spanishness, Romero's women safely articulated eroticism and female sexuality for an intensely repressed society. Although today this image of femininity has been contested, deconstructed, and mocked[601], it served *franquismo* as a potent instrument to figure consensus and national identity. In fact, the multiple film adaptations of *Malvaloca* attest to the enduring topicality of its symbolic discourses to Spain's cultural consciousness.

I have argued that Romero de Torres' painting bears a dual connection to Marquina's film. On the one hand, *Malvaloca*, as is the case with Romero de Torres' painting, is firmly anchored in strains of Spanish popular culture, yet transcends them with its intimist sensibility and subtle formal complexity. Moreover, Romero de Torres' vision and iconography were deeply rooted in the atavistic structures of feeling that nourished and found release in the rituals and practices of Andalusia's Passional culture. Their central presence in *Malvaloca* roots its story and imagery in the shadow of a tradition, a corpus of representations of ethnicity, sexual difference and popular religion that wants to assert the continuity and relevance of that vision for the present.

On the other hand, Romero's art pivots on the image of women as both subject and object of desire. His canvases manifest the artist's sympathy for the victimization of women but also obtain their titillation and aesthetic impact

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from that very degradation. Romero's languid images of piety and sensuality, their turbulent intertwining of longing and repression, suited the rarefied atmosphere of Marquina's film. The ambiguity of Romero's work foreshadows Marquina's own hesitant approach to the problematics of female desire, for one can find in Romero's art a complicity with, along side a denunciation of, patriarchy's regime of sexual oppression. Both painter and filmmaker invoke, yet ultimately fail to offer, remedies to the alienated condition of women in Andalusian culture.

Instead Marquina pictures femininity and masculinity as categories of identity bound in an asymmetrical and emotionally consuming relation of dependence and subordination. Working from this scheme, *Malvaloca* projects configurations of masochistic desire and articulates shattered subjectivities and fatalistic beliefs that image sexual gratification as inseparable from sorrow and loss. *Malvaloca*'s characters seem haunted by remorse, shame, and a powerlessness to change and improve their lives. Their lack of mastery cannot be separated from an experience of psychic shattering traceable to an unspeakable crisis. The past must be erased, for its weight threatens to crush the present and still all hope for the future. This is especially the case for Malvaloca, but also for Mariquita and Martín, perhaps for Leonardo too. His faith in Malvaloca's absolution

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arguably constitutes the ultimate act of disavowal of a past all too present.

How are we to account for this psychological turmoil and pessimistic worldview? Is it the offshoot of a people traumatized by war, repression, guilt and the omnipresent absence of loved ones? Does *Malvaloca*'s foregrounding of lack and the quest for plenitude symbolize the schism of contemporary Spanish society? Does the film's sway between the demand for contrition and the need for forgiveness articulate the ambivalent attitude of the winners towards the silenced and disempowered losers of the Civil War? I do not think it is so much a question of whether Marquina's film consciously set out to figure the social and psychological fallout of the war, but rather of the ways in which the plot, themes, motifs and discourses of a thirty-year old play may have resonated with Spaniards in 1942.

Whenever they were criticized for providing a shallow, false and sentimental view of Andalusia, the Quintero Brothers countered that their plays performed a therapeutic, recreational function, offering Spain reassurance and optimism in the face of the collapse of its empire, bloodletting colonial wars in North Africa, and widespread poverty and discontent.[602] Their levity and escapism also provided relief to the forlorn citizens of post-Civil War Spain. Hence it should come as no surprise that nine movies were made out of their plays between 1939 and 1945 alone.[603]

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In a study on the representation of Andalusia on film, Jorge Urrutia observes how *franquismo* found a suitable vehicle for its ideological discourse in the Quintero Brothers' depiction of Andalusia, and by extension, Spain as a happy, carefree community safe from social upheaval.[604]

Although its tragic undertones depart from the Quinteros' customary optimism, *Malvaloca* nevertheless transfigures its experience of historical trauma into a powerful utopian aspiration. As it moves from the individual to the community, and from metaphors of lack and absence to the representation of plenitude, its plot proceeds to repair fractures and gaps within the social formation. *Malvaloca*'s progression from loss and rupture to recovery and wholeness, from a ravished body and a wounded subjectivity to an imaginary restoration and spiritual healing, constitutes the touchstone of melodrama. This genre was particularly suited to *franquismo*'s need to image a nation resacralized and restored to its former splendor after an outright battle with the forces of evil.

Against the desecration performed at the hands of Red Spain, *Malvaloca* foregrounds religious spaces, processions, rituals, imagery, and songs that proclaim the power of faith to heal, save and unite. As I have argued in my introduction, Francoist cinema essayed to create fictions of unity and harmony that neutralized and disavowed internal rifts, antagonistic discourses, and sexual difference.

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Malvaloca too tries to arrive at a consensus around the problem of Malvaloca's outcast status and transgressive sexuality. However, in opposition to the ultraconservative beliefs of Franco's National Catholicism the film vehiculates a string of counter-hegemonic discourses that converge around the issue of female sexuality, linking it to the persistence of socio-economic structures of exploitation and inequality.

The opening of Marquina's film does not shy away from presenting the physical poverty and moral degeneration of Andalusia's rural proletariat and linking the impoverished state of Malvaloca's family to an unjust socio-economic order, even if Marquina's critique targets the sexual exploitation of subaltern women by men of privilege rather than the class system itself. Furthermore, the candid references to Malvaloca's co-habitation with Salvador and then Leonardo would have flown in the face of the rigid morality of the 1940s. As it becomes public knowledge, Leonardo's infatuation with Malvaloca threatens to overturn the values of a moral code and social system predicated on intolerance and repression. Indeed, Marquina's film engages in a protracted negotiation between Malvaloca's and Leonardo's desires and the constraints that society imposes on their relationship.

By the time Malvaloca is rejected at Juanela's reception and treated as an outcast by the righteous and

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uptight citizens of Las Canteras, presumably the very social classes that backed Franco's uprising, Marquina's film has firmly positioned the spectator by her side. It continuously embraces this figure of Otherness, whose stained, feared body has taken on, like that of Christ, the wrongs, strains, and sorrow of an entire social body. Malvaloca is the symptom that Žižek speaks of, mirroring back to society its own hypocrisy, sexism and inequality.[605] Taking Žižek's notion to its extreme conclusion, one could argue that beyond this female figure of Otherness possibly stands a larger community of outsiders (the losers of Spain's Civil War) in need of cleansing and absolution.[606]

If Andalusia has in fact stood as a synecdoche for Spain, *Malvaloca* deploys the symbols and rites of its Passional culture to effect this purification and ultimately abet the public catharsis necessary for the *national* work of mourning. Marquina's film reclaims these atavistic signs of cultural identity for the discourses of the present, adapting them to the post-Civil War's program of reconstruction. Indeed, Marquina's movie openly addresses issues central to the psychopathology of 1940s' Spain. The paradigm of self-sacrifice posited in *Malvaloca*, the ecstasy the characters appear to attain in renunciation, conform to the economic and psychic realities of a people beset by shortages of food, fuel, and hope.

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In the tradition of melodrama, *Malvaloca* strives to figure consensus and assert how things ought to be within a world wrenched from its former self and unsure of its bearings. *Malvaloca*'s melodramatic formal strategies — particularly its use of music, lighting and camera work— and symbolic pictorial allusions underscore the importance of affect (religious, sexual etc.) as a force that dissolves and binds, destroys and heals. But rather than relying solely on the ineffable power of silent gestures and visuals, what Brooks called the "text of muteness," to generate feeling, Marquina skillfully exploits the affective potential of sound: the joyful peals of a bell, the melancholy of a *copla* or a *siguirilla*, the tragic plea of a *saeta*.

And while in principle the veiled presence of Romero de Torres' art yields to the primacy of song in Marquina's mise-en-scène, I would argue that sound is ultimately not that alien to a body of work that has often been perceived and understood as *coplas* and *saetas* rendered in paint.[607] Perhaps because of the human voice's stronger, more immediate affective presence, it serves best Marquina's objective of submerging the visual and aural dimensions of his film in feeling.[608] In the end, however, catharsis substitutes for a genuine engagement with social and sexual disempowerment and alienation.

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In spite of its omissions and evasions, the power of *Malvaloca*'s desire to metaphorically image a renascent nation, restored to its lost unity through a matrix of images, words, and songs invested with a metaphysical urgency, is undeniable. It is, however, a restored community predicated on love, redemption and inclusion, not retribution and exclusion. A far cry, indeed, from the overbearingly vindictive manifestations of much Francoist culture and film. All of this is presented with Marquina's customary understatement and tact, veiled in an elliptical narrative and diffused in a gentle pathos. As Mitchell stated of Andalusia's Passional culture, it too may be said that *Malvaloca* reaches for and lingers on exquisite moments of emotion in order to avoid a head-on confrontation with history.

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CHAPTER 8

DOMINGO DE CARNAVAL

On February 3, 1937, a little over six months into the war, Franco issued a proclamation outlawing the yearly rites of Carnival in all territories controlled by the *Nacionales*. The rationale behind this order was twofold. On the one hand, there was a desire to avoid the use of the festivities as an occasion for political protests, street riots, and incidents of sabotage and revenge. On the other, the cheer of Carnival was deemed insensitive to the carnage in the battlefields and incompatible with the deprivation on the home front.[609]

When the war ended, Franco's interdiction was enforced nationwide and was to last, with few exceptions, for the next forty years. In 1945, in the midst of this anti-carnivalesque sentiment, writer and filmmaker Edgar Neville (1899-1967) directed *Domingo de carnaval* (Shrove Sunday), a comic thriller that celebrated the banned pleasures and roguish spirit of Madrid's carnival. Neville described *Domingo de carnaval* as "a Spanish etching . . . a Madrilenian *sainete* of 1917, set in the Rastro [a historic district that hosts a lively flea market], during the three days of Carnival." He added: "The hallucinatory quality of Solana's pictures of mummers, all the excitement of Goya's Burial of the Sardine has inspired this movie."[610] Neville

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hereby outlined the intertextual co-ordinates of his film: on the one hand, the theatrical genre of the *sainete* (a short satirical play usually set in a plebeian milieu), and by extension, the populist theater of Carlos Arniches; on the other, Goya's and José Gutiérrez Solana's paintings of Carnival. Neville combined these literary and pictorial influences in a personal brand of filmic *costumbrismo* that viewed Spain's popular traditions as a source of creative renewal for its cinema, endowing it with universal appeal.[611]

This chapter will examine Neville's formulation of a localist cinema rooted in realism, *casticismo* (the expression of inherently Spanish traits), and Madrilenian working-class life. I shall discuss how Neville's cinema drew inspiration from the *sainete* in order to articulate a national-popular brand of cinema antithetical to *franquismo*'s ideological and cultural agenda. In *Domingo de carnaval* Neville invests his remembrance of Carnival with a utopian dimension and critical projection that echoes Mikhail Bakhtin's theorization of the carnivalesque.[612] *Domingo de carnaval* conjures up a public sphere infused with the elation of dance, the triumph of the body in all of its earthiness, the liberating, contestatory power of grotesque humor, and the fluidity of gender roles. Neville's film holds up an inverted reflection of *franquismo*'s hegemonic order. In the topsy-turvy space of Carnival women land on top and social and psychosexual identities are contingent,

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performative, and transgressive rather than timeless, innate, and conforming.

Domingo de carnaval also dialogizes Spain's pictorial tradition, but Neville's citation of the art of José Gutiérrez Solana and Goya goes beyond an elitist inscription of high art into a patently low form like the cinema. The presence of painting in *Domingo de carnaval* invokes a realm of pleasure tied to the life of the people. It affirms the relevance of this popular experience to the present at the same time as it nostalgically depicts a lost world of innocence. Solana's carnival paintings in particular play an important role in Neville's visual recreation of Madrid's vernacular traditions. They account in good measure for the film's rustic, irreverent flavor, yet I want to argue that Solana's somber vision of Carnival also saturates *Domingo de carnaval* with a morbid atmosphere that heralds the uncanny and opens up the interstices of the abject. For lurking behind the grotesque masks of Neville's rowdy mummers is a streak of violence that, to my mind, simmers with the rage unleashed by Spain's brutal Civil War.

The Plebeian Aristocrat

Edgar Neville, the Count of Berlanga de Duero, was a prolific and multitalented man of varied, often contradictory tastes.[613] His cosmopolitan upbringing and career were offset by a fierce love of Spanish popular culture. Contemporary testimonials portray him as a bohemian

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dandy with a title; a bon-vivant diplomat and late-night reveler; a fan of bullfights and a sports enthusiast who adored *tertulias* (literary café-salons). Literary critic Víctor Ruiz Iriarte described him thus:

> He scared people from the Right with his bold Voltairianism, his politically dissolving spirit, and his mordant wit in sentimental matters . . . but surrounded by leftists he seemed almost an irritating señorito . . . full of exquisite whims, a gourmet connoisseur, and a devotee of expensive and dazzling cars.[614]

Neville's oeuvre combined a penchant for artistic experimentation with a humanist concern for his characters.[615] Film historian Francisco Llinás has called attention to Neville's love of authenticity and his distaste for ostentation and false appearances.[616] Julio Pérez Perucha, author of the first study of Neville's cinema, regards him as a model of independence, a director who thrived within the parameters of a highly regulated and bureaucratic film industry and maneuvered around the obstacles imposed by Franco's administration. Emilio Sanz de Soto considers Neville an *auteur* and describes his style as one of "deceptive flippancy." He writes:

> (Neville's cinema) provokes smiles, never laughter. It does not let itself get trapped. It insinuates more than it says, but it never tries to hide. In Edgar Neville's films everything is simple. However, appearances are misleading.[617]

Edgar Neville is widely regarded by Spanish film historians as the most original Spanish director of the 1940s. In the eyes of his defenders, Neville's cinema towers

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above the pedestrian tone of most other post-Civil War films.[618] The decade of the 1940s constituted Neville's most active period in the film industry. As a filmmaker relatively comfortable within the restricted domain of *franquismo*, Neville initially shared the postulates of the regime.[619] Paradoxically, he welcomed Franco's victory only to find himself in an increasingly awkward position as the 1940s wore on. Neville's outspoken defense of a populist cinema modeled on the *sainete* clashed with the immobilism and bias of an administration whose official paragons were the militant historical film and the militarist epic.

By 1944 he struck an increasingly idiosyncratic path that led him towards a populist cinema rooted in realism and *costumbrismo*. Half *sainete*, half ghost story, *La torre de los siete jorobados* (The Tower of the Seven Hunchbacks, 1944) represented Neville's first step away from the mainstream cinema of his era. An exceptionally inventive hybrid of *costumbrismo* and German expressionism, the quotidian and the fantastic, *La torre de los siete jorobados* is a veritable oddity in the history of Spanish cinema. *Domingo de carnaval* and *El crimen de la calle de Bordadores* (The Crime of Bordadores Street, 1946) completed an informal trilogy of quaint mystery pictures set in the Madrid of yesteryear. This cinema stood at the opposite end of the spectrum from the period melodramas of CIFESA or the epic,

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militarist cinema epitomized by Saenz de Heredia's *Raza* (1942).

For film historians like Emilio Sanz de Soto and Emilio C. García Fernández this shift signaled Neville's increasing alienation from the stifling cultural paradigms of *franquismo*. They argue that a man of Neville's refined education and discriminating taste ought to have found himself at odds with the reigning mediocrity. If the ideology of *franquismo* imagined Spain as "the spiritual reserve of the West," Neville, according to actress Conchita Montes, the director's muse and lifelong partner, looked beyond the official line. His cinema focused on "the essence of the popular:" the life of a neighborhood, simple things that evoked the substance of Madrilenian *tipismo* (local color).[620]

Although *Domingo de carnaval* was awarded the fifth prize from the Sindicato Nacional del Espectáculo (worth 250,000 pesetas), it was not officially classified as a Film of National Interest, and was thus denied the corresponding lucrative subsidies. Indeed, working against the grain of Franco's most ideologically saturated cinema, Neville seldom received support or recognition from state agencies and was often forced to produce his own pictures. If these films, often shot on the run with limited means, displayed a lackluster technique and a paucity of stylistic flourishes, living up to Neville's reputation as an indolent and

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frivolous filmmaker, they shone instead for their careful, literate scripts, vivacious dialogues, and evocative atmosphere.[621] Even when on that rare occasion Neville's cinema echoed aspects of Francoist ideology, it always retained a measure of wit, irony and refinement.

Unlike the prestige they currently enjoy among Spanish scholars, Neville's films were not always well received by critics in his lifetime. Given this rehabilitation, it is surprising how little attention has been paid to *Domingo de carnaval* in the literature on Neville.[622] Only film historian Valéria Camporesi has dwelt on the picture as an early instance of a satirical realism that connects back to the sixteenth-century tradition of the picaresque novel.[623]

Curiously, *Domingo de carnaval* fared better with the critics of the 1940s than some of Neville's other pictures.[624] The film reviewer of Ya praised Neville's avoidance of foreign models and rejoiced in his accurate portrayal of Madrilenian society.[625] The reviewer of El Alcázar was of the same opinion:

> Far from imitating the exotic, Spanish cinema must incorporate popular topics deeply rooted among us. *Domingo de carnaval* accomplishes this in all of its spectacle: the Madrilenian Rastro, the burial of the Sardine, the hallucinatory climate in which the drama unfolds. Only following this direction will our cinema attain a universal dimension.[626]

In Primer Plano Gómez Tello located the "Spanishness" (sentido español) of *Domingo de carnaval* in its pronounced realism, contrasting it with the vogue for escapist romantic

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comedies.[627] ABC critic Miguel Rodenas underlined Neville's exquisite sensibility and his flair for rendering to perfection a kaleidoscopic cross-section of Madrid's society with the palette of a masterful painter.[628] The Diario de Barcelona pointed to the film's humor as its main accomplishment and noted its qualitative difference from the bulk of contemporary Spanish movies.[629]

The Plot

Set circa 1917, *Domingo de carnaval* blends humor and suspense in relating the investigation of a murder committed in the early hours of Shrove Sunday. A police detective and the main suspect's daughter separately strive to resolve the case as Madrid's inhabitants yield to the frenzy of Carnival. The opening credits of *Domingo de carnaval* appear against long-shot views of Madrid's old quarters. The story begins at dawn on Shrove Sunday.. On his routine morning round, the *sereno* (nightwatchman) discovers the corpse of Doña Reme, a moneylender, inside her unlocked apartment. At the police station, the chief inspector assigns the case to a young assistant, Matías (Fernando Fernán Gómez). At his boss' suggestion, Matías begins his inquiry with the moneylender's neighbors and clients. Nemesio, who sells clocks and hawks potions at El Rastro's flea market, is an immediate suspect. Having quarreled violently the previous day with the deceased over a payment he owed her, Nemesio is surprised by Matías later that night inside Doña Reme's

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apartment in the act of recovering a lost mouthpiece. Nemesio protests his innocence yet Matías has him arrested.

At nighttime, Nieves (Conchita Montes), Nemesio's daughter, breaks through a window into Doña Reme's apartment looking for clues that may exonerate her father. In the morning, Matías returns to the dead woman's home to find Nieves tied up and gagged. At that moment, Gonzalo Fonseca (Guillermo Marín), a man of means, walks in and inquires about a bureau that he claims belongs to his great aunt and was sold, without her knowledge, to the deceased. Nieves suspects him of the crime and, disregarding Matías' advice, follows him that night with her friend Julia (Julia Lajos) to a masked ball. Inside the theater a disguised Nieves manages to meet Fonseca's party. As she and Fonseca are about to leave together, a tall masked figure appears from behind and pulls off Nieves' mask. Fonseca is angered by her deception and walks out.

Back at the police station, Matías learns the following morning that Doña Reme's apartment was frequented by all sorts of shady characters, especially foreigners involved in the drug trade. In the afternoon Fonseca and Marte, a French chorus girl, make an appearance at an outdoor masquerade, trailed by Nieves and Julia. Loud *comparsas* and *murgas* (ensembles of mummers) burst in carrying a bed with a sardine wrapped in a shroud and prepare for the traditional ritual of burying the sardine, which marks the end of

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carnival and the beginning of Lent.[630] Two mummers join Fonseca and Marte. Nieves follows them to a quiet inn and listens in on their conversation. She learns that Marte had arranged to recover an item from Doña Reme, but in the process the moneylender was accidentally killed. As the group wrangle over money, Nieves is sighted and seized.

When the Burial of the Sardine arrives at the inn, the killers substitute Nieves for the dummy on the bed and mingle with the crowd as the procession winds its way across the city's outskirts. In the meantime, Julia has joined Nieves' father, who has been set free. When the procession reaches its destination, the criminals attempt to dispose of Nieves but Matías and his fellow officers intervene and unmask the assassins, who are revealed as the nightwatchman and an accomplice. Having resolved the crime, Nieves is reunited with her father. She offers her arm to Matías and together they dance away the final hours of Carnival. Vivacious music swells as the film comes to an end, and a grinning face painted on a tall standard, an image borrowed from Goya's Burial of the Sardine (1814, Fig. 45) presides over the boisterous, happy multitudes.

Forbidden Carnival

Franco's prohibition was not a first; the history of Spain's carnival was riddled with conflict and sporadic government intervention.[631] As the concentration of impoverished masses in urban centers mounted during the

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nineteenth century, social policies were implemented to control the unruliness of Carnival. As a result, a number of popular festivities were forbidden or restricted by city councils seeking to contain and neutralize Carnival's subversive energy.[632] As authorities clamped down on street parties, a bourgeois space of private balls and masquerades emerged. These were sponsored by associations and clubs and held in casinos, dancehalls, and theaters. Two models of Carnival co-existed: the controlled, enclosed realm of the élite and the unbridled, open theater of the general populace.[633]

General Miguel Primo de Rivera, who ruled Spain with dictatorial powers from 1923-1930, suppressed Madrid's carnival in 1923, with the exception of a number of private society balls. It was reinstated in 1931 on the eve of the proclamation of the Second Republic, but evolved into an arena of confrontation for the contentious forces that would soon take their grudges to the battlefield. Throughout the 1930s both the conservative and liberal press waged an ongoing campaign against the festivities' perceived excesses.[634] The victory of the Popular Front in the elections of February 16, 1936, one week before Shrove Sunday, cemented a pre-existent identification among members of the Right between the dissipation of Carnival, the political violence of the extreme Left, and the permissive moral climate of the Second Republic.[635] Public debauchery

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and uncivil behavior perpetrated under the anonymity of masks served as ammunition for conservative critics to condemn Carnival as a manifestation of the social and moral decadence fostered by democracy. Indeed, the Second Republic was often likened to a carnival out-of-control.[636]

As Franco's troops laid siege to Madrid, Carnival was suspended once again in 1937, this time by the Republican administration. After Franco's victory, it was not reinstated until 1983.[637] In the immediate post-Civil War years, Carnival's absence was greeted with relief. In 1940 the Falangist newspaper Arriba praised the uneventful arrival of Ash Wednesday and vilified once more the Republic, "the masked and untidy saturnalia that we have not forgotten."[638] Writer Manuel Comba likewise applauded the abrogation of rituals regarded as "a survival of atavistic barbarianism and debauchery." Although Comba's endorsement was qualified by an unresolved nostalgia for such a deep-rooted tradition, he concluded: "It was a brave decision to unmask such madness . . . Street fairs were never a source of artistic emotions."[639]

In light of the political and cultural climate of 1945, it is legitimate to wonder how a film like *Domingo de carnaval* could have been made and then recognized with an official prize. To start, personal wealth allowed Neville uncommon freedom in picking subject matter peripheral to the government's agenda. It also secured a relative independence

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from the implicit financial control of state loans, dubbing permits and awards. [640] The film's manifest homage to Gutiérrez Solana, one of the few modern painters abided by Franco's regime, probably defused the polemic implications of the subject matter with the respectable mantle of high art. Neville's celebration of Carnival was in any case safely displaced to a distant, unthreatening past (Madrid's Belle Epoque) where its forbidden pleasures could be vicariously enjoyed in the knowledge of its extinction. There is even a sense in which Falange, in spite of its animosity towards practices associated with the politics of the Popular Front, would have recognized in the objectionable diversions of Carnival an indigenous tradition permeated by *casticismo*. Ultimately, *Domingo de carnaval* owes its genesis to Neville's singular personality.

The Sainete

Neville's appreciation of popular culture led him to elevate the minor theatrical genre of the *sainete* (also known in Spanish as *género chico*) into an estimable artistic manifestation. Theater historian Juan Antonio Ríos Carratalá has outlined a number of salient traits of the *sainete*. For one, it focuses on plebeian and working-class milieus inhabited by everyday men and women, but avoids conflict, misery and marginality. Instead, it portrays an amiable and optimistic view of quotidian reality. The *sainete* also privileges the collective over the individual voice in

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scenarios keener on witty dialogue and characterization than plot. The *sainete* offers a naturalistic depiction of the world tempered by a moralistic outlook and a tendency towards stereotypical characters and situations.[641]

Originating with the short one-act satires by eighteenth-century playwright Don Ramón de la Cruz, the *sainete* found its most perfect realization in the wildly popular theater of Carlos Arniches (1866-1943), who took the stock characters and situations of *costumbrismo* to the stage and graced his working-class types with a stylized, fanciful version of the slang heard on the streets of Madrid's popular quarters. What Arniches' *sainetes* lacked in compelling plots they made up for with sharp dialogues, local flavor, and a hyperbolic, often grotesque vein of humor.[642] Neville was a great admirer of Arniches, having adapted his play La Señorita de Trevélez (1916) for the screen in 1936.

Ríos Carratalá observes how the *sainete* is a constant of Spain's cinema by means of which certain filmmakers have testified to the continuity of popular culture. In their hands the *sainete*'s idiom even acquired a critical, subversive edge.[643] Neville was an enthusiastic devotee of the *sainete*. He related his interest in the genre to Spain's lack of a strong and sizable middle class. Since the working class, be it urban or rural, constituted a majority of Spain's population, he reasoned that the cinema should

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address its concerns. Hence, the relevance and aptness of the *sainete*; its familiarity and accessibility to the masses made it an ideal means of communication and entertainment and a source of social integration.

In an interview in 1944 Neville professed his love of the *sainete*, which he viewed as a "natural motif of Spanish expressivity," one particularly suitable to the cinema. Furthermore, the *sainete*'s roots in Madrid's popular culture made it even more appealing to an individual as proud of his Madrilenian identity as Neville.[644] However, his predilection for an eminently plebeian form such as the *sainete* was not to the liking of certain sectors of the regime and elicited vitriolic attacks in print. This animosity stemmed as much from Neville's ardent apology of *costumbrismo* as in his concomitant rejection of historical cinema. Neville warned of the risks inherent in making historical films, such as the requisite slow, studied pace that only talented directors could pull off successfully. The fixed, unassailable historical views enshrined by Franco's educational system impinged, in his opinion, on the creative freedom of both screenwriters and directors. Preconceived knowledge, stereotypes, and unidimensional characters stifled invention. Instead filmmakers should turn to and draw their inspiration from daily life.[645]

Reaction to Neville's remarks was swift and trenchant. Luciano de Madrid sounded off in Primer Plano:

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> Pardon us, Mr. Neville, if we disagree with you and like historical films . . . Or could the aftermath of the dreadful crisis of three years of combat be a return to the *sainete*, that radical socialist rabble, as if nothing had actually happened? Many things have happened and there is no *sainete* about it . . . There is History as an example . . . but, in spite of everything that director has said, something substantial is at least evident, the opposition of two concepts that once confronted each other with the only dialectic possible in the realm of absolute truths . . . Some stand for the *sainete* and others for History.[646]

Luciano de Madrid's antagonistic stance could be seen as the latest salvo in the partisan battles waged since the eighteenth century among Spain's intelligentsia over the artistic legitimacy of popular culture.[647] After the war, Falangist circles posited the cultivation of History as the highest calling, a superior intellectual and moral pursuit in opposition to the commonness of *costumbrismo*. In this dialectic, History and *sainete* were meant to figure the two Spains, right and left, authoritarian and revolutionary, elitist and plebeian, clashing periodically through time in an inexorable march towards the showdown of the Civil War. For spokesmen on the Right, like Comba, *verbenas* could never be "a source of artistic emotions" and the *sainete*, nothing but a leftover from the Bolshevik proclivities of the Popular Front. In such a climate, Neville's predilection for the *sainete* could be recast as a manifestation of philocommunism and condemned as a remnant of the pernicious culture of the Second Republic.[648]

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Neville's Populist Cinema

In spite of the hostile environment, Neville persisted in his preference for a cinema steeped in the popular. In the essay "Defense of My Cinema" he argued:

> I have always been tempted to describe people as they are and to create lives either already lived or perhaps in the process of existing . . . I attached the least importance to the plot; what ought to be photographed and genuine was the atmosphere, the dense milieu of each era, the gestures, the customs and phrases of the characters, the proper value of period furniture . . . and, above all else, the reactions of the characters, since they too are dated.[649]

Neville concluded his essay perhaps somewhat apologetically:

> I am rather afraid I shall persist in my propensity for *costumbrismo*, and perhaps, take a look at folklore, but... there will always be *costumbrismo* and a national imprint in what I do since I do not belong in vain to a specific world, a geographic and spiritually bound place, and a distinct moment in history.[650]

Neville sought to make a cinema endowed with signs of national specificity that would constitute an alternative to the hackneyed *costumbrismo* depicted in the *españolada*. On this subject he commented:

> Narratives with a Spanish flavor are not only those with dances, costumes and bulls, those we call folkloric, but rather those that present characters whose behavior could only occur in our country.[651]

He also believed that in order for Spanish films to have a universal appeal, filmmakers should cultivate local motifs over the blind adoption of foreign (i.e., Hollywood) formulas. This conviction led Neville to acclimate imported generic models by infusing them with a Spanish personality.[652] Ostensibly a thriller, the plot of *Domingo de*

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carnaval often seems merely an excuse for an exercise in *casticismo*, with a quasi-ethnographic emphasis on the gestures, body postures, and intonations of Madrilenians and a loving description of Madrid's popular types and mores.[653] Its protagonists patently speak a Madrilenian patois, yet, as in Arniches' *sainetes*, there is at times a measure of hyperbolic embellishment of the language. For example, when Nemesio is confronted with his threat of throwing Doña Reme into the courtyard, he dismisses it as simply "a literary image, a rhetorical phrase."[654] Neville sets store by the charm and wit of urban slang, delighting in the droll speech, wry humor, and foolish actions of his plebeian characters. He treats them with affection, not condescension, and a feather-light irony.

Neville's disinterest in History notwithstanding, *Domingo de carnaval* entailed a historical recreation of sorts, albeit one unconcerned with aristocratic feats or military exploits. Instead, it is a microhistory, a chronicle of the day-to-day lives of ordinary, anonymous people. Neville's lens never strays far from the city's popular quarters, El Rastro and Lavapiés, and its plebeian and petit bourgeois inhabitants: lamplighters, nightwatchmen, ironmongers and street peddlers, shopkeepers, and petty criminals. Fonseca's upper-class world and the middle-class patrons of the masked ball are the few exceptions to a world decidedly centered on the proletariat.

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It may be excessive to read any subversive intent in *Domingo de carnaval*, since, after all, Neville was a man of the regime. Although the class structure of Spanish society is exposed, conflict is largely avoided. Moreover, by relocating the action to the mythic, bygone city of his youth, Neville made the film's unabashed populism less objectionable; a veneer of nostalgia for a pre-industrial Madrid (for that matter, a thematic constant in Neville's oeuvre) diminished the risk implicit in the representation of forbidden cultural practices.[655] Yet *Domingo de carnaval* wields an affirmative view of popular culture that differs markedly from contemporary cinematic expressions. Insofar as working-class voices and manifestations were nearly invisible, to the extent that Franco's post-Civil War order could conceive of no room for the carnivalesque, or the *sainete* for that matter, Neville's apology for Carnival embodied a measure of opposition. The virulence of Luciano de Madrid's diatribe suggests that its implications did not go unnoticed.

The Hallucinatory Pictorial World of Gutiérrez Solana

In this formulation of a cinematic model that would bear a national imprint and simultaneously reach, entertain, and engage a working-class audience, Neville found inspiration for *Domingo de carnaval* not only in the theater of Carlos Arniches but also in the paintings and writings of José Gutiérrez Solana.[656] If Arniches' *sainetes* provided

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Neville with the components of a successful prototype — stylized language, offbeat humor, vibrant local color—, Gutiérrez Solana's painting on the other hand provided Neville with a visual lexicon of popular life grounded in realism and an iconography of Carnival.

Gutiérrez Solana's style has been described as a synthesis of dour realism and grotesque expressionism. Although Solana was aware of trends in modern art, he was drawn to the incisive and graphic realism of the Spanish school.[657] His work shared with this tradition a style –a dark palette, tactile images, and thick, energetic brushwork– as well as a protagonism of popular culture.[658] Solana pursued this strain of anti-idealism even further, distorting the human figure for expressive purposes and indulging in a fascination with the ugly, the macabre, and the eschatological.[659]

Spanish critics coined the term *solanesco* to describe the overall mood of squalor and decay pervading his work. Solana has been called "the painter of suffering and death" and "the official chronicler of hopelessness and failure."[660] His vision of Spain is perhaps captured best in the book La España Negra (Black Spain, 1920), an idiosyncratic journal of the author's extended travels across Northern Spain.[661] La España Negra recreates a world of violence, superstition and utter poverty: bloody *capeas* and *encierros* (small village bullfights); uncanny wax museums, shabby circuses and

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sideshows; gloomy processions of *disciplinantes* (self-flagellating penitents); lesioned beggars and blind street singers; prisons, asylums, taverns, and brothels. Proud, rugged fishermen and farmers co-exist with emaciated laborers, failed bullfighters, and infirm prostitutes.[662]

Although his painting lacked an explicit social or political critique, Gutiérrez Solana was not entirely indifferent to the regenerative spirit of the Generation of 98, writers and artists whose work was indelibly marked by the disastrous outcome of the Spanish-American War. Like them, Solana glanced at Spain and saw a decadent, backward nation. He differed in the relentless pessimism and sardonic edge of his vision.[663]

Solana's painting generally encountered the indifference, if not hostility, of the art establishment. Many critics questioned Solana's patriotism, feeling that his subject matter provided ammunition for Spain's enemies and lent credibility to the old clichés of the Black Legend that portrayed Spaniards as a backward people prone to barbaric rituals, cruel behavior, and religious fanaticism. In the face of such widespread disapproval, José Francés, secretary of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, vouched for the painter's Spanishness: "It is important to insist . . . on the Spanish character of his work. A bitter but authentic Spanishness . . . that looks at the bullrings and village

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squares without the literary eagerness of the exporters catering to foreign taste."[664]

Solana's first scenes of Carnival appeared in 1908. Although the theme disappeared from 1914 to 1917, it reappeared and flourished in a series of paintings from 1929-1932, only to re-emerge after the Civil War in a final act of defiance. [665] Goya's Burial of the Sardine (Fig. 45), a work to which Neville pays homage in the finale of *Domingo de carnaval*, surely inspired Solana to paint his own version of this Madrilenian ritual in 1912. Goya's representation of the riotous populace is equivocal enough to have been construed either as a populist fantasy (a liberating outburst of proletarian joy) or an Enlightened nightmare (the unchecked tyranny of the masses' basest instincts).[666] The ambivalence that José Ortega y Gasset or Janis Tomlinson detected in Goya's images of plebeian subjects is accentuated in Solana's scenes of Carnival.[667] These exhibit a measure of empathy with the festive crowds, but also an alienated view of their dissolute, feral behavior. Moreover, Solana's Burial of the Sardine (1912, Fig. 46) substitutes an apocalyptic vision reminiscent of Brueghel and Bosch for Goya's anarchic vitalism.[668] If a standard depicting an oversize mocking grin commands the viewer's attention in Goya's Burial of the Sardine, Solana's homonymous picture places a coffin and skeleton-costumed figures on centerstage. Whereas Goya proffers irreverence and pleasure,

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Solana conjures a phantasmagoric landscape suffused by the specter of death.

Solana's paintings of Carnival bear a number of parallels to the *sainete*, beginning with their choral nature. Except for a handful of works portraying a single masked figure, generally from the waist up, his images of Carnival frame agitated revelers at a distance, the pictorial equivalent of a long shot, usually in desolate suburban landscapes or narrow back streets. As in the *sainete*, Solana favors the collective over the individual. Furthermore, Solana's paintings of Carnival are more intent on describing behavior and evoking a mood than registering a specific action or story. Their protagonists are essentially anonymous and interchangeable; the use of the mask precludes any attempt at characterization or rendering interiority. Lastly, like the *sainete*, Solana's pictorial universe is centered decidedly on the popular classes, although he transforms the amiable proceedings of the *sainete* into a chaotic spectacle of ribald and macabre glee.

From the Canvas to the Screen

Neville and Solana had known each other from the days of Ramón Gómez de la Serna's famous *tertulias* at Café Pombo and were on friendly terms.[669] A few weeks before Solana's death, Neville had invited him to the set of *Domingo de carnaval*. He admired Solana's art and undoubtedly found in the painter a kindred spirit who shared his fondness for

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costumbrismo.[670] Solana's unabashed foregrounding of proletarian life, blemishes and all, coincided with Neville's sympathy for working-class culture. While the painter's stubborn commitment to his vision over and above the incomprehension of the official art world offered an example of perseverance, Neville's greatest debt to Solana may lie in the latter's reclaiming of realism as an inherently Spanish aesthetic.

Although Neville's treatment of his subject matter is unquestionably stylized as far as language and acting are concerned, *Domingo de carnaval* includes sequences that capture the texture of everyday life with the immediacy of a documentary. Indeed, certain of Neville's aesthetic choices –the recourse to outdoor locations, such as the popular neighborhood of El Rastro; an attention to the inflections of everyday speech; the inclusion of non-actors such as the actual charlatans from the flea market– parallel the contemporary strategies and practices of Neorealism.[671] In fact, Camporesi perceives the *costumbrismo*-inspired realism of *Domingo de carnaval* as a blueprint for a socially-conscious cinema that might have evolved into a national alternative to Italian Neorealism.[672]

Direct quotes from Solana's paintings are not immediately detectable in *Domingo de carnaval*, yet grotesque masks, makeshift costumes, tattered umbrellas, brass instruments, and macabre standards are lifted directly from

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the Carnival pictures into Neville's mise-en-scène. Canvases like Carnaval (Fig. 47), Las máscaras del paraguas, or Máscaras en las afueras (Fig. 48) encapsulate the rowdy energy, the leering humor, and the subliminal violence permeating the film's carnivalesque atmosphere.[673] Other paintings by Solana, such as his scenes of El Rastro, may have provided visual inspiration for Neville's recreation of Madrid's old neighborhoods. For instance, a work like El charlatán (Fig. 49), which depicts a hawker of potions, may have been one of the sources for the sequences set in El Rastro's flea market, featuring quacks and other charlatans.

Neville, like Solana, tends to frame his mummers in long shots as they burst through the stalls of the Rastro or careen down a winding street of old Madrid, meandering among the crowds. Yet his citations of Solana blend into a filmic discourse that in principle diverges from the painter's pessimistic view of the carnivalesque. On the contrary, Neville concocts a jovial comedy of manners, much closer in spirit to the *sainete*'s cheer and Mikhail Bakhtin's optimistic view of Carnival.[674] Bakhtin theorized it as the "way of the people," an act of self-definition that involves the suspension of privilege and repressive morality and the overturning of hierarchy. Carnival affirms the people's immortal, indestructible character and adumbrates a utopian future of freedom, equality, brotherhood, and prosperity.[675] It is not a sheer spectacle but a lived, emancipatory

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experience that encourages and elicits full communal participation and fosters interpersonal ties.

The Female Grotesque

For Bakhtin a great deal of Carnival's subversive power derives from its grotesque, dissolving humor. Its laughter, coarse, blasphemous, scatological and earthbound, proclaims a universal profane gaiety directed at everything and everyone. It mocks authority, exposing the impermanent, conjunctural nature of power, and celebrates the people's resilience in the face of repression. Like Bakhtin, Neville conceives the carnivalesque as a public sphere of riotous pleasure, fluid identities, and sassy humor. There are moments in *Domingo de carnaval* when Neville's refined comic sense clearly yields to a pungent, grotesque vein. It is significant that a female character, Julia, embodies this irreverent strain of humor. She is large and rotund; her plump body signifies the carnal physicality that Bakhtin extols as the essence of Carnival.[676]

From the moment we first meet Julia, appropriately enough in the tumultuous marketplace atmosphere of the Rastro, we immediately notice her corpulence, brazen demeanor, and sharp tongue. As the excitement of the festivities mounts, her expansive personality flourishes amid the fluttering confetti and the din of the masquerade. Benefiting from the anonymity provided by her disguise, she applies her corrosive humor at petty bourgeois

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respectability and duplicity alike and her charades constitute high points in the film.[677]

Literary scholar Mary Russo writes: "The masks and voices of carnival resist, exaggerate, and destabilize the distinctions that mark and maintain high culture and organized society."[678] Russo has primarily in mind the norms that delimit and regulate the social mobility and cultural contribution of women, whose full participation in modern Spanish society was never more checked and discouraged than under Franco.[679] By contrast, the topsy-turvy logic of Carnival liberates women, if only temporarily, from societal constraints, places them "on top" and offers a venue for their transformation into a transgressive public spectacle.[680]

Like Bakhtin, Neville places women at the center of his carnivalesque universe. *Domingo de carnaval* portrays an affirmative and vibrant image of femininity that contrasts with the restrictive model of *franquismo*: the nurturing and sacrificing woman bound to her hearth and family, a patriotic breeder of soldiers and obedient citizens.[681] Endowed with an incisive critical voice, women in *Domingo de carnaval* act instead as a disruptive presence and, within the scope of the narrative, enjoy an unusual degree of agency and freedom of movement. Nieves and Julia are neither submissive nor self-effacing; they are smart, independent, and largely self-sufficient. Nieves certainly proves herself

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a devoted daughter to Nemesio, but she is also a spirited foil to Matías. Neither she nor Julia has qualms about defying or belittling authority and assuming, both figuratively and literally, an active, male-identified role. Figuratively, by playing detectives; literally, when Nieves disguises herself as a man at the outdoor masquerade at the Venta del Chaleco to continue her trailing of Fonseca's activities (Fig. 50).

In fact, Nieves and Julia's efforts towards solving Doña Reme's murder are far more effective than Matías' tactics. Herein lies one of the film's more radical implications, namely, that a woman can best the performance of a quintessential agent of male patriarchy, the law enforcement officer. Nieves literally uncovers the criminal's identity when she pulls off his mask, although, as befits the deflation of female agency required by *franquismo's* patriarchal order, in the end Matías must intervene to save her life. These "disorderly women" may be occasionally humbled and chided, but they are never repentant.[682]

It is true that to an extent Nieves and Julia's autonomy and mobility are contingent upon their recourse to masks and the overall inversion of identity —social, sexual, and otherwise— set in motion by Carnival.[683] In the freewheeling universe of the carnivalesque, femininity reveals itself as a masquerade in which identity slips and

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drifts. Throughout the film Julia, alternately coy and flirting or aggressive and castrating in her encounters with men, literally figures womanliness as artifice and performance.[684] Nieves' saucy dishing of Matías and flirtatious treatment of Fonseca reflects a similar assumption of the inherent theatricality of gender roles.

The film's stress on performativity also entails a radical decentering and questioning of identity. In the ball a masked Julia gleefully mocks men with her insistent taunt, "I bet you do not know who I am" (*¿A que no me conoces?*).[685] In the meantime Nieves declines Fonseca's insistent requests to take off her mask, relishing, too, the pleasures of an unfixed identity. Through the trope of the mask, female identity is thus effectively posited in Neville's film as a riddle for men to decipher (Fig. 51). It becomes, as Stephen Heath phrases it, a "discourse of mask and behind, that mask behind which man suspects some hidden danger."[686] Indeed, *Domingo de carnaval* distills a measure of anxiety from the masquerade of Carnival that transcends, and runs deeper than, the fear of collapsed sexual difference. It is an anxiety that comes from an extra-diegetic source, permeating Neville's mise-en-scène and opening it up to the realm of the abject.

Intimations of the Abject

Julia Kristeva defines abjection as what lies outside and banished from consciousness, a reality that disturbs

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system and order and does not respect borders and rules, a site of collapsed meaning that, if acknowledged, will annihilate the self's stable identity. The abject finds expression in unsettling experiences that question the self's illusion of unity with intimations of dissolution and death, with reminiscences of the void underlying the constitution of subjectivity. It resides in those spaces between the self and other, in borders between inside and outside, and in fragile states of non-differentiation that stray into the province of the animal.[687]

There is something undeniably abject about Solana's reiterated foregrounding of masks in his carnival pictures. As a child alone at home during Carnival, Solana answered a knock at the door only to find a large man hidden under a hideous mask. The stranger chased him inside and cornered him, insistently asking: "Do you know me?" When his parents returned, they found the boy shaken and speechless. Julia's playful taunt acquired in Solana's case the weight of an anguished existential question. In fact, the painter confessed that he was haunted by this incident for the rest of his life.[688] Although the mummers that populate Solana's paintings occasionally display apotropaic properties, more often than not they restage a scenario of trauma that foregrounds the mutability and fragility of identity. These images of carnival, I believe, reenact a constitutive

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psychic shattering in the guise of compulsive encounters with the abject.[689]

In *Domingo de carnaval* Neville elaborates a parallel discourse on masks and whatever danger they conceal. Neville's humanism and *casticismo* may have tempered the ghastly aspects of Solana's art, yet the painter's gloomy spirit still envelops *Domingo de carnaval* in an oppressive atmosphere. Neville's mise-en-scène renders even the most banal of moments, such as a lingering shot on empty space — a deserted tenement courtyard at dawn, a bureau on which a music box suddenly goes off—, with an ominous sensation.

As in Solana's work, masks become privileged icons of the abject. In one sequence, Nieves breaks into the moneylender's apartment. Distracted by a sudden noise, she looks away and Neville cuts to a close up of a carnival puppet turning its head. The sight of it causes Nieves to faint. In the next scene, a group of mummers, some disguised as skeletons, assemble to have their picture taken. The eerie stillness of the bodies, arranged as a Solana-like tableau of mannequins, produces an erosion of boundaries between the animated and inanimate object, the human and the not-so-human that invests both scenes with the uncanniness permeating many of Solana's works (Fig. 52).[690] And, of course, there is the abject uncanniness of the mask, hypostatizing, and at the same time eroding, the boundaries between selfhood and otherness, inside and outside, the

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supple warmth of human flesh and the cold rigidity of papier mâché.

In part, the abject emerges through the textual interstices of *Domingo de carnaval* as that which challenges Francoist Spain's fiction of consensus, that which is ever ready to unravel its illusory unity and homogeneity. If Francoist society introduced and enforced a new sobriety and moral decorum in the public sphere, the riotous and dissipating energies of Carnival that resurface triumphantly in Neville's text work to undermine it. But the film is not only a call to pleasure and liberation, for from underneath the sinister masks of Neville's mummers an atavistic violence threatens to break loose.

Carnival season provided release for libidinal as well as murderous drives; Eros shared the limelight with Thanatos. The anonymity afforded by the mask facilitated the perpetration of acts of verbal and physical aggression — from insults and offensive gossip to drenching passersby in dirty water or dousing them in ashes and flour— that occasionally exceeded the mere prank and culminated in murder. Gómez de la Serna observed how Solana's carnival scenes also evidence a latent streak of violence. He writes: "Before his canvases . . . one is arrested by an actual event in which there is fun and crime."[691]

Comparing the recreation of Venice's carnival in the German movie, *Münchhausen* (1943), to Neville's treatment of

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the subject, film critic Antonio Abad Ojuel observed how Spain's carnival pokes fun at death yet also sets the stage for a doubling of identity linked to the death drive. In the middle of carefree dance and song, mummers profit from their provisional alternative identities to indulge in criminal and self-destructive behavior. Abad Ojuel writes: "Under those masks, all of us, even the meekest, would feel homicidal impulses . . . The Spanish carnival depicted in this film is as dark as shadows."[692]

If on its surface *Domingo de carnaval* substitutes a blithe carnivalesque past for a bleak present, it is only to find in Solana's morbid, uncanny imagery an avenue for the return of the repressed. The painter's disquieting universe unsettles Neville's comic realism through the power of its hallucinatory images. The grotesque animal masks that invade the streets of Madrid both signify the libidinal energies of Carnival and, as in Solana, the bestial side of humanity (Fig. 53). Towards the end of the film, in a scene reminiscent of Solana's The Last Masks (Fig. 54), mummers tread gaily over barren landscapes that just a few years prior to the making of the film adjoined trenches and battlefields (Fig. 55).[693] What imagery could be more fitting to represent a community still reeling from untold carnage than the sinister phantasmagorias of Solana?[694] The Civil War and its senseless, dehumanizing violence, though absent from

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the diegetic universe of *Domingo de carnaval*, haunts, like the abject, the fringes of the picture's mise-en-scène.

Domingo de carnaval's chilly, anguished undercurrent did not escape the attention of contemporary critics. Reviews in newspapers such as Ya, Pueblo, and El Alcázar singled out the perturbing impact of Gutiérrez Solana's art on the film's mood. Miguel Rodenas remarked in ABC upon Neville's taste for strong, provocative contrasts: the mirth of masks and the menace of death. In *Primer Plano* Augusto Ortiz felt the director had captured an inherent peculiarity of the Spanish temperament: its propensity towards a sarcastic view of existence and sudden outbursts of violence and cruelty.[695] The gross, distasteful masks and caustic humor of Carnival hypostatize this national flaw. Ortiz writes:

> And if the gesture is not enough, there is the mask, that grotesque and repulsive mask of Spanish masquerades. Here the mask satirizes and heightens our vernacular genius, that sort of temperament, excessive and violent, crude, sarcastic and utterly unsentimental. Solana gave plasticity in his scenes of carnival to the reverse of the Spanish spirit, an arrogant gesture of resistance and rebellion that our race must assume in order to survive in a hostile environment... *Domingo de carnaval* is the cinematic equivalent of a sarcastic caricature of the Spanish carnival wherein many traits of our temperament are dwelt upon.[696]

Ortiz read *Domingo de carnaval*'s mocking humor and underhand violence as inherently Spanish in the same way that Solana's advocates construed his vulgar, barbaric imagery as a plunge into the primeval psyche of the Spanish

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people. Indeed, Neville's own attraction to Solana's painting may well lie in an affinity for this crude and instinctive paradigm of Spanish identity, as well as in a perhaps not entirely conscious understanding of the truthfulness with which the painter's carnival images spoke of the ageless level of aggression and social antagonism running deep through Spanish society.

Conclusion

In resorting to the time-honored codes and conventions of the *sainete*, the language of *casticismo*, the figures of *costumbrismo*, and the earthy sensibility of Solana, Neville had hoped a working-class audience would have recognized itself on screen and accepted his movie as an authentic recreation of its daily experience. Yet if Neville strove for a populist film with a guaranteed commercial appeal that would overcome Spaniards' apathy towards their own cinema, the emphasis on Madrilenian signs of identity possibly hindered the nationwide box-office prospects of *Domingo de carnaval*.[697] Moreover, its ominous atmosphere and sardonic humor may have proven too discomforting for audiences of the 1940s. Finally, for all of its fondness of plebeian culture, Solana's painting was hardly mainstream enough to be appreciated by a mass audience.

Ríos Carratalá observes how films inspired by the aesthetic sensibility of the *sainete* never found a mass audience in spite of the best intentions of their directors.

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Spanish spectators went to the cinema to forget the misery and hardship of daily life, not to be transported back to a familiar reality, regardless of its stylized depiction.[698] Middle-class viewers, accustomed to the glamorous surfaces of Hollywood cinema and Italian white-telephone comedies, took exception to Neville's casual, prosaic style, offbeat humor, and infatuation with plebeian culture.

Conchita Montes remembered Neville as a quintessential plebeian aristocrat who sincerely believed in social integration.[699] As we know, the notion of an organic society was fundamental to Fascist ideology. Franco endorsed and promoted the representation of popular culture in order to foster nationalism, communal values, and unity above class and regional differences. Popular culture was tolerated as long as it could be safely assimilated as folklore and rendered uplifting, regenerative, and spiritually transcendent. Its contestatory, less tractable strain was suppressed as part of *franquismo*'s abolition of a democratic public sphere.

In contrast, by placing people at the center, the carnivalesque dialogizes the public realm and offers subaltern groups a chance for self-definition. *Domingo de carnaval*'s utopian affirmation of community exalts Carnival as a locus of liberation and desire. Its raucous merrymaking expends and unravels the self in bodily bliss, subsuming individuality in a collective ecstasy (Fig. 56). The

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aesthetics of Fascism strives for a similar effect but with a different goal: the affirmation of authority, a mystic communion with elevated ideals, and the dispersal of ambivalence.

Neville's *plebeyismo* ultimately, perhaps inevitably, viewed the popular from a position of privilege. Nor was he always as unconditionally enamored of the populace as *Domingo de carnaval* would make us think. In fact, his writings of the immediate post-Civil War years evince a far less sympathetic and enlightened view of the masses.[700] But as memories of the class warfare and divisive demagogy that dominated public discourse during the Civil War receded, so did Neville's ambivalence. Yet an awareness of this gap or distance undoubtedly accounts for the film's self-conscious mediation of high and low, its juxtaposition of a bourgeois space —the theater masquerades— next to the vulgar revelry of *murgas* and *comparsas*.

I think it is possible to understand *Domingo de carnaval* as Neville's formulation of a national-popular cinema in Gramsci's sense of the term: the building of alliances of interests and feelings between intellectuals and popular classes to disarticulate an existing hegemonic order.[701] In this sense, Neville's predilection for a realist aesthetic and deeply ingrained indigenous, plebeian forms such as the *sainete*, pregnant with potential counter-hegemonic meanings, posed an alternative to the hegemony of

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Franco's most militant cinema, even if it ultimately did not pose a threat to the dominant social order.

It can be argued that Neville fetishized Carnival in an act of nostalgia that not only elided the discontinuity introduced by Franco's interdiction, but also ultimately disavowed Carnival's abject underside, namely the violence that threatens to dissolve individual and communal subjectivity; the antagonism that had ruptured Spanish society and continued to cast its shadow over the collective imagination. By virtue of its wishfulness, Neville's recreation of carnivalesque popular culture invoked a fiction of unity and plenitude invested with a riotous *joie de vivre*. But as Elizabeth Cowie suggests of the workings of fantasy, "in imagining enjoyment without loss it always posits a loss already enacted to which it answers."[702] For Cowie, loss is fundamental to fantasy, which is more about a setting out of lack and absence than of presence. Desire arises in the representation of lack.[703] Solana's death during the making of *Domingo de carnaval*, along with that of Arniches two years earlier, brought home to Neville the irreducible reality of a permanent historical loss. He wrote at the time, "with [the disappearance of] Solana a precise era of our youth is gone; the era of rebellion."[704]

An outsider of sorts himself, Neville was in a unique position to empathize with the painter's Otherness, which he regarded nonetheless as deeply Spanish. Despite attempts by

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sectors of Franco's intelligentsia to recuperate Gutiérrez Solana for the regime, he was never wholly assimilable. His painting was too remote from the militarist and spiritually elevated art promoted by Falange. Solana relished the marginal and the wretched; his Madrid was not the playground for triumphant parades demanded by Ernesto Giménez Caballero, but a landscape of proletarian misery and dissipation.[705]

The carnivalesque, with its emphasis on corporeal baseness and irreverent humor, became for Neville and Solana a privileged site of resistance to prevalent cultural directives under Franco. Much to Comba's probable dismay, both men found in *verbenas* and popular culture sources of artistic emotion. Solana's canvases, with their coarse textures made up of heavy impasto and dirty colors, delight in the vulgarity of proletarian amusement. More refined, Neville sublates the disruptive pulsations of Carnival into a valentine to a vanished world. Neville's festive, if somewhat nostalgic, celebration of Carnival works to elide both its inherent aggressiveness and its dissapearance. Yet I have tried to argue that Neville's jovial fiction of communal plenitude and bodily bliss cannot be understood separately from an underlying feeling of mourning and dread.

The Falangist newspaper Arriba censured Carnival's proneness to overrun the temporal limits of its reign of hedonism with colorful confetti and an insatiable urge for

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pleasure. Primer Plano denounced Neville's partiality towards the *sainete* as if the war had never happened. In both texts one senses a fear over boundaries erased or ignored; an intimation of the abject and its threat to the hegemony and illusory unity imposed by *franquismo*. Banned from Franco's present, and along with it the memory of an alternative social and cultural formation, the carnivalesque rebounds in *Domingo de carnaval*'s disorderly women and monstrous mummers to once more disrupt system, order, homogeneity. It is in the realm of the abject, criss-crossed by utopian desire and dystopian violence, where Neville's carnival assumes its dual identity as a locus of fun and crime.

For Sanz de Soto, Neville's tragedy stemmed from an attempt to create a personal style of filmmaking that turned its back on what was demanded, done, and prized by the State. By the time of his death in 1967, Neville had been largely forgotten and thereafter his work succumbed to an unwarranted neglect. The recent commemorations of Neville's centennial have done much to restore Neville to a privileged position in the canon of Spanish cinema. Through its pictorial invocations of Solana's insolent mummers and its homage to Goya's Burial of the Sardine (Fig. 57), itself painted as a defiant, hedonistic gesture in the aftermath of a bloody war, *Domingo de carnaval* strove to exorcise trauma through a celebration of irreverence, pleasure and,

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ultimately, liberty. Michael Holquist's remarks on Bakhtin seem fit for Neville. Just as Bakhtin's writings also exalted freedom in the midst of a totalitarian regime, Neville's cinema, in its veiled, nostalgic way, bespeaks, too, "the courage needed to establish it, the cunning required to maintain it, and above all, the horrific ease with which it can be lost."[706]

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CHAPTER 9

EMBRUJO

Few Spanish films have flown in the face of the public, reviewers, and the film industry alike. Carlos Serrano de Osma's *Embrujo* (Bewitchment, 1947), a dreamlike flamenco musical noted for its Expressionist lighting and experimental use of montage, was one such film. One of five remarkable features directed by Serrano de Osma between 1946 and 1951, *Embrujo* starred Spain's two most popular flamenco performers of the day, dancer Lola Flores and singer Manolo Caracol. According to film historian José Luis Téllez, *Embrujo* is "the most unclassifiable film" in the history of Spain's cinema.[707] That such a fascinating and idiosyncratic film could have been made and exhibited within the commercial channels of Francoist cinema during the early post-Civil War years seems nothing short of extraordinary, or so most histories of Spanish cinema would have us believe.

Although many film scholars today praise *Embrujo*'s unique vision, one gathers from their accounts that the film was an aberration of sorts. This is understandable, for *Embrujo*'s very existence disrupts and problematizes accepted histories and oversimplistic assessments of the cinema of the 1940s. Ultimately, it begs a re-evaluation of Franco's film industry beyond the historiographical myth of an

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anodyne, ideologically corrupt, and artistically bankrupt cinema. Regardless of its exceptional status, a film like *Embrujo* —indeed all five of Serrano de Osma's early films— demonstrates that neither creativity nor aesthetic autonomy were entirely absent from Spain's film community during this epoch.

The five pictures that Serrano de Osma directed in the 1940s have usually been regarded as oddities, exceptions to the rule. However, if we view *Embrujo* in relation to the trends that dynamized the Spanish art world during that decade, particularly the resurgence of Surrealism, Serrano's film begins to look a little less eccentric and more attuned to the Zeitgeist. This chapter will strive to place *Embrujo* within the context of Spain's artistic and cultural evolution during the second half of the 1940s. I shall argue for a reading of *Embrujo* as a Surrealist text, albeit one that advocates less a celebration of the marvelous than a plumbing of states of altered identity and uncanny crossings of desire, madness, and death. A good deal of my reading of *Embrujo* as a Surrealist text derives from Hal Foster's revisionist approach to Surrealism. Rather than seeing the Surrealist project as the revelatory and emancipatory pursuit of a *convulsive* beauty, as André Breton would have it, Foster envisages it as prone to the debasing, and potentially deadly, repetitions of a *compulsive* beauty.[708]

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A man of vision and ambition, Serrano de Osma aspired to fashion a new filmic language that would advance the artistic standards of Spain's cinema while preserving its national specificity. Determined in part by Serrano's interest in folklore and the relation of music to film, flamenco song and dance became the medium through which Serrano de Osma invested *Embrujo* with a Surrealist sensibility. They are the path which leads to an encounter with the shattering power of the unconscious.

Embrujo presents the dancing body as engaged in a kind of automatic writing, registering in its poses and utterances, in its convulsive enthrallment to the magic of music and voice, the innermost itineraries and compulsions of desire. Yet *Embrujo* also imagines the body in performance as a site where the wholeness and cohesion of identity is at risk, where mastery of the self is lost and reasserted in a dialectic of absence and presence. By linking the genesis and overwhelming impact of flamenco to the (fathoming of) the creative depths of the subconscious, I believe *Embrujo* invokes, however covertly or unwittingly, Federico García Lorca's Surrealist-colored theories about the origins of flamenco. Indeed, in more ways than one, Serrano de Osma's wish to forge in *Embrujo* an innovative film language possessed of a magical, transformative power conjures the state of transcendence and catharsis that characterized the experience of great *cante jondo* for Lorca.[709]

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As with Lorca's work, *Embrujo* strives to reconcile the atavistic pull of popular culture and the disjunctive and fragmented nature of modern culture. To this effect, Serrano de Osma appears to revel in the dialectical tension his film sets up between high and low as artistic expressions from popular culture are invested with an avant-garde sensibility. Like the amalgamation of surreal imagery with Andalusian folkloric motifs in García Lorca's poetry, *Embrujo* mobilizes certain signs of Spanish cultural identity associated with the despised clichés of the *españolada*. By pairing modernity and tradition, invention and stereotype at the diegetic level and reworking his themes through an experimental film technique (unmotivated camera movements, unusual camera angles, cantered shots, and elliptical editing), *Embrujo*'s overall framing of Spanish cultural identity is askew and off-kilter.

Plot

Embrujo opens inside a theater where a musical tribute to Lola, a retired flamenco dancer, is unfolding. In the final act, a young dancer performs one of Lola's signature numbers. The old woman is overwhelmed by memories of her past. Later in the young dancer's dressing room, Lola recounts in an extended flashback her rise to fame and fortune and her tortured relationship with her partner, Manolo. Displeased by his jealousy and possessive behavior, Lola breaks up their professional association and departs

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for a prolonged world tour. Manolo drowns his sorrow in alcohol and becomes gravely ill. Lola, in the meantime, cannot banish Manolo from her mind and longs to return home. When she arrives in Spain, Manolo hurries to see her perform one last time before dying. With Manolo gone, Lola gives up dancing. In the closing scene, she visits his grave in the company of the young dancer and deposits a bouquet of flowers.

A Production History

The literature on *Embrujo* is sparse. Only film historians Julio Pérez Perucha and José Luis Téllez have written at some length about the film. *Embrujo* was produced by BOGA, a production firm created in 1946 by Serrano de Osma and three other partners.[710] The second of three motion pictures made under BOGA's aegis, *Embrujo* was shot over the course of thirteen weeks in the fall of 1946 in Barcelona's Orphea studios. Its original budget of approximately 2,500,000 pesetas was slashed during shooting to 1,700,000.[711] Despite the cutbacks, the producers apparently did not spare on the film's production values.[712] Yet *Embrujo* landed in the second of three categories devised by Franco's film bureaucracy, a classification which entitled BOGA to certain economic subsidies but denoted a lack of enthusiasm on the administration's side. Furthermore, viewers under the age of sixteen were not allowed to see the film.

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Nevertheless, expectations for *Embrujo*'s commercial success were high, given the popularity of its two protagonists, dancer Lola Flores and singer Manolo Caracol.[713] Both had just attained an enormous hit together with the flamenco musical, *La Niña de Fuego*, which served as an inspiration for the film. The sizable budget attested to the producers' intention of crafting a quality product suited to the stature of the film's rising stars. *Embrujo* had its initial premiere in the provincial city of Badajoz on April 25, 1947, after which it premiered at Barcelona's Cine Fantástico on September 1, 1947. In the wake of negative reviews and poor box-office performance, Serrano parted ways with his business associates. The latter took control of the film and re-edited it in the hope of improving its commercial prospects. However, the premiere of this revised version of *Embrujo* on April 29, 1948 at Madrid's Cine Imperial proved no less disastrous than its eight-day run in Barcelona. The film was pulled within a week as a result of the audience's vociferous objections, although it resurfaced a week later at a different theater.

At the time of its release, *Embrujo* not only perplexed and enraged the unsuspecting spectators that flocked to see their favorite flamenco stars on the big screen, leading to near riots in the theater. The press savaged the film as well. For a few newspaper critics the musical values of *Embrujo* —the performances of Flores and Caracol and the

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songs by composer Manuel L. Quiroga and lyricists Rafael de León and Antonio Quintero— were its only redeeming grace.[714] Most agreed not only on the unsuitability of applying an experimental treatment to a popular form such as flamenco; they insisted as well on the very obsolecence of Serrano's method.

The daily Pueblo found *Embrujo* pretentious and confusing and in Cinema critic Juan Francisco de Lasa pronounced the film a disaster, "an unfortunate hybrid of a commercial and a folkloric film informed by an outmoded avant-garde sensibility."[715] Critics in Cámara, El Alcázar and Ya emphasized the alleged anachronism of Serrano's modernism. Ya's critic declared that Surrealist images and gimmicks belonged to the past and should only be revived if they had acquired a new meaning.[716]

Serrano himself added to the confusion by publicly disowning the second release print. According to the director, the revised version of *Embrujo* missed scenes fundamental to the film's aesthetic integrity. At the same time, sequences discarded in the editing room had been reintroduced.[717] Flores and Caracol, for their part, also expressed their frustration in acrimonious declarations to the press in an apparent move to distance themselves from the fiasco and salvage their future in the film business.[718]

Téllez believes the concept behind *Embrujo* itself was ill-fated from the start. Given the level of film culture

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among contemporary Spanish audiences, the casting of two flamenco stars of such popularity in a motion picture with a decidedly arcane sensibility was destined to encounter an all-around hostile reception. For Téllez the unsalvegeable contradiction that beset *Embrujo* lay in its complex conjunction of apparent contraries: avant-garde cinema and folklore, modernity and tradition, high and low.[719]

Embrujo maps the art of flamenco, born in the sub-*lumpen* world of gypsy caves, jails, mines and taverns, later popularized and vulgarized in mass spectacles (i.e., the *opera flamenca*), onto the no less déclassé art of film, a child of side shows, fairgrounds, and vaudeville. As manifestations of popular culture, both art forms appealed to large segments of the population yet lacked critical respectability. The arrival of sound to the cinema in the 1930s and the dissemination of flamenco through new recording and broadcasting technologies concurred in the birth of a thriving genre, the folkloric musical film. While the public warmly embraced it, critics condemned the folkloric musical as the ultimate embodiment of the *españolada* and a hindrance to the artistic potential of the medium. As I shall argue later, *Embrujo*, however, seeks to reinvent the Spanish folkloric musical, purifying both flamenco and film in the crucible of high modernism.

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Serrano de Osma: Visionary Master or Pretentious Amateur?

Spanish film historians tend to portray Carlos Serrano de Osma (1916-1984) as a dissident voice operating inside of Franco's uniform and conformist film industry.[720] Julio Pérez Perucha, author of a pioneering study of Serrano de Osma's cinema, describes him as a radical and refractory filmmaker, possessed of a nearly suicidal arrogance in comparison to his officially minded peers.[721] Emilio Sanz de Soto implies that some historians have chosen to leave Serrano out of the picture rather than to deal with the questions raised by his peculiar professional trajectory. Unable to place Serrano in any of the schools or trends of his era, Sanz de Soto consigns him to a niche of his own.[722]

Others have been less kind, dismissing Serrano's oeuvre as the fancy of an eccentric formalist excessively enamored of odd camera angles and optical effects. Historian José Enrique Monterde recognizes the singularity of Serrano de Osma's vision, yet takes exception to the mannerisms that riddle *Embrujo*.[723] Novelist and camp film buff Terençi Moix faults Serrano for draining the pleasure out of Flores and Caracol's act. In an effort to make flamenco respectable and highbrow, Serrano only produced, in Moix's eyes, a pedantic and abstruse work.[724] For his part, Marxist film historian Domènec Font discounts *Embrujo* as an inflated turkey made by an amateur. He ridicules Serrano as an inept master of

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avant-garde techniques and sneers at the director's proclivity for "crude" experimental images and photographic tricks.[725]

Serrano de Osma's fate parallels that of many directors who bucked the system and dared to expand the conventional boundaries of their craft. Consumed by the ambition to create an art cinema in 1940s' Spain, Serrano appears in retrospect as a visionary artist destined to an all too brief and frustrated career.[726] Yet his professional failure must be imputed as much to a set of historical circumstances as to the inherent conservatism of Spain's film industry. In principle Serrano de Osma's case would substantiate Román Gubern's belief in the nonsynchronous nature of Spain's cinema in relation to the evolution of American and European film production. Luis García Berlanga, a student of Serrano who would become a celebrated filmmaker in his own right, believes his master's tragedy lay in his commitment to an aesthetic paradigm, the plasticity of the silent cinema, that was no longer in vogue by the end of the 1940s. By the 1950s, as neorealism captured the imagination of a new generation of Spanish cineastes, Serrano found himself virtually ostracized and unable to finance his projects.[727]

It is possible, however, that Serrano's aspirations were neither as anachronistic, nor as outlandish or ingenuous as is generally assumed today. Scarcely a decade prior to the making of *Embrujo*, Spain hosted a vibrant

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avant-garde scene in literature and the visual arts. Yet this experimental spirit barely left its imprint on the cinema of the Second Republic, which instead largely churned out trivial, formulaic entertainment.[728] Given the relative institutional stability and the availability of state financing provided by Franco's protectionist policies, it is not unreasonable to think that by the 1940s Serrano felt the time had arrived for a stylistically and intellectually adventurous cinema made from inside the industry.

Indeed, Serrano argued that the backward condition of Spain's film industry constituted a blessing in disguise. In his view, the absence of a solid entrepreneurial infrastructure, a complex financial network, and entrenched institutional constraints upon innovation and change offered a unique opportunity for the realization of a new, free cinema.[729] The appearance of an unorthodox film like *Embrujo* must be understood within this context of generous state subsidies and relative artistic freedom, which allowed for occasional, intermitent sprouts of creativity.

The Cinema According to Serrano de Osma

As I related in my introduction, Spanish film professionals argued at length throughout the 1940s over the content and the national/international projection of a cinema suitable to Franco's new political order. An outspoken faction demanded a cinema with an immediately recognizable Spanish flavor; pictures that incorporated

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folklore and other markers of "Spanishness."[730] As far back as 1934 Serrano de Osma himself had advocated the creation of an ethnic or *völkish* cinema that would feature the psychological reactions, character, and structures of feeling and living specific to Spaniards, yet avoid the commonplaces that Serrano called *tópicos zarzueleros*.[731] In his early writings Serrano de Osma contended that Spanish movies lacked both a national sensibility and a racial specificity.[732] Until this was achieved, Spain would never generate a national cinema. After the Civil War, Serrano continued harping on this point, with less stridency perhaps, but no less bite.[733] His articles and lectures from the 1940s argued fervently in favor of a cinema possessed of a clear national accent.[734]

We have seen how critics reproached Serrano de Osma for his obscure and allegedly elitist treatment of an eminently popular expression like flamenco. More recently, lovers of popular Spanish musical cinema, like Moix, have construed *Embrujo*'s formal complexity as a reflection of its director's bias towards the genre. Indeed, Serrano de Osma made known his dislike of commercial flamenco, yet whatever bias one may impute to Serrano, his distaste was aimed not at flamenco per se but at the trite generic and stylistic conventions that had been used until then to present Andalusian folklore on film.[735] Moreover, throughout his life Serrano de Osma held a poor opinion of Spain's cinema, which

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he regularly criticized in print, beginning with the film production of the Second Republic.[736] Serrano's writings of the 1930s abound in swipes against pictures adapted from *zarzuelas*, commercial theater, and pulp fiction. Yet his essays also evince an interest in the relationship of music to film and the presentation of folklore on the big screen.[737]

Serrano de Osma noted how the arrival of sound offered filmmakers a great and novel opportunity to render folklore on film in all its vibrancy, yet few had exploited this potential. He expounded his thoughts on folklore in the 1946 essay, "Posibilidad inédita del folklore" (Unknown possibilities of folklore).[738] In this article he differentiated four filmic uses of folklore:

1) the didactic documentary, which looked at its subject with the eye of an archivist, paying no attention to expressive meaning;

2) the pageant, which privileged spectacle and anecdote;

3) folklore as a poetic element within a dramatic story;

4) folklore as the musical accompaniment to plastic images in a synthesis of meaning and expressive rhythm.

Serrano de Osma believed the latter category represented the culmination of the artistic potential of a folkloric cinema, attaining a perfect symbiosis of image and

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music, dance and editing, singing and composition. Needless to say, he placed *Embrujo* in this category.

In 1947 critic and future director, Antonio del Amo, with whom Serrano had collaborated on the making of documentaries during the Civil War, urged Spanish filmmakers to recast those commonplaces most conspicuously associated with Spanishness into high-quality *españoladas*. The most discredited topic could be ennobled through an earnest, artistic vision.[739] It is likely not a coincidence that Del Amo issued this challenge at the same time as Serrano completed *Embrujo*. Were it not for Serrano's stylistic and technical daring, *Embrujo* might have been a run-of-the-mill musical, exhibiting all the colorful stereotypes expected of Andalusian culture. Eager to maximize their investment in what must have seemed a surefire hit, *Embrujo*'s producers and investors surely expected their film to conform to the conventional codes of the genre. Yet from his idiosyncratic approach to the material, Serrano clearly conceived *Embrujo* as an alternative to what he regarded as the banal *españoladas* that had dominated Spanish screens since the introduction of sound.[740]

Embrujo should thus be understood in relation to Del Amo's plea for a *counter-española*da that would overturn worn-out clichés, although for most critics of the time Serrano de Osma hardly provided a novel solution. José de la

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Cueva, the reviewer of the daily Informaciones, claimed that *Embrujo*'s very conception was flawed:

> A folkloric film can and should have no other style than a faithful and straightforward presentation of the performers' personality, of their dance and song without an added, unsuitable loftiness. The camera's propensity for anti-natural angles, the constant and tiresome superimpositions, all of this, vulgar in itself, may be acceptable in other types of films . . . but not when it comes to a theme and performers of such class, directed in an overly familiar and outmoded style. . . . His disciples should learn from this film what to avoid.[741]

Not all of Serrano's attackers, however, followed this line of thought. The film reviewer of the Falangist daily El Alcázar judged that *Embrujo* looked hopelessly obsolete next to the advanced style of William Wyler's *The Little Foxes* (1941), an opinion which suggests that at least one Spanish film critic may have been aware of, or at the very least attuned to, recent theoretical developments abroad, particularly the ideas of André Bazin.[742] In his classic essay, "The Evolution of Film Language," André Bazin had separated filmmakers into two categories: "those who put their faith in the image" and "those who put their faith in reality".[743] Bazin championed the second group —Murnau, Von Stroheim, Renoir, Wyler, Welles—, around which he built a defense of a cinematic paradigm of style based on narrative transparency, the spatial integrity of the shot, and the most faithful and objective reproduction of reality. His theory stood in diametrical opposition to Eisenstein's defense of montage, an intellectual reconstruction of

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reality on the editing table. If Bazin favored long takes and compositions in deep focus, Eisenstein privileged the short individual shot and the multiple ways in which it could be juxtaposed to generate ideological discourses out of syntactic and semantic confrontations.[744]

Had he been familiar with his work, Bazin would have most certainly placed Serrano de Osma among the believers in the image. By these Bazin meant not only the Soviet directors of the 1920s who, like Eisenstein, placed the expressive and metaphorical possibilities of editing before sheer, documentary-style realism, but also the avant-garde school of French filmmakers —Germaine Dulac, Jean Epstein, Abel Gance, Marcel L'Herbier— and the German Expressionists. Although Serrano de Osma's cinema manifested an affinity for these models, his film criticism from the 1930s had advocated a realist, socially concerned cinema with a humanist message. His early writings professed an admiration for the Soviet school, but also for Pabst, Murnau, Stroheim, Chaplin, Vidor, and Clair, directors closer to Bazin's program. Serrano's defense of a social cinema continued into the 1940s; at times he even seemed to postulate an aesthetic akin to neorealism, another movement dear to Bazin.[745] However, alongside this view a new perspective celebrating an irrational and fantastic cinema emerged.

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In the 1947 lecture, "Concepto platónico del cine español," Serrano de Osma stated:

> I do not believe in a logical cinema . . . I believe in a magical cinema. That is why I love the venerable Georges Méliès so much. He invented the magical cinema. I love Walt Disney for the same reason. Spain's cinema will be magical ... [It is] the kind that Spain needs. A magical cinema that knows no rules, that exceeds grammar . . . We are a little tired of so much perfect, academic and polished cinema. We want an imperfect cinema, endowed with a genetic impulse; we want exhilaration and creative freedom.[746]

At the beginning of this presentation Serrano stated, "Filmmaking is the creation of new, unknown worlds, without restrictive circumstances, without norm or constraint." Towards its conclusion he added, "I believe this new cinema must ride on the wings of madness."[747] Although Serrano ended this lecture with a reconciliation of both options —"This is the secret. A social and magical cinema"—, he actually practiced the second one: an unconventional and adventurous filmmaking that called forth imaginary realms and thrived, in his own words, on the edge of reason.

A Telluric Cinema

Serrano de Osma's newly resolved commitment to cinematic experimentation led to his involvement with the magazine Cinema Experimental, a short-lived publication that appeared from 1944 until 1946.[748] A few sympathizers and collaborators drawn to issues of film technique gathered around the magazine and adopted the name *Equipo Telúrico* (Telluric Team). According to Font, members of the group swore allegiance to the anagram CCC, which stood for *cerebro*

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(brain), *corazón* (heart) and *coraje* (courage). Antonio del Amo, director Pedro Lazaga, and Agustín Navarro were among its most prominent figures.[749] Actor and filmmaker Fernando Fernán Gómez, who appeared in a supporting role in *Embrujo* and starred in Serrano's next feature, *La sirena negra*, also confessed in his memoirs to an affiliation with Serrano's "telluric team". According to Fernán Gómez, the *telúricos* evinced an interest in mise-en-scène and film form over storytelling. He points out the influence exerted by Orson Welles' *The Magnificent Ambersons* (1942), and to a lesser extent, Alfred Hitchcock's *Rebecca* (1940), on the group.[750]

In 1947 Antonio del Amo penned the article, "Cine telúrico y cine boluda," an overview of Spain's recent film production wherein he outlined two opposite tendencies. Del Amo called one pole *cine boluda* identifying it with the classicism, balance, and complacency of mainstream cinema. The other pole, *cine telúrico*, evinced a restless, heroic urge for experimentation. Citing Serrano de Osma's first feature, *Abel Sánchez*, as the best example of the latter trend, Del Amo was one of the few to praise Serrano's allegiance to the plasticity of the silent cinema.[751] In spite of its regressive inspiration in Weimar cinema and French avant-garde films, Del Amo viewed Serrano's first feature as the appropriate visual statement of its age. In his mind, outdated mimicry was not an issue; rather, Serrano

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had managed to infuse a two-decade old visual language with a timely Spanish personality.

Del Amo's view contradicts García Berlanga's assessment of Serrano de Osma as a director at odds with the evolution of international cinema, at least as this evolution was sketched out by Bazin. If we were to ground *Embrujo* in the specificity of Spain's post-Civil War culture, particularly as it concerns the evolution of Spain's art scene in the second half of the 1940s, Del Amo's position seems less unorthodox. Within this context, *Embrujo*'s offbeat, nonsynchronous condition takes on a different cast.

In spite of the vociferous opposition raised by the most conservative wing of Franco's art establishment[752], art historians now agree that the avant-garde impetus of the 1920s and '30s did not evaporate after the Civil War.[753] Only the most radical and politicized forms of modernism were absolutely suppressed. After the initial crackdown, the first inklings of a resurgent modernism surfaced ca. 1945 in literary magazines, art journals, and galleries. The fragile province of a minority at first, this movement grew in magnitude and visibility until Franco's cultural institutions adopted modernism in the 1950s as the regime's progressive face to the outside world. Serrano's unconventional pictures must be seen as sharing the desire for artistic renewal that mobilized a small but spirited circle of Spanish painters and poets in the 1940s.

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Serrano de Osma: A Spanish Surrealist?

Derek Harris has described Spain's delayed assimilation of avant-garde culture as "a confusion rather than a fusion of the different elements, a hybrid creation."[754] Artistic movements that had developed diachronically in Europe throughout the first decades of the twentieth century arrived in Spain almost simultaneously in the 1920s. This synchronicity of influences provided for a heterogeneous art scene and the amalgamation of divergent tendencies. Of all these, Surrealism had the most profound impact among Spanish artists. Although its reception across Spain was at best an eclectic affair, it preserved a great affinity to its French sources.[755]

Thus, it is not surprising that the first post-Civil War manifestations of artistic dissent proclaimed a kinship to Surrealism.[756] After all, Surrealism's influence upon Spain's artists and writers was at its peak when the Civil War broke out. For this very reason it came under fierce attack by Francoist intellectuals, who denounced its emphasis on irrationality and its exaltation of immoral, subversive behavior.[757] Just as the Spanish avant-garde of the 1930s had adopted Surrealism in an unorthodox manner, dissident poets and painters of the late 1940s recuperated it in informal and idiosyncratic ways. All of them emphasized individual expression, artistic freedom, and the creative power of the unconscious and longed to forge a new

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language and discover new ways of seeing. Yet while these artists reclaimed Surrealism as a paragon for the cultural struggles of the present, some observers remarked that Breton's movement had run its course and become a thing of the past. This debate over Surrealism's currency was not restricted to avant-garde journals; it unfolded as well in the pages of conservative reviews like Arbor and mainstream magazines like Destino.[758]

Serrano de Osma was not known to militate in Surrealist circles during the 1930s. Nor among his writings on the cinema have I found references to Surrealist films other than Buñuel's, and even here without the enthusiasm he lavished on Pabst, Chaplin, Murnau or Eisenstein.[759] I do not intend to claim in retrospect a Surrealist pedigree for Serrano de Osma, yet both Serrano himself and mainstream critics of the 1940s explicitly placed *Embrujo* within the orbit of Surrealism. In an interview published in 1946 in Cinema, Serrano described his film as a psychic journey into the "darkness of the unconscious" and explicitly established a connection between its mise-en-scène and Surrealism via psychoanalysis.[760]

Perhaps Serrano's statement should not be taken at face value, for *Embrujo*'s formal strategies and narrative structure differ notably from the Surrealist model of film introduced by Luis Buñuel. The latter's two Surrealist films, *Un Chien Andalou* and *L'Age d'or*, were made outside of

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the film industry and were not usually exhibited in commercial venues. Furthermore, they shunned any conventional narrative or generic affiliation and by and large restricted their formal experimentation to discontinuity editing and sound. Nor does *Embrujo* resemble Jean Cocteau's poetic strain of Surrealism. Rather Serrano's vision recalls Antonin Artaud's lucubrations on the cinema as an alternative dreamlike reality by menas of which one could have access to the occult.[761]

If Serrano used the term "Surrealist," somewhat indiscriminately, it was possibly as a catchword for a visual language that sought to break with convention and embody the transformative spirit that was beginning to reshape the Spanish art world. As a man of keen sensibility, erudition and intellectual curiosity, Serrano was likely abreast of the more advanced ideas then being discussed in artistic circles. *Embrujo* was shot in Barcelona, a city with a rich history of artistic innovation and a site of continuous cultural ferment during the isolationist decades of Francoist rule. With prominent Surrealists such as Dalí and Miró taking up residence in Catalunya during the 1940s, Surrealism found there a hospitable home.[762]

For a Surrealist Reading of *Embrujo*

The cinema played an important role for Breton in the actualization of the surreal and the pursuit of the marvelous.[763] Nevertheless most film historians today agree

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on the difficulty of defining a Surrealist cinema.[764] Although Buñuel and Dalí were key figures in the creation of a cinematic practice aligned with Surrealism, they hardly had any noticeable impact upon the film culture of their native Spain.[765] In this sense, Serrano de Osma's cinema attempted to revive the experimental practices of high modernism, this time from within Spain's film industry. The appearance of a film like *Embrujo*, however, was not wholly accidental, for Serrano's film was conceived as Surrealism enjoyed a resurgence in post-war Europe and came to play in Spain a salient role in the resistance to Francoist culture.

Embrujo begins as a conventional, although given its flashback structure, also as a somewhat self-reflexive narrative film produced according to industrial criteria of quality and accessibility.[766] In keeping with these objectives, *Embrujo* preserves, at least initially, a good measure of optical realism and narrative transparency. As the film progresses, however, its textual system becomes denser and increasingly abstract. Although portions of *Embrujo* are shot in long takes, especially the dance numbers, extended montage sequences involving superimpositions, nondiegetic inserts, and optical distorsions increasingly undermine the film's realism and its narrative unity and continuity.

Only a couple of these montage sequences carry any strong narrative weight. One such chain of images —a bus, a

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microphone and a radio, a neon marquee superimposed upon a shot of Manolo singing and then Lola dancing, capped by a brief musical number— suggests in a highly elliptical fashion the couple's incessant travels and performances and their burgeoning fame. The voice of an announcer on the soundtrack, heard detailing Lola's and Manolo's mounting artistic successes, supports this interpretation. Other montage sequences, however, are far more oblique in their meaning. A rhythmic succession of shots of rails intercut with a speeding train engine seen from the front, the back, the side, and underneath reiterates, more opaquely, the motif of travel. Another montage segment features successive dissolves of faces and bodies along with objects like guitars, wine bottles and empty glasses. This scene alludes to Manolo's excessive drinking, yet it is shot in a highly abstract form, reminiscent of cubist still lifes (Fig. 58).

These stylistic devices foreground various temporal-spatial dislocations, which work to disrupt habitual structures of cinematic perception and subvert the transparency associated with the classical narrative economy on account of their apparently unmotivated presence and abstract-like presentation.[767] This abstracting tendency peaks in a scene consisting of a montage of ocean waves, prickly pear plants, and other landscape views, combined with birds-eye views of villages, all shot through filters and deforming lenses. This sort of formal experimentation

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recalls the proposals of French Impressionist filmmakers of the 1920s such as Germaine Dulac for a "pure cinema".[768] At other moments, eccentric lighting effects betray *Embrujo*'s debt to German Expressionist cinema, as in the sequence towards the end of the film depicting the gypsy funeral. These references to the avant-garde of the 1920s reflect Serrano's formation in the image-centered aesthetics of the silent cinema.[769] Their eclecticism also reflects the hybrid nature of Spain's modernism, its heterogeneous fusion of assorted "isms."

Despite this bricolage of cinematic influences, there are nevertheless a number of ways in which *Embrujo* functions primarily as a Surrealist text. Linda Williams has argued that in its pursuit of alternative realities Surrealism developed its cinematic language from the model of the dream. Borrowing the latter's predisposition to condense and displace psychic materials, Surrealist cinema achieved images of visceral power by transgressing at opportune moments realist filmic conventions with jarring uses of editing that call forth the irrational and the oneiric.[770] Thus on the one hand, the use of montage in *Embrujo* establishes metaphorical or poetic relations between images. On the other, it links irrational streams of images and pictures non-conscious states of mind. *Embrujo* builds on a synergistic association of plastic imagery, musical affect, and expressive montage to create a dreamlike state.

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Serrano's use of montage undoes *Embrujo*'s initially realistic mise-en-scène at the same time as it evokes the workings of the unconscious. In the montage sequence of landscapé images mentioned above, the hazy, warped images appear to be one of Manolo's drunken hallucinations, yet the rough sea and gnarled cacti could also symbolize Manolo's sexual passion for Lola. Indeed, *Embrujo* thrives on ambiguous conflations of the real and the imaginary, oscillating between perceptual hallucinations with some connection, however fragile, to the diegesis and inner reveries wholly independent of it.[771] One truly oneiric sequence depicts Manolo in pursuit of Lola, wrapped in veils, across an eerie landscape shrouded in mist. He traps her by a twisted dead tree trunk, but she vanishes in his arms. The slow motion and soft, diffused lighting are visual cues that heighten the surreal aspect of this scene (Fig. 59).

Serrano de Osma embraces visual and narrative ambiguity from the film's opening sequence. As Lola watches the young dancer from her box, the body of the latter dissolves into an image of Lola in her youth. A cut to the box now shows an empty seat. Flashback and reverie merge into one and yet the scene suggests something else: a sort of transmigration of the bodies. Further ambiguities surface as the film unfolds, most often revolving around performativity. As we watch Lola perform over and over, are we witnessing an actual rehearsal

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or one of Manolo's drunken hallucinations? Towards the end of the film, after Manolo dies, Lola dances for the last time in a phantasmagoric space, against a Surrealistic backdrop painted with skeletons (Fig. 60). Is this again a dream or a staged spectacle?

In a key sequence Lola makes her debut in New York. The action cuts between the theater stage and a squalid room in Spain, in which a despondent Manolo paces restlessly. Suddenly, he appears next to Lola in lieu of the male singer we have seen seconds before and together they perform *La Niña de Fuego*. Once the dance is over, the film reverts to Manolo's room.

A double tracking shot around the room (first from left to right and then from right to left) emphasizes the room's emptiness and Manolo's absence, but as his friend, Mentor (Fernando Fernán Gómez), walks through the door, the camera pans towards a table. Manolo appears in the frame, awakening from a stupor to hear Mentor's news of Lola's unqualified success in New York. The dance scene may be interpreted as a sort of wish fulfillment, especially as Manolo's song concerns a man's plea to shelter and protect a young woman. But while the sequence affords the audience the pleasure of a star performance, diegetically it hovers again in that borderline between fantasy and reality. The long takes and roving camera movements give the dance its materiality, a concrete and coherent sense of time and place; the strange

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decor, the exotic music, Caracol's woeful singing, and Flores' trance-like gestures, however, endow the scene with a surreal, otherworldly dimension.

Phantoms of Desire

The frequent use of montage creates a disjointed text, yet these discontinuities arise from a specific entity: the force of desire. It fractures the narrative into oneiric passages while similarly bridging physical distances and temporal intervals, even death, to link Lola and Manolo in a bond that cannot be severed. Although the power of eros disrupts the diegesis and destabilizes vision, it is also the binding that holds the film together, the force that propels the story forward, and the catalyst that transmutes sheer spectacle into a cathartic ritual. Indeed, I want to argue that this primacy of desire accounts for *Embrujo*'s Surrealist condition.

Breton conceived the cinema as the ideal medium for the free reign of erotic pulsations.[772] At its core, *Embrujo* posits a tale of *amour fou* centered on Manolo's overwhelming passion for Lola. Serrano de Osma conceives eros as a force that defies the laws of nature, flaunts decorum, and shatters the psyche. Beyond the limits of time and space, life and death, the power of Manolo's desire errupts into Lola's world with the force of the uncanny. Manolo's infatuation is made clear through superimpositions and montage syntagms in the scenes where he rehearses Lola's

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choreography. The ominous nature of Manolo's passion for Lola is suggested from the first moment the viewer is introduced to him. As Manolo watches Lola dance from the sidelines, there is a cut to an extreme close-up of his intense, quasi-maniacal gaze. More close-ups of Manolo's eyes connote an excess of desire that impinges upon Lola's body. Like a vampire, he saps her energy until she faints from physical and mental exhaustion. One such episode superimposes a metronome upon a medium close-up of Manolo, dissolving back and forth to Lola's dancing body (Fig. 61). The upright swinging pendulum, with its phallic symbolism, times and regulates both the woman's body and her theatricality within its rhythmic intervals.

The camera also surveys Lola's body on several occasions. In one instance of Serrano de Osma's fondness for parallelisms, two forward crane shots towards Lola as she rehearses a dance, ending in an upward tilt to her outstretched fingers, are followed by an identical shot in the opposite direction: a downward tilt from her fingers and a track out that concludes in a high angle shot of her body. As these shots are followed each time by by dissolves to close-ups of Manolo, they appear to function as point-of-view shots, and are thus endowed with a great deal of subjectivity.

Yet as the film unfolds, Manolo's mastery over Lola dissipates along with his self-esteem. Held in thrall by

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Lola's absence, he descends into a spiral of self-destruction. As her star grows ever brighter, Serrano de Osma presents on the other end the disintegration and ruination of Manolo's masculinity.[773] As half way into the film he collapses head forward onto a table, the scene dissolves to a low angle shot of a circle of laughing and grimacing faces, a sort of chorus that acts as witness to Manolo's downfall. Yet in spite of this decline and the distance between them, Manolo's grip on Lola loses none of its power. Far away on tour, she repeatedly finds herself caught in phantasmatic scenarios where her dancing partner suddenly takes on Manolo's features.

First, inside a tavern, the camera tracks in a full circle from a close-up of a guitar, around a room, and stops on a close-up of Manolo's head in profile. To the right an image of Lola is superimposed dancing on a stage with another male partner, who will fade in over Manolo's face (Fig. 62). This image then takes over the entirety of the screen. Suddenly the anonymous singer is replaced by Manolo. A similar incident occurs in a later scene during Lola's New York debut. As Manolo's voice works its spell, Lola becomes possessed, unleashing a frenzy of convulsive postures and frenetic heel tapping.

In this sequence, as in other musical numbers, Manolo seems to accost Lola with both his body and voice, to which she is at turns drawn and repelled. At times the

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choreography is drenched in naked libidinal energy and intimates a latent sexual violence. Lola's gestures and motions alternately indicate fascination and fear of Manolo's voice (Fig. 63, 64). Of course, the ambiguity enveloping these sequences allows for the possibility of interpreting both episodes as simple hallucinations or wish fulfillments brought about by Manolo's drinking. Even in this case, we face fantasies of presence, mastery, and omnipotence that disavow absence and failure.

Although the narrative inscribes itself as a flashback from Lola's point of view, *Embrujo* never quite escapes a libidinal economy that constitutes femininity as a spectacle for the male gaze. Whether it is an actual or imagined performance, Lola's dancing appears to occur mainly for Manolo's benefit. During the gala marking her return to Spain, the film cuts between close-ups of Manolo's anguished face and high-angle shots of the stage, suggestive of Manolo's point of view from the balcony. Indeed, unlike the other performances, where the mobile crane shots shift between high and level views of the stage, here Lola's dance is framed throughout in a high angle. As Manolo collapses in his seat, Lola faints in the middle of her dance. A close-up of his tilted head is superimposed on a high angle shot of her recumbent body (Fig. 65). In a final act of control, with his demise Manolo dispossesses Lola of her *duende*.[774] Incapable of dancing, she retires, but not before performing

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one last time amid sudden bursts of flames, compelled by his voice from beyond the grave (Fig. 66). Its lyrics restate fantasies of omnipotence even in death: "Fettered in life and death to my chant/your grief is so deep that you are breaking into dance."[775]

The Surreal Uncanny

If, as Hal Foster argues, Surrealism is pledged to exposing the irrational side of modernity and re-enchanting a disenchanted world through the unveiling of the marvelous, Serrano de Osma's embrace of a "magical cinema" places *Embrujo* squarely into the realm of Surrealism. In the beginning of the film, Lola prefaces her tale to the young dancer with a cautionary word: "There are secret forces that rule our life, that mark the path we must follow. We are unaware of them until they are gone." The picture's very title bespeaks an enigmatic power that ties both of its protagonists to one and the same fate.[776] According to Foster, when this ambivalent entity is the source of wonder, it conjures the marvelous. When it acquires a demonic face, we are in the presence of the uncanny.

Foster offers a reading of Surrealism that shifts focus from Breton's exaltation of liberation in love to Georges Bataille's equation of eroticism and death. Bataille had already defined eroticism as a shattering of the real with a *plethoric disorder* that inflicts a wound forever refusing to heal.[777] In the uncanny Foster locates a more suitable tool

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to account for the insistent conflation of violence and sexuality that runs through a strain of Surrealism. Foster frames his reading of Surrealist art in part after the arguments advanced by Leo Bersani in his book The Freudian Body. Bersani sought to reclaim the role of the death drive as central to sexuality. In his view, sexuality reveals itself as a "tautology for masochism," a shattering experience in which pleasure and pain co-exist and whose stake is death.[778] For Foster, Surrealism is at once advanced and undone precisely at the point where pleasure and death, sexual and destructive drives appear identical.[779]

Embrujo puts forward a similar understanding of desire as an amalgam comprised of eros and thanatos, pleasure and pain. Manolo's feelings for Lola exhibit an evident sado-masochistic component. At the start he strives to control her body and shape it according to an ideal, oblivious to her physical and emotional well being. At one point Manolo corners Lola and tells her: "I love you. You must love me too. You must be mine." Later, in her absence, he falls prey to his compulsions and self-destructs. Lola's sentiments towards Manolo are no less complex: it is possible, for instance, that Manolo's phantasmatic appearances represent Lola's hallucinations or projections of a repressed desire. For she too manifests masochistic proclivities. Facing her reflection in a dressing-room mirror, she acknowledges her

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own fixation: "I cannot forget Manolo. It is like an obsession."[780]

Finding Oneself "Other"

While Foster sees Surrealism as poised between the marvelous and the uncanny, Mary Ann Caws understands Surrealism as practicing a fusion of contraries that results in a cancelation of identity. In this sense, "To find oneself other" constitutes the ultimate aspiration of the Surrealist project. Caws is elaborating, of course, on Breton's assertion in the Second Surrealist Manifesto that Surrealism's aim was to attain a sublime point where opposites transcended their difference and collapsed into each other.[781] *Embrujo*, too, seeks to fuse male and female, reality and fantasy, the mundane and the theatrical, and, eventually, life and death. There is a moment in the film when Serrano resorts to a gradual fade in of a medium shot of Manolo's body looming large over a long shot of Lola in performance as a means to visualize the power he exerts over her. For a few seconds this superimposition effect literally figures the dissolution of identity that, according to Caws, constituted Surrealism's chief aim (Fig. 67).

The film includes three instances that illustrate Manolo's increasing obsession with Lola. They involve a neon marquee sign bearing Lola and Manolo's names. The first time this neon sign appears, the camera pans to the left to frame Lola's name before dissolving to a close-up of Manolo's face

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(Fig. 68). The second time, Manolo's name is lit only for a brief moment before it goes dark, leaving only Lola's name on the screen. A dissolve follows, with an upward crane movement that ends in an overhead shot of Manolo's body, lit alone and vulnerable against black space. The third time we no longer see Manolo's name; just Lola's.

Possessed by Manolo's desire made song, just as he loses himself in this desire, Lola, like Manolo, is both the victim and the source of a spell that conjures the alterity that Caws identifies as Surrealism's main objective. Foster, however, also locates the presence of the uncanny in this state of otherness where identity ceases to obtain. In fact, much of *Embrujo*'s Surrealist charge stems from those uncanny moments where pleasure in dance and performance props itself upon, and indeed strives for, a culmination in mental and physical collapse.

Flamenco and the Popular Unconscious

Federico García Lorca (1898-1936) is undoubtedly the author who has written most eloquently about flamenco's expressive roots in states of intense affliction and derangement that propitiate a psychic unbinding and an awakening of unconscious forces. García Lorca's passionate defense of flamenco and Andalusian popular culture originated, in part, as a reaction against the contempt the latter generated among Spain's intelligentsia.[782] At the turn of the nineteenth century the devotees of the Enlightenment

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sought to banish all that challenged the law and rule of reason. Beyond flamenco's negative image as a pastime for alcoholic proletarians (gypsies, miners, indentured peasants) and debauched aristocrats, Spain's enlightened élites denounced its irrational and emotional components.[783] Flamenco's exaltation of terrifying passions and states of ecstasy, its exploration of saturnine moods and nocturnal landscapes of the mind embodied an anti-classical impulse inimical to the rational project of the *ilustrados*.

The writers of the generation of 1898, obssessed as they were with Spain's decadence and backwardness, singled out *flamenquismo,* a fad for gypsy music and argot rampant among high society and the populace alike, as a symptom of the maladies that impeded or retarded Spain's modernization.[784] The literary generation that followed, known as the generation of 1927, reversed positions and embraced flamenco as the genuine voice of a popular sensibility.[785] Whereas this positive re-evaluation persisted under the Second Republic, Franco's regime professed an equivocal attitude towards flamenco.[786] On the one hand, sectors of the administration promoted a nationalist version of flamenco, *nacional-flamenquismo,* that exploited the affective values of Andalusian folklore as signs of cultural identity that could strengthen the cohesion of *franquismo*'s new political order.[787] Conversely, Pérez Perucha observes how certain members of Falange repudiated flamenco as

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artistically and morally repugnant because of its proletarian aftertaste, its dubious ethnic origins, and its associations with the populist cultural policies of the Second Republic.[788] For Francoist film historian Fernando Méndez Leite, flamenco was not a worthy topic for the silver screen. He slighted *Embrujo*'s merit in his 1965 history of Spain's cinema and declared that neither Flores nor Caracol were suitable film stars.[789]

In 1922 in the city of Granada García Lorca organized with the famous composer Manuel de Falla a well-publicized contest of *cante jondo,* or deep song, a style of flamenco characterized by its profound, naked pathos.[790] A number of renowned artists, writers and musicians attended, thus legitimating García Lorca and Falla's controversial attempt to bestow some cultural respectability upon *cante jondo*.[791] On that occasion, Lorca delivered a speech entitled "El cante jondo. Primitivo canto andaluz" (Deep Song. Primitive Andalusian singing). In this lecture, and a later one entitled "Arquitectura del cante jondo," Lorca sought to redress misconceptions about flamenco's origins. He emphasized the religious and ritual roots of *cante jondo* in ancient oriental cults; its aptitude to vehiculate deep-seated, primeval feelings of alienation, marginalization and disempowerment, and to convey a powerful racial truth capable of metamorphosing the mundane into a superior aesthetic experience.[792] For García Lorca, Flamenco singers,

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known as *cantaores*, acted as hallucinated mediums, privileged beings that channeled ancient narratives of suffering and oppression wherein lay the collective historical memory of the Andalusian people.[793]

García Lorca's *duende*

In 1933 Lorca delivered the lecture, "Juego y teoría del duende" (Play and theory of the gnome) in Buenos Aires.[794] In the latter, Lorca construed flamenco as the utterance of a *duende* or gnome, a mysterious inspirational force with which the performer engaged in an agonic struggle for self-expression.[795] Lorca measured the power of a work of art in direct relation to the energy spent by the artist in battle with the *duende*. It required of the artist a prior surrender of the soul, a disarming of the psyche's mechanisms of defense, and a receptivity towards the unbinding of death.[796] In this regard, Lorca stated that, "the *duende* will not make an appearance unless it envisions the possibility of death."[797] Indeed, the *cantaor* acted as its harbinger, sublimating intimations of the void into a dionysiac exaltation.

Because *cante jondo* entailed the recovery of traumatic experiences, distilling art out of memories of pain, García Lorca compared its performance to a voyage into a frightening domain, the "faraway chambers of the blood."[798] The *cantaor* draws the spectators along in his cathartic descent into remote psychic realms so they too may dwell in

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the shadows and experience a flash of the sacred. In a move that suggests the impact of Surrealism, Lorca's theory of the *duende* links the genesis of *cante jondo* to a tapping of the unconscious and the awakening of buried primeval forces.[799]

García Lorca's relation to Surrealism has been hotly contested over the years. The poet himself denied being a Surrealist and refuted its direct influence on his poetry and plays, although his disclaimers were often equivocal.[800] Yet Lorca's revision of his earlier thoughts on flamenco, from the first lecture in 1922 to the theory of the *duende* enunciated in 1933, likely suggests the influence of the poetics of Surrealism.[801] Breton had urged the artist to be always open to both outer experiences and inner dictates. This emphasis on a state of vigilant receptivity informs Lorca's ideas, for the *cantaor* will only come into contact with the *duende*, and thus deliver a genuine, heart-rending performance, provided there is an awareness of and a surrender to unconscious forces.

Flamenco, and particularly *cante jondo*, rides a dionysiac impulse that, as García Lorca suggested, drives the performer to intense levels of psychic unbinding. Emotive excess is the norm and catharsis the desired goal.[802] Given flamenco's fatalistic view of mankind's relation to the cosmos and the self, its lyrics abound in scenarios of misfortune and alienation, where violence and death encroach

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upon sexual ecstasy. In its working through of trauma, whether of a social, economic or sexual nature, *cante jondo* entails an investment of libidinal energy into narratives of ruin and loss, not unlike the Bataillean current of Surrealism advocated by Foster.

It is tempting to speculate whether the genesis of the theory of the *duende* corresponded in any way to García Lorca's cognizance of this alternative Surrealism, obsessed with the exploration of moments of psychic shattering that disssolve the boundaries between life and death. *Embrujo* too suggests an awareness of a darker strain of Surrealism, one that strips the notion of *amour fou* of its incantatory aura in order to reveal its fatal power. Although *Embrujo*'s source material, the spectacle *La Niña de Fuego*, cannot be regarded as authentic flamenco, Caracol's songs nevertheless preserve the core anguish of *cante jondo*. Addressed always to Lola and voiced either in conjunction with a performance or as accompaniment to the semi-abstract montage sequences, these songs depict sexual passion in various phases: rapture, pain, despair, obsession, delirium, and death.[803] Their pathos and overwhelming affect complement the expressionistic shadows and derealized spaces that at times overtake the film, as in the eerie procession of mourners at Manolo's gypsy funeral.

Serrano de Osma's film envisages flamenco as a mise-en-scène of fantasy that conflates the real and the oneiric,

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shifting between the realms of life and death.[804] *Embrujo*'s songs and dance numbers are, hence, not conceived as mere showstoppers. On the simplest of levels, the musical numbers certainly provide spectators with the pleasure of high-powered performances by two of their idols. On a more complex plane, they double as *tableaux* of desire. [805] Flores and Caracol were famous for a combustive stage act that mirrored their tempestuous professional and personal relationship. *Embrujo* capitalized on public knowledge of this thrilling conflation of art and life.[806] Functioning first as an arena of sexual struggle and then as sites of fantasy, these musical sequences foreground the ecstasy, trepidation, and ambivalence of eros, while hinting at its destructive underside. Through song and dance the body voices and enacts compulsive, all-consuming desires.[807]

Conclusion

Serrano de Osma resolved his own ambivalence over flamenco's worth as an artistic expression by enveloping it in the trappings of modernism. In spite of his professed contempt for the material, Serrano de Osma approached *Embrujo* as a chance to work out his theories on the musical, particularly in terms of the relationship of music and sound to the image.[808] Out of stage material far too hackneyed to be regarded as authentic flamenco, Serrano de Osma effected a synthesis of powerfully plastic imagery, entrancing musical rhythms, and expressive montage. Given that the

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origins of dance are generally traced to primitive, incantatory rituals, Serrano understandably envisioned flamenco as a path to recover primordial, magical feelings. The challenge was to articulate a film language capable of communicating with equal potency the ecstatic, transcendental qualities of *cante jondo*.[809] In a way similar to García Lorca's own fathoming of Andalusia's mythic vein by means of an intuitive grasp of psychic automatism, Serrano's search for a cinema ridden with the mystery and emotion of *cante jondo* led him also to Surrealism and psychoanalysis as tools to pry open and reveal the unconscious of popular culture.[810]

The novelty of Serrano de Osma's approach lay in its avoidance of generic clichés and its willingness to expose the roots of flamenco in trauma and loss, its projection of individual, and ultimately communal, experiences of lack. The *cantaor*'s encounter with the *duende* entailed for Lorca a losing of the self, an experience of alterity that took the performer to a borderline state of inspired frenzy beyond which beckoned a dissolution in death. But whereas Lorca only hints at the nature of this *duende*, *Embrujo* explicitly identifies it as eros. Thus Lola and Manolo's performances draw their "convulsive beauty" and shattering power from the pulsations of the libido. In its exploration of a psychic landscape where art, sexual desire and death are inextricably linked, *Embrujo* veers towards that strain of

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Surrealism that revels in a decentering of identity and compulsive encounters with the uncanny.

I have been unable to document whether Serrano de Osma and García Lorca knew each other, but Serrano must have been aware of Lorca's love of flamenco and possibly familiar with his theory of the *duende*. Certainly Serrano's characterization of *Embrujo* as the encounter of flamenco and pyschoanalysis evinces a remarkable affinity to Lorca's ideas about *cante jondo*. After his murder in the early days of the Civil War, García Lorca's writings were marginalized by Franco's culture industry and fell out of print. A few copies printed abroad circulated nonetheless among a small group of devotees, and his reputation in literary circles remained high.[811] Given the wall of silence around Lorca and the coded ways that Spanish filmmakers resorted to after 1939 in order to avoid censorship, whatever references to García Lorca may exist in *Embrujo* remain understandibly veiled. They emerge more clearly, I think, in Serrano's statements on folklore, for here he seems to propose a poetic renewal of Spain's musical cinema that, like Lorca's work, privileges the cathartic function of *cante jondo*.

Art historian Jaime Brihuega has remarked how Surrealism in Spain, as was the case with previous avant-garde movements, but even more so, merged with local expressions of popular cultural identity.[812] García Lorca's mixture of Surrealism and folklore, however, had not been to

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everybody's liking, beginning with his intimate friends, Buñuel and Dalí. Musicologist Anselmo González Climent labeled Lorca's work *pandereta Surrealista*, essentially an *española* in modernist drag.[813] Bearing some of the film's reviews in mind, it seems that *Embrujo* was perceived in analogous fashion: as a picture that invested folkloric signs of Spanish identity with a mystifying avant-garde sensibility, stranding Lola Flores in her Andalusian getup among mannequins and bizarre sets (Fig. 69). Serrano's picture was condemned either for its alleged affinity with a genre regarded by progressive minds as symptomatic of Spain's underdevelopment or for its wilfully opaque treatment of a populist art form.

Serrano de Osma may not have produced one definitive masterpiece but, in spite of their flaws, all of his films possess a distinctive personality and abound in special moments. Although Serrano's ambition may have exceeded his talent as a director, he was willing to expand film form and upset inherited modes of seeing, which is more than can be said for many Spanish filmmakers, then and now.[814] Indeed, Pérez Perucha recognizes that Serrano's experimental vision had no parallel in Europe at the time. Unlike the painters and poets that rebelled against Francoist culture, Serrano was acting in a void, for there had been no consistent avant-garde or art cinema in Spain.[815] Serrano de Osma's concern with film form hardly found a sympathetic audience

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and inspired no followers. *Embrujo*'s hostile reception confirms that Serrano had indeed succeeded in thwarting conventional narrative expectations and pleasures.

Yet had *Embrujo* received a European release, I do not doubt that it would have been included in Adonis Kyrou's anthology of Surrealist cinema. The film, like Breton, proclaims the omnipotence of desire, figuring it as a sort of invisible communicating vessel that binds Lola and Manolo to each other. Not only does Serrano's film foreground the theme of *amour fou* so central to Surrealism; it too strives to erase the limits between the real and the oneiric. *Embrujo*, as Breton said of Surrealism's chief objective, seeks to "bring about the state where the distinction between the subjective and the objective loses its necessity and value."[816] Moreover, Serrano's penchant for locating projections of unconscious desires in mythic and folkloric forms from popular culture parallels a strain in Surrealism attracted to primitive beliefs and atavistic structures of feeling. Is it a mere coincidence that Serrano adopted as his slogan a term, *telúrico*, full of atavistic and chtonic undertones, which has been often used to give national specificity to Spain's Surrealism?[817] Probably not.

Although commercial imperatives and institutional neglect constrained, and ultimately foiled, Serrano's filmic experiments, *Embrujo* gleaned its daring impulse from this new generational quest for artistic innovation. If

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contemporary painters and poets challenged, however modestly, the stifling academicism sanctioned by Franco's administration, Serrano de Osma likewise lobbied for a transformation of Spain's film industry. What would be more appropriate than to administer a shock to the very heart of Spain's cinematic imaginary: the folkloric musical?

If *Embrujo* takes as its point of departure a familiar, even trite formula, the folkloric musical, tolerated by Franco's film bureaucracy and wildly popular among audiences, it is possible that Serrano wanted to anchor his cinematic excursion into uncharted territory in a national tradition with popular appeal. In any case, flamenco had been the subject of prior Surrealist experiments in the ballets of the renowned dancer, Vicente Escudero, who choreographed two dance sequences for *Embrujo*.[818] Escudero, with his close connections to Miró, may have been also a key link in the chain that connects *Embrujo* to Spain's avant-garde. His ballets anticipated the merging of Spanish folklore and high modernism that we observe, for instance, in Miro's pictures of *bailaoras*.

By doggedly pursuing his idiosyncratic course in an inhospitable environment, was Serrano de Osma overly optimistic or impossibly naive? Was his diagnosis of Spain's post-Civil War film industry, as one susceptible to radical intervention, accurate, or was he blinded by his single-minded vision to its real dynamics? Undoubtedly his program

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for the renewal of Spain's cinema possessed a utopian streak, yet it is a testimony to his convictions and perseverance that Serrano managed to finance and shoot four challenging features over a two-year period. If anything, I would argue that Serrano overestimated the tolerance of Spain's public and the receptivity of mainstream critics to challenging content and formal experimentation as much as he unwisely trusted the administration's willingness to reward it.

Serrano de Osma once professed: "Spanish cinema should always experiment . . . The risk of failure, with all of its consequences, is always preferable to the certainty of a mediocre success."[819] Many years after the disastrous premier of *Embrujo*, Serrano de Osma must have felt vindicated when audiences at the 1982 San Sebastian Film Festival erupted into a frenzied applause following a screening of the film. "I was perhaps ahead of my time," he ventured with self-effacing charm.[820]

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CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

Zeev Sternhell has convincingly argued that Fascism did not arise in a void, but unfolded out of various strains of conservative thought that stretched back to the end of the nineteenth-century. In other words, the emergence of Fascism cannot be understood without taking into account a spectrum of cultural production that, in a sense, paved the way for its rise and rapid dissemination. Similarly, it is commonly agreed that cultural production also played a fundamental role in the maintenance of Fascism's grip on power. Among the various mass media that Fascist governments instrumentalized in their self-interest, the cinema is generally regarded as the chief, most effective and wide-ranging agent mobilized towards the construction, representation and propagation of Fascist ideology. The masses' fascination with the cinema accounted for its privileged position within the burgeoning cultural and entertainment industries of Western Europe and for the attention that totalitarian regimes lavished on the film industry and the extent to which they endeavored, not always successfully, to place all of its sectors and components under strict state control.

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Spanish cinema under Franco's dictatorship underwent similar attempts at regulation and ideological manipulation. Indeed, the film production of the 1940s must be seen as part of Francoism's attempt to generate consensus and mobilize support among Spaniards in the face of the entrenched divisions exposed by the Civil War and deepened by the violent repression that followed its conclusion. The *Nacionales* prevailed on the battlefield, but the struggle to command the minds of Spaniards was still being fought throughout the 1940s. Having gained control of Spain's destiny by illegitimate means, Franco's claim to power had to be regularly articulated and legitimized. At the same time, as Paloma Aguilar has pointed out, it was essential to Franco's legitimacy that a sense of continuity with the past prevail and that the existence of internal discord be denied. The cinema provided Franco's regime with a popular, far-reaching medium to create symbolic fictions that articulated both goals. Hence, next to pictures imbued with a fervent call to vigilance and militancy against the enemies of Spain's newly asserted power and national unity, other films from the 1940s depicted a hierarchical, organic society wherein the powerful and the dispossessed co-existed in perfect harmony.

But Franco's ideological instrumentalization of the cinema was neither monolithic, nor uniform or consistent. Instead, the evolution of Spain's cinema throughout the

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1940s manifested noticeable discontinuities and readjustments in its course and tone that resulted from the internal rifts within Franco's eclectic power base. These shifts and breaks mirrored the political and ideological tug of wars that inflected the regime's course as it struggled throughout the 1940s to survive in an inhospitable international environment.

Franco's legislation introduced norms and policies that routed Spain's cinema in a decisively new direction, and there is little doubt that Franco's administration implemented a series of incentives that may have induced filmmakers and producers to formulate a cinema aligned with its ideological needs and objectives. However, the state's success seems to have been limited as far as motivating the industry to blindly serve up an undiluted dose of propaganda or, for that matter, to make covert propaganda its main objective. In the long run, a policy of laissez faire obtained, allowing producers and directors a modicum of latitude in choosing themes and genres that did not explicitly respond to the regime's ideological agenda. Although some producers may have been personally disinclined to produce Fascist propaganda, economic rather than ideological motives most likely determined their choices.

A limited number of films explicitly proselytized in favor of the new political order, the majority of which were made in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, during the

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height of regime stabilization. A greater number of pictures more or less openly extolled the ideological values championed by the institutions, social groups, and economic forces central to Franco's powerbase. A vast majority refrained from partisanship, escaping into flights of fantasy, the pleasure of spectacle, and the catharsis of laughter or tears. At best they acquiesced to the status quo by their silence and evasion. Of course, several films welded propaganda and entertainment in a highly effective way, yet others offered a glimpse of a cinema that touched upon facets of contemporary Spanish life in a visual style and narrative language suitable to the masses.

In the process, these motion pictures recycled time-honored myths and archetypes; represented, re-interpreted and updated Spanish and regional cultural traditions; adapted acceptable literary masterpieces (i.e, those lacking in progressive ideas contrary to the ideological principles of the regime), and in general tried to generate consensus around a preferential notion of national and cultural identity. Even CIFESA did more than passively supply Franco's government with a mirror reflection. The company unquestionably sought government favor, but on the basis of the films themselves, we cannot speak of absolute collusion. While historians like Font, Galán, and García Segui hold CIFESA's production to be a transparent vehicle of Francoist ideology, I, like Fanés and Téllez, believe that its films

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offer a more nuanced and circuitous relationship to the dominant ideology than many scholars are willing to admit.

If anything, the Catholic Church's renewed sway was more decisive in establishing the parameters of early post-civil War cinema and in deciding what was deemed acceptable material. Since ecclesiastical authorities closely monitored the cinematic production of the era and held key posts in censorship committees, their retrograde morality impinged most directly upon the type of films that reached Spanish screens. Nevertheless, I tend to believe that censorship probably had less impact on the production or reception of Spanish cinema during the 1940s than has been usually credited. After all, censorship was implemented even in Hollywood studios with the imposition in 1934 of the Hays Code, yet it was not responsible for an automatic decline in quality or audience reception. Filmmakers were challenged to find subtler ways to entertain and convey objectionable material. Censorship under Franco, at least during this decade, differed only in matter of degree from the censorship practices that had existed prior to 1936, not in substance.[821]

In the end, it may have been Franco's ambiguous and unpredictable taste that determined the heterogeneity, mutability, and erratic shifts in direction that characterized the film industry during the 1940s. Furthermore, producers and directors hesitated to tackle

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controversial subjects like the Civil War, as their point of view might unwittingly offend one faction or another of Franco's power base. Moreover, many producers perceived explicitly political films to be potential box-office poison. My research suggests that Spain's post-Civil War film industry operated along a two-tiered system of production. An officially sanctioned cinema that satisfied the state's ideological necessities, garnering subsidies, prizes, and import licenses, co-existed with a popular cinema that sought to entertain the masses. Although producers of ideologically conformist work earned the lion share of subsidies and awards, producers of popular cinema occasionally benefitted from government support, receiving loans, prizes and permits as well.

In fact, only 20% of films produced in the 1940s were excluded from receiving any type of subsidies. Conversely, 30% enjoyed the maximum level of protection. Thus, it would be among these films —especially among the 12% that were denominated "Films of National Interest"— where one would expect to find the most blatant and insidious manifestations of Francoist ideology. However, within the limits of what was permissible under Franco's censorship, the list of favored feature films reads like a model of eclecticism and (relative) ideological independence. Among the films placed in the first category we find those usually associated with Francoist ideology, but many others as well whose connection

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to it is tenuous at best. The fact is that a majority of films were conceived purely and simply as entertainment, which does not mean that they refused at the same time to champion and promote a conservative world view that served the interests of the dominant institutions and social groups that supported Franco's bid for power.

As advocates of cultural purity and independence confronted cosmopolitan views and lifestyles, efforts were undertaken to recover signs of "Spanishness" and to defend and display the national cultural heritage, however problematic this concept may appear today, against Hollywood's cultural imperialism, its liberal propaganda, and the contamination of its democratic egalitarianism. To the extent that *franquismo*'s cultural production strove to create and disseminate a preferred self-image that suited the regime's political goals as well as the economic interests of hegemonic social groups, Spain's film industry was pressed to persuade audiences to identify with and embrace this self-image. In this sense, the formulation of a Francoist national-popular cinema, namely a cinema that conceived and projected an image equating community with a preferential and often tendentious vision of the nation and imagined the cultural sphere as a crucible that fused folklore, popular culture, and high culture into a viable, universal language, constituted a priority for many Spanish ideologues, politicians, and film professionals alike.

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Early post-Civil War cinema must not be seen outside of this framework, but neither should it be reduced to it. With the advent of Francoism, openly progressive perspectives vanished from sight, but the representation of working-class life did not entirely disappear from the screen, nor did social conflict or issues of class difference. Francoist cinema may have sought to expunge social unrest from its narratives of harmonious, organic communities, but it could not keep the inequalities, economic hardship, and psychological anxieties of 1940s Spain completely at bay. Unflattering aspects of contemporary Spanish life eventually found their way into the films of this decade. Albeit defanged and subdued on account of the draconian censorship, viewpoints critical, or at the very least skeptical of the status quo, managed to cut through the triumphalist rhetoric.

It is time to acknowledge that, despite the negative historiographical image of this period, the overall nature of 1940s cinema was less dogmatic and tendencious than common knowledge would have it. The preponderance of comedies within a diverse serving of generic models suggests that producers certainly manufactured films with audiences in mind, and not solely as a means to obtain lucrative perks, although this type of fraudulent activity was not unknown. In turn, the industry's commercial orientation

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implies a degree of autonomy from the administration's priorities.

In its attempt to create a national-popular cinema, the culture of *franquismo* shuttled between the transcendental realm of high art and the earthbound, democratic levelling of folklore's common sense. In the process of configurating this national-popular cinema, Spain's film industry appropriated and mobilized painted figurations of community, commonly accepted and popularized over the decades, when not centuries, as repositories of Spanish cultural identity. Spanish painting acquired a complex and protean role as it was inducted into the ideological force-field of Francoist cinema. It came to perform a symbolic task of nation-building and regime stabilization, generating and fostering consensus around preferred visions of community and national cultural identity. The latent fear not only of fragmentation, but moreso of another disintegration into chaos and annihilation that haunted Spaniards of this generation, powered an obsessive insistence on unity and consensus, when not unity under coercion. I have suggested that *franquismo*'s privileging of the pictorial references was meant to counter an analogous fear of the inherently discontinuous and fragmented language of film. In other words, the pictorial vocation of early Francoist cinema entailed a recovery of

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the aura of tradition with which to invest the quintessential modernity of the cinema.

The five films discussed in depth in this dissertation dialogized Spain's visual arts in distinct and even contrary ways. Directed by the most renowned of Franco's official filmmakers, *Locura de amor* is one of the most reviled, parodied and enduringly popular movies from the 1940s. Rising out of a revitalized historicism, whose corollary was a resurgence in history painting and the production of a spate of historical films, *Locura de Amor* invoked a momentous episode from the past in order to address a crisis in Spain's present history. Orduña resorted to the formal and narrative strategies of melodrama to dramatize a clash of political forces that mirrored and resonated with contemporary anxieties. His rhetorical theatricality fashioned a poetics of grand gestures and excessive affect that rooted history and memory in emotionally depleting experiences of loss and nonfulfillment. Contrary to those who persist in equating Orduña's voice with the political and ideological imperatives of *franquismo*, I contend that *Locura de amor*'s hyperbolic style and emotional excess, along with its idiosyncratic use of painting, work to unsettle and problematize any facile correspondence with Francoist ideology. Within Orduña's stylized mise-en-scène, history painting is not merely cited in order to indoctrinate audiences with a codified and authoritarian

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vision of the past. Rather, it is summoned to figure the haunting of death and provoke cathartic release for a traumatized nation.

Goyescas, a hybrid of melodrama, comedy, music and song ostensibly conceived as a star vehicle for actress-singer Imperio Argentina, may seem on the surface a shallow paean to Spain's artistic heritage. Yet beneath its polished facade and lighthearted tone, *Goyescas* capitalized on the multivalent Spanish identities embodied by Goya's art and personality to make a probing commentary on post-Civil War Spain. Through its self-reflexive formalism and its foregrounding of theatricality and masquerade, Perojo's film articulated a dialogue between aristocratic and popular cultures that allegorized with surprising candor the antagonistic social tensions leading to the internal rift of Spain's social body into two hostile yet interdependent halves. Of all the films discussed in this dissertation, *Goyescas* most clearly figures the struggle for hegemony in 1940s Spain.

Anchored within the ideology, sentiments, and practices of Andalusian Catholicism, *Malvaloca* updated the turn-of-the century topos of the fallen woman to craft an allegorical statement about a community's own loss of innocence. *Malvaloca*'s mise-en-scène foregrounded religious rituals and images that proclaimed the Church's renewed ideological hegemony in post-Civil War Spain. Yet this

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sacred symbolism also served as a means for a traumatized community to purify itself from a haunting collective guilt and to exorcise the psychic trauma inflicted by the war. I have argued that the film obtained its peculiar blend of piety, sensuality and pathos in part from a tacit evocation of the painting of Julio Romero de Torres. His iconic images of Andalusian women, paradigms of Spanish femininity that fused spiritual and erotic rapture, obliquely instill *Malvaloca* with a mood of smoldering, obsessive sexuality; with its quest for transcendance beyond carnal desire. For it is precisely the female body that Marquina's film fashions into a metaphoric site of both collective degradation and redemption.

Blending humor and suspense, *Domingo de carnaval* advocated a realist cinema of a national-popular flavor as an antidote to the grandiloquent rhetoric of Franco's most militant cinema. Neville responded to the univocal orthodoxy of Fascist doctrine with a celebration of the banned pleasures and roguish spirit of Madrid's carnival. Conjuring a public sphere infused with the triumph of the body in all its earthiness, the subversive power of grotesque humor, and the freedom of fluid gender roles, *Domingo de carnaval* also dialogized a realist, popular vein in Spanish painting, in particular the work of José Gutiérrez Solana. Neville deploys Solana's painting in ways that affirm a positive view of working-class culture and legitimize its aesthetic

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merits. Yet I maintain that Neville's utopian and nostalgic affirmation of the popular was not exempt from symptoms of anxiety that resurfaced through the morbid, uncanny imagery of Solana's carnival pictures. Thus, beneath the jolly and atmospheric recreation of old plebeian Madrid, the somber and eerie world of Solana's painting impregnates Neville's film with an undercurrent of violence and dread symptomatic of a malaise stemming from the tragic experience of the Civil War.

Directed by a maverick filmmaker operating against the grain of Franco's commercial film industry, *Embrujo* is an art film that disrupts and confounds accepted histories and overly simplistic assessments of the cinema of the 1940s. A self-proclaimed Surrealist musical noted for its experimental use of montage, lighting, and camera work, *Embrujo* celebrated the ecstatic, irrational power of flamenco dance and song in a highly plastic language that paired image and sound to invoke a primeval state akin to magic and myth. While the film partially follows the narrative conventions of classical cinema, at times it abandons the representation of material reality altogether to explore the world of inner visions through abstract sequences and musical numbers that place the performances within the spatial and temporal ambiguity of dreams.

While critics from the 1940s labeled the film an anachronism on account of its avant-garde sensibility, I

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believe that *Embrujo*'s contemporaneity is not to be found in the trends that shaped European postwar cinema. Rather, it must be located in developments within Spain's art world as the latter witnessed a recovery of Surrealism towards the end of the 1940s. In other words, Serrano de Osma's engagement with Surrealism sprung from an inward gaze. Furthermore, *Embrujo*'s association of dance and the subconscious recalls García Lorca's theories on flamenco, which traced the roots of its devastating emotional impact to the darkest recesses of the performer's psyche. Inspired by Hal Foster's reading of Surrealist art in his book Compulsive Beauty, I have argued that Serrano de Osma formulated a vision that was less a celebration of *l'amour fou* and the marvelous than a plumbing of states of altered, decentered identity and uncanny crossings of sexual desire, madness, and death.

Altogether, the five films that have anchored my study of early post-Civil War cinema attest to the divergent directions that the film production of 1940s Spain followed and to the varied sensibilites it harbored. Covering a broad range of themes and generic and stylistic models, these films were by turns quite contemporary, even as they ascribed to and celebrated certain national traditions often rooted in deeply conservative world views. Neither utterly accommodating and hegemonic nor openly subversive and contestatory, these films inhabited an ambivalent

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ideological domain, oscillating between conformity and a necessarily veiled, but not mute, resistance. Lastly, they all seem in more or less explict terms to be haunted by fantasmatic presences of bodies, practices, structures of feeling, and utopian ideals that in my view bespeak the hidden, raw wounds left open and festering by the virulent antagonism and bloodletting of the Civil War.

The splintered condition of Spanish society during this period hovers over the margins of early post-Civil War cinema, investing its films with their fascinating hybridity, ambiguity, and duality. In fact, their eclecticism echoes Fascism's rhetorical self-description as a political third way between capitalism and communism and reflects the movement's ideological diversity and internal contradictions. Matthew Affron has remarked on Fascism's penchant for making paradox "a productive principle."[822] And paradoxical is a word that certainly defines the operation of an allegedly tendencious and artistically bankrupt industry that put forth films like *Embrujo*.

For this reason, the moving images of Francoism cannot be understood solely as instruments of psychic coercion. They must be apprehended as well as texts and images riven by hegemonic and counter-hegemonic claims. Hence my argument that the seductive surfaces of the pictorial function also as sites of contested power and ideological struggle; that they resonate with genuine tensions resulting from the pull

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between tradition and modernity; and that they often channel utopian impulses and desires that transcend, and at times even reject, the most recalcitrant right-wing ideology. It should not be forgotten that in spite of the climate of terror, repression, and hardship prevalent in the 1940s, at no other time during Franco's dictatorship were memories of a democratic Spain so vivid, nor, I think, did the possibility of Franco's fall loom larger in the collective imagination.

My conclusions have necessarily been shaped by the materials I have had access to during my research. As Román Gubern pointed out several years ago, a comprehensive study of Spanish cinema has been hampered by the loss of a good deal of films, as well as by the lack of monographs on many significant directors, and of other types of written and oral testimonies: memoirs, autobiographies, interviews etc.[823] These limitations equally affect the study of early post-Civil War cinema. My own research has mostly focused on an array of primary and secondary printed sources: books, magazines, newspapers, and academic journals. I have also consulted a few censorship dossiers and shooting permits (*expedientes de rodaje*) which contain some valuable information on the public's reaction to these films from different parts of Spain. There are few other options, since most of the filmmakers from this era have died and few of its stars remain alive. Neville's private correspondence,

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for instance, has been dispersed and mostly lost. Even some important films from this era are no longer in good shape and cannot be projected. It is possible that my interpretations might have been different had I been able to access private letters, production records, and office memos.

On the other hand, the absence of actual box-office records until the 1960s makes it difficult to accurately assess audience response to the offer of Spanish films. We can make broad conclusions but, short of guessing, we must currently do with estimated, and sometimes contradictory, data culled from contradictory or biased primary sources — government reports, trade periodicals, newspapers, magazines, and books— if we want to reach some kind of finely drawn conclusions.[824] Perhaps if Jo Labanyi carries out her project of collecting oral testimonies from surviving moviegoers of the 1940s, we may obtain a more balanced and faithful picture of spectatorship during the early post-Civil War era.

There is still much room for research on early post-Civil War cinema. For one, a more comprehensive study of the film production of this period could lead to more refined and qualifed conclusions on the parameters and limits of resistance and contestation. Were these attitudes prevalent across Spain or concentrated in particular areas? Was there a substantial difference in attitudes towards Spanish films

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between urban and rural spectators? Did gender play a role in the reception of these films? Did certain genres lend themselves more readily to function as sites of either accomodation or subversion? These and other questions undoubtedly deserve a separate study of their own. It is one which I look forward to pursuing in the near future.

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A

FRAMING SPAIN: CINEMA, PAINTING AND NATIONAL IDENTITY UNDER FRANCO, 1939-1950

By

Gerard Dapena

VOLUME II

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NOTES TO INTRODUCTION (pages 2-13)

1. Katherine Kovács, "Demarginalizing Spanish Cinema," Quarterly Review of Film and Video 11, no. 4 (1990): 73-82.

2. In the past decade two Spanish films won an Academy Award for Best Foreign Film: Fernando Trueba's *Belle Epoque* (1992) and Pedro Almodóvar's *Todo Sobre Mi Madre* (1999). Several other films have obtained prestigious festival prizes, including Vicente Aranda's *Amantes* (1991), Moncho Armendáriz's *Secretos del Corazón* (1996), Julio Medem's *Los Amantes del Círculo Polar* (1998), and Benito Zambrano's debut feature, *Solas* (1999).

3. See Virginia Higginbotham, Spanish Film under Franco (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988); John Hopewell, Out of the Past: Spanish Cinema after Franco (London: British Film Institute, 1986); Marsha Kinder, Blood Cinema: The Reconstruction of National Identity in Spain (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993). Of the three, Hopewell devotes the longest section to the early history of Spanish cinema, including ten pages on the cinema of the 1940s.

4. In December 1999 the Spanish Association of Film Historians held their bi-annual conference; its centerpiece was devoted to the study of 1940s cinema. These papers were just compiled in what is currently the most extensive and wide-ranging publication devoted to early Francoist cinema. In one of the entries, film historian José Luis Castro de Paz regretfully acknowledges that the cinema of the 1940s is indeed one of the most neglected and understudied periods in the history of Spanish cinema. See José Luis Castro de Paz, "Un cinema herido. Huellas textuales de la Guerra civil en el cine español de los años cuarenta," La herida de las sombras. El cine español en los años cuarenta, ed. Luis Fernández Colorado and Pilar Couto Cantero, a special issue of Cuadernos de la Academia, no. 9 (2001):43-57.

A number of books have covered the span of Francoist film production, such as Domènec Font, Del azul al verde. El cine español durante el franquismo (Barcelona: Avance, 1976). Others have focused on one particular aspect. Félix Fanés has studied the output of the production and distribution company CIFESA, which operated from the 1930s through the early '50s. See Félix Fanés, El cas CIFESA: vint anys de cinema espanyol (1932-1951) (Valencia: Filmoteca Generalitat Valenciana, 1989). Valeria Camporesi has examined the multiple filmic representations of national identity in Spain's cinema, with particular emphasis on early Francoist cinema. See Valeria

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Camporesi, Para grandes y chicos. Un cine para los españoles 1940-1990 (Madrid: Turfan, 1993). Several other surveys of Spanish cinema at least include a chapter or section on the 1940s. See Emilio Sanz de Soto, "1940-1950," Spanish Cinema 1896-1983, ed. Augusto M. Torres (Madrid: Ministry of Culture, 1984), 102-141; Emilio C. García Fernández, "La década de los cuarenta," Historia ilustrada del cine español (Barcelona: Planeta, 1985), 113-197; and José Enrique Monterde, "El cine de la autarquía," Historia del cine español, ed. Román Gubern et al. (Madrid: Cátedra/Filmoteca Nacional, 1995), 181-238. For a short overview in English see Hopewell, 22-43 and Higginbotham, 18-24. Also, Peter Evans, "Cifesa: Cinema and Authoritarian Aesthetics" in Spanish Cultural Studies, ed. Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 215-222. Several films from this period are discussed in detail in Antología crítica del cine español, ed. Julio Pérez Perucha (Madrid: Cátedra/Filmoteca Española, 1997); and Augusto Torres, El cine español en 119 películas (Madrid: Alianza, 1997).

5. "El cine español . . . ha sido uno de los más atrasados, torpes y faltos de interés del cine occidental. Y desde luego la década de los 40 se erige en la más extravagante, enloquecida, curiosa y patética de nuestra historia". Diego Galán, "El cine español de los años cuarenta," Un siglo de cine español, a special issue of Cuadernos de la Academia, no. 1 (1997): 113.

6. In fact, the first overview of the dialogueical rapport between Spanish film and painting has just been published. See Jesús García, "La pintura en el cine español" in Cine español: situación actual y perspectivas, Actas del Primer Congreso de Cine Español (Granada: Grupo Editorial Universitario, 2001), 222-247.

7. Monterde (204) mentions that 442 films were made between 1939 and 1950; 245 of these were shot in Madrid and 152 in Barcelona.

8. Renowned filmmaker Fernando Trueba, director of the Academy-Award winner *Belle Epoque* (1992), has expressed regret at the passing of the studio era, an event hastened by the neorealist move towards outdoor locations and the impact of the French New Wave's freewheeling approach to filmmaking. During the 1940s and '50s Spanish directors had access to a plethora of skilled technicians, art directors, cinematographers, carpenters etc. Trueba contrasted this wealth with the diminished resources of Spain' present film industry. In an interview with historian Santiago Pozo, Trueba said about early Francoist cinema: "Era una industria

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e industrialmente era un cine respetable y mejor hecho que el cine que se hace ahora en España, porque había mejores condiciones, había unos estudios y había profesionales que sabían hacer decorados. . . .Yo cuando veo películas de esa época lo que tengo es una envidia de los medios, de cómo se rodaba aquello, de todo. De una fotografía en blanco y negro sensacional que ahora no te lo sabe hacer nadie. . . .¡Aquello era cine!" See Santiago Pozo, La industria del cine en España. Legislación y aspectos económicos 1896-1970 (Barcelona: Edicions Universitat de Barcelona, 1984), 118-119. Director Luis García Berlanga has voiced a similar opinion. See Luis García Berlanga, "Momentos dorados del cine español," Cinemanía, no. 8 (May 1996): 168.

9. Little research has been done on the study of public opinion in Francoist Spain. The excellent work on this subject by Francisco Sevillano Calero is an exception. See F. Sevillano Calero, Ecos de Papel. La opinión de los españoles en la época de Franco, Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2000. More research in this direction would hopefully provide us with a firmer base for what nevertheless will be chiefly partial, when not hypothetical, conclusions, given the lack of scientifically collected data on spectatorship in 1940s Spain and the constraints on freedom of speech imposed by Franco's government. However, due to the extreme ideological divisions made apparent during the Civil War, it may be safe to say that a sizable portion of Spain's population did not share the most reactionary tenets of *franquismo*, nor the puritanical morality of the Catholic Church.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE (pages 14-39)

10. After a trip to Spain at the end of the 1940s, British writer Gerald Brenan wrote: "In no other country in Europe does one find such a passion for the cinema." Gerald Brenan, The Face of Spain (London: Turnstile Press, 1950), 33.

11. By this date, there were more than 900 movie theaters throughout Spain, which attests to the rapid and widespread acceptance of the new medium. See Augusto Torres, "1896-1929" in Torres, Spanish Cinema, 19. This number had increased to 1,500 in 1924 and surpassed 3,500 by 1949, with an average seating capacity of 500. Spain was fifth among European nations in terms of number of movie theaters, but third worldwide as far as seating capacity was concerned. See the chart in Pozo, p. 73; and The Spanish Cinema (Madrid: Diplomatic Information Office, 1949), 91-92.

Madrid, for instance, had 28 cinemas in 1924, 60 in 1934, and over 100 by 1948. Forty new theaters opened in the

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capital from 1940 to 1943 alone. By 1948 the provinces of Barcelona, Valencia, Alicante, Seville and Madrid topped the list in number of theaters with 410, 255, 161, 155 and 152 respectively. Broken down by cities, Barcelona had 118 movie theaters, followed by Madrid with 106. By regions, Catalonia led the way with over 700 theaters, about 22% of the total. Altogether combined, these theaters totalled about two million seats, of which 103,000 were in Madrid. Average capacity for theaters in large capitals was 800 seats. Other theaters averaged 470. There were 550 theaters with more than 900 seats; 971 theaters sat between 500 and 900 spectators; the remaining two thousand had less than 500 seats.

Ownership of movie theaters was highly diversified. About 2,300 theaters were run by one-cinema enterprises, while about 200 firms owned two or three each. There were about only a dozen exhibitors running circuits of ten to sixteen movie houses.

12. A. Torres, 23. This fluctuating pattern has persisted to this date. Spain's overall production increased dramatically in the mid 1950s with the normalization of international co-productions, although figures for entirely national films did not vary significantly. Only in 1954 did film production surpass the figures of 1942 and 1943. Other peaks occurred in 1956, 1961, and 1963, culminating in the all-time highs of 1965 and 1966: 151 and 161 films respectively, out of which 53 and 67 were entirely Spanish. These figures would only be matched in 1982 (146 films, out of which 118 were entirely Spanish). But production throughout the 1980s dropped to historic lows (just 47 films in 1989), a dramatic decline which was only momentarily reversed in the early 1990s: 64 movies were made in 1991, but only 41 in 1994.

13. See A. Torres, 20. According to Carlos Barranchina, during the 1940s 103 different producers financed 220 films, 145 of which were made by producers with less than five titles to their credit. Only 75 films were produced by entities with five or more pictures to their credit. C. Barrachina, "El cine como instrumento de socialización en la política del franquismo," Film-historia, vol. 5, no. 2-3 (1995): 149.

14. Concentrated in Catalonia and the Basque region, Spain's financial oligarchy was largely oriented towards heavy industry and manufacturing, and never committed entirely to a concept of cinema as an industrial enterprise. José María García Escudero, who served as General Director of Cinema from 1951-1952 and again for several years in the 1960s, decried the short-sightedness of Spanish film producers:

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"Siempre el pequeño negocio ocasional; nunca los planes serios a largo plazo ni los programas de producción propios de una industria organizada". José María García Escudero, Cine español (Madrid: Rialp, 1962), 69-70.

15. During the 1940s a relatively small number of co-productions were set up with Italy and Portugal. See Monterde, 209, footnotes 14 and 15 for a list of titles. After 1955 Italy remained the most frequent partner, followed by France.

16. Although reliable box-office figures are not available until the late 1960s, by 1948 annual grosses were estimated at 900 million pesetas.

17. There had been only occasional use of film technology for propaganda purposes, mainly during the war, and a few isolated instances of censorship, most notably Luis Buñuel's *Land Without Bread* (1933) and Josef von Sternberg's *The Devil is a Woman* (1935).

18. See Rosa Álvarez Berciano and Ramón Sala Noguer, El cine en la zona nacional 1936-1939 (Bilbao: Ediciones Mensajero, 2000). The exception were five Spanish-German co-productions shot in Berlin between 1938-39 under the patronage of Goebbels. Three were directed by Benito Perojo (*El barbero de Sevilla, Suspiros de España,* and *Mariquilla Terremoto*) and two by Florián Rey (*Carmen la de Triana* and *Aixa*)

19. On May 29, 1937 Franco's government instituted shooting permits that required background checks on the political affiliation of all personnel involved in the making of a film. It was passed into law on April 9, 1940. Producers were forced to submit complete dossiers on every performer and technician.

20. Ramón Serrano Suñer: "Siendo innegable la gran influencia que el cinematógrafo tiene en la difusión del pensamiento y en la educación de las masas, es indispensable que el Estado vigile en todos los órdenes en que haya riesgo que se desvie de su misión". Quoted by Román Gubern in Un cine para el cadalso. Cuarenta años de censura cinematográfica en España (Barcelona: Euros, 1975), 21.

21. "Nos hallamos en los días de hoy, cuando todos los pueblos reclaman para si la misión de un cine nacional". Manuel Augusto García Viñolas, "Manifesto a la cinematografía española (Part 1)," Primer Plano, no. 1, 20 October 1940.

22. "Hace ya varios años que Mussolini dijo algo . . . 'No

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hay pueblo consciente de su vida política que no dedique al cine su máxima atención, su asistencia oficial.'" M. A. García Viñolas, "Manifiesto a la cinematografía española (Part 2)," Primer Plano no. 2, 27 October 1940.

23. See Fanés, 143. The first issue of Primer Plano, the official organ of Franco's film industry, published by the Secretaría General del Movimiento, depicted Franco in the trenches, camera in hand, with the following caption below, "The movie camera in the hands of the *Caudillo* has a transcendental significance because it ensures his assistance to the filmic enterprise, incorporated through him to the vigorous rhythm of a new Spain." (*La cámara cinematográfica en manos del Caudillo tiene una significación trascendental porque viene a expresarnos la seguridad de su asistencia a esta obra cinematográfica por él incorporada al ritmo vigoroso de una España.*) Caption to an illustration accompanying M. A. García Viñolas, "Manifesto a la cinematografía española."

24. During the Civil War Franco was known to attend regularly the premieres of films produced by the Departamento Nacional de Cinematografía. In successive years, film soirees and sneak previews took place regularly at Franco's residence of El Pardo. Franco's tastes in film are not well documented, but a few anecdotes are telling of his predilections. *Beau Geste* was apparently a favorite of Franco, serving as inspiration for his own screenplay, *Raza*. When José Luis Saenz de Heredia screened his adaptation of *Raza*, Franco is said to have expressed his satisfaction with a laconic "Usted ha cumplido". (You have done your duty.) Another anecdote relates to the fracas over Luis Buñuel's *Viridiana*. After a private screening to decide the movie's fate, Franco laughed off Buñuel's film as an Aragonese joke.

25. Font, 27.

26. See Fanés, 135-159; Pozo, 43-82; Antonio Vallés Copeiro del Villar, Historia de la politica de fomento del cine espanol (Valencia: Filmoteca Generalitat Valenciana, 1992), 45-68.

27. See Monterde (see note 3), 189.

28. A decree of December 10, 1941 ordered the mandatory screening of seven days of Spanish cinema per every six weeks of foreign cinema. A decree of October 13, 1944 increased the ratio to one week of Spanish films per every five weeks of foreign features projected. New quotas were issued in 1955 that required the exhibition of one Spanish film per every

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four foreign titles. The MPEA (Motion Picture Export Association) rebelled and implemented a boycott of Spanish screens for the next three years with mixed results.

29. Between 1942-1951 111 films were classified in the first category; 175 in the second category; and 79 in the third one. The latter were thought to be of poor artistic merit and could not be shown in first-class theaters or exported abroad. Producers of these films were further penalized without import licenses.

Between 1942 and 1946 34 out of 203 films, or about 17% of the total, were placed in the first category. In the period 1947-1951 this figure increased to over a third, which indicates either an increase in quality and ideological purpose or greater proteccionism.

30. Producers favored with import licenses could obtain additional income or raise cash to finish their movies through their sale to third parties. Some were known to make films with the sole intention of securing these licenses, never releasing their own pictures. Contemporary critics like Angel Zúñiga lamented that producers frequently used these licenses to import mediocre commercial films in lieu of good foreign cinema. As a result, the overall quality of exhibition suffered in comparison to the cinema exhibited prior to 1936. See A. Zúñiga, "Cámara en Barcelona," Cámara, August 1943.

31. See Pozo, 53, 68. In 1952 the administration attempted to correct this situation by issuing two separate permits, one for dubbing and another for importing foreign films. After 1961 only distributors were entitled to receive import licenses. See Vallés Copeiro, 72-73.

32. The Sindicato Nacional del Espectáculo also awarded five annual prizes of 50,000 pesetas to the best screenplay.

33. This category of films was modeled after a similar distinction, "politically and artistically especially valuable," instituted by Goebbels in Nazi Germany as part of the 1934 Cinema Law. See David Welch, Propaganda and the German Cinema (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 17-24.

34. Between 1944 and 1951 a total of forty-six films (17% of the total production) were declared of "National Interest," 70% of which were shot by just nine directors. Two production companies, CIFESA and Suevia Films, topped the list, followed by Emisora Films. See Monterde, 205.

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35. In 1945 *Los últimos de Filipinas*, winner of the first prize of the Sindicato Nacional del Espectáculo, was voted best film of the year and Antonio Román best director. Edgar Neville was honored for the screenplay of *La vida en un hilo*. In 1946 Juan de Orduña was chosen best director and his film *Un drama nuevo* won out. In 1947 Luis Lucía's *La princesa de los Ursinos* was voted best picture but José Luis Saenz de Heredia received the best director award for *Mariona Rebull*. *Locura de Amor* won best picture in 1948 but Orduña lost out to Rafael Gil for the latter's direction of *Don Quijote*.

36. In order to be shown at all, dubbed foreign films required a special permit issued by the Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica. Distribution of these permits was also tied to the production of Spanish films. Producers of films declared of "National Interest" were allotted up to five translation permits; films in first and second category obtained four and two permits respectively; films ranked in third category received no permits whatsoever. Shorts and documentaries were entitled to a translation permit only if they had been declared of National Interest. Some films, like *El escándalo* (1943) and *El clavo* (1944), were awarded up to 15 import permits each. See Juan Antonio Cabero, Historia de la Cinematografía Española (Madrid: Gráficas Cinema, 1949), 640.

37. An ordinance of December 31, 1946 restricted dubbing permits to three, two and one per each film of "National Interest," "First Category," and "Second Category" respectively.

38. Cabero, 662-663.

39. Victoriano López García, La industria cinematográfica española (1945), quoted in Pozo, 50-1. Why these producers would have gone into the expense of building dubbing studios when the practice was far from widespread in the 1930s is not clear. Were they set up between 1939 and 1941, prior to the change in policy? Why would producers invest in costly infrastructure in advance of its potential intense use? On the paradoxes of enforced dubbing, see Fanés, 148.

40. Vallés Copeiro, 46. Personally, I do not see a clear connection between censorship, box office success, and the dubbing legislation. Vallés' argument presupposes that censorship somehow impacted on box office receipts for the worse, presumably by turning Spaniards off to their own cinema, but he cannot back up his hypothesis because attendance figures are non-existent for this entire period. They can only be estimated. It is true that a handful of

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films made in the 1935-1936 season generated a good deal of money, but so did many post-Civil War, censored titles. Moreover, the exportation of Spanish films, even to Latin America, never constituted a significant source of income prior to 1936.

41. See Ángel Zúñiga, "Cámara in Barcelona," Cámara, August and December 1943; Cabero, 662; see the editorial, "Contra el doblaje de las películas," Primer Plano no. 154, 26 October 1943; and Alfonso Sánchez, "Es un gran atentado el doblaje," Primer Plano, no. 156, 10 October 1943; "Consecuencia: crisis en el cine español," Imágenes, September 1951. For Gil's statement see A. Sánchez, "Sobre la crisis del cine español," Cámara, 15 August 1945.

42. For example, F. J. Olandriz, "La defensa del idioma, primordial misión hispánica del cine," Primer Plano no. 151, 5 September 1943.

43. José María Bumbury, "En defensa del cine español. Sobre el doblaje," Boletín del Sindicato Nacional del Espectáculo, October 1943.

44. David Jato, "El cine como problema nacional," Arriba, 20 November 1951 & 29 December 1951.

45. B. Mostaza, "Discusión sobre doblajes," Primer Plano no. 172, 6 February 1944.

46. Rafael Calvo, "Entorno al doblaje," Primer Plano, no. 172, 6 February 1944.

47. Serafín Ballesteros, "Para navegar en un mar de confusiones. Del estado actual del cine español, del doblaje y de otras cosas más," Primer Plano no. 171, 30 January 1944.

48. Franco's official press published several articles in defense of the practice. See, for instance, the editorial "La censura cinematográfica," Primer Plano no. 6, 24 November 1940; and Bernardo de Cortes, "Cómo se ejerce en el mundo la censura cinematográfica," Primer Plano no. 14, 1 December 1941.

49. See Berciano and Sala Noguer, 17-78.

50. The words "censura cinematográfica" in the Junta's name were replaced in 1946 with the words "orientación cinematogáfica" but its function did not change. For the history of film censorhsip in Spain see Román Gubern, Un cine para el cadalso; idem, La censura. Función política y

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ordenamiento jurídico bajo el franquismo, 1936-1975 (Barcelona: Península, 1981). For a summary of the subject in English see Higginbotham, 7-17.

51. Fanés, 145; Pozo, 82.

52. Monterde, 201.

53. Figures used by recent studies of this period vary from source to source. Santiago Pozo relies on two books by Victoriano López García, one from 1945 and another from 1955, although he notes discrepancies between both. Historians Antonio Vallés Copeiro and Félix Fanés resort to the Anuario Cinematográfico of 1950, while Valeria Camporesi uses the Anuario in addition to Cámara and Dígame. Most of my data is drawn from the book The Spanish Cinema, published in Madrid in English in 1949 by the Spanish Diplomatic Office. Data for 1949-1951 is supplied by the aforementioned sources.

54. See the chart in The Spanish Cinema (1949), 36. See also the chart in Victoriano López, "Crisis de producción," Cinema Experimental, no. 8 (April 1946): 89-90.

55. Primer Plano already noticed the first signs of an impending crisis —massive layoffs, vacant studios, lack of film stock— in 1943 and was candid about the inequivocal failure of the government's policies. See "Crisis de una política cinematogáfica," Primer Plano, no. 242, 2 June 1943. Bartolemé Mostaza offered another early diagnosis in "La crisis cinematográfica. Causa y efectos," Primer Plano, no. 185, 30 April 1944. David Jato inquired about the future in "¿Qué derroteros deberá seguir el cine español?" Primer Plano, no. 205, 17 September 1944. Antonio Fraguas Saavedra examined the crisis in production (how Spanish films accounted for less than a quarter of films exhibited in 1945), pointed to some of its causes, and offered remedies for the upcoming year. See A. Fraguas Saavedra, "Enseñanazas de 1945 y esperanzas de 1946," Primer Plano, no. 273, 6 January 1946.

56. See Fanés, 226-228. The main obstacle was the lack of locally-produced film stock to meet the average annual consumption of twelve million meters. Most of this stock had been traditionally imported from Britain and the U.S. and had become scarce by mid-decade as these countries assumed a belligerent position towards Franco's government. In line with the autarchic imperative, the Sociedad Española de Productos Fotográficos sought to counter this state of dependency through the creation of an autochthonous brand of film stock.

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Imported film stock in the 1940s oscillated on average between 9 and 15 million meters a year. Twenty-one million meters of film were imported in 1947, compared to eight million in 1945 and six in 1942. These figures contradict the standard assumption that economic sanctions and the boycott of the MPEA (Motion Picture Export Association) after the end of WWII deprived Spain of badly needed material. See Monterde, 210.

The government tried to supply producers and distributors with enough film stock for 15-20 prints a year, while distributors of foreign pictures were only entitled to material for 5 prints of each imported movie. Corruption was rampant, for producers of Spanish films commonly sold their supply to distributors of foreign films since they did not expect their pictures to make a profit.

57. Pozo, 66-68.

58. Pozo, 61. Victoriano López states the figure of 300 and compares Spain's paltry film production to the average of 100 films a year produced by Mexico or Argentina. See V. López, "Crisis de la producción." The number of imported films during the 1940s was not only insufficient to cover the local demand, but significantly lower than was the norm during the Second Republic. According to Vallés Copeiro (67), only 200 films entered in 1942 compared to the five hundred imported in 1935.

59. Prior to the end of World War II, Spain's close political ties to the Axis had granted the German and Italian film industries privileged access to Spanish movie theaters. German releases numbered 34, 71 and 50 titles in 1939, 1940 and 1941 respectively but plummeted to single digits for the remainder of the decade. Italian films momentarily took up the slack peaking at 33 in 1943 from only 10 the previous year. By 1945, however, only one Italian film premiered in Spain. By 1948 German and Italian films made up only 2.3% and 5.4% of the total.

American films quickly filled the void left by the Axis' film production. In 1940 only 77 American films had reached Spanish screens, approximately 45% of all premieres; this figure fell to a nadir of 28 titles in 1942, about 25% of the total number of films shown that year. By 1946, the figure had climbed to 150 films, about 60% of the total number of films released that year in Spain. Of the 257 pictures presented in 1948, almost half (129) were American. See the chart for 1948 in The Spanish Cinema (1949), 95, and the

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chart for 1939-45 in Fanés, 227, and the chart in V. López.

60. The average price of a feature film during the 1940s ranged between 1.6 and two million pesetas. Many lesser works, especially comedies, were often done for 500,000 pesetas, while several super-productions by Suevia Films and CIFESA surpassed the three million mark. For the average cost of films made between 1939-45 see the chart in V. López. See Fanés (234) for a comparison between the average cost of a Spanish feature film and one by CIFESA for the same period.

Given the realities of film exhibition in Spain, with less than half of all movie theaters showing national fare, film administrator Antonio Fraguas Saavedra advised producers to keep their budgets around one million pesetas if they wished to offset their costs with revenues from import licenses. See Antonio Fraguas Saavedra, "Posibilidades concretas del cine español," Boletín del Sindicato Nacional del Espectáculo, November/December 1943.

61. The system of loans and credits was set up by a decree of November 11, 1941. Funds came out of the Fondo de Protección de la Cinematografía, which raised the monies through taxes on the importation and dubbing of foreign films. These loans were dispensed on a weekly basis, provided producers submitted expense reports. In 1943 a total of 1,830,218.05 pesetas were handed out in subsidies, which represented only 2.2% of the year's accumulated budgets. In 1947 the amount reached nearly twenty-seven million pesetas or 30.5% of combined budgets. See the chart in The Spanish Cinema (1949), 120 and the graph in Pozo, 58-9. The editorial "Consecuencia: crisis en el cine español" includes a chart listing the breakdown in loans allocated to different producers for the year 1948-49. See Imágenes, September 1951.

62. See Pozo, 55.

63. Monterde supplies the following figures for the period 1939-1950: CIFESA produced 41 films; Suevia, 38 films; Emisora, 25; Campa, 14,; FARO, 9; PECSA, 9; UFISA, 8; Manuel del Castillo, 8; Peninsular Films, 8; Sagitario, 8; Ballesteros, 7; Valencia Films, 6. See Monterde, 205.

64. For studies on CIFESA see Fanés (1989), as well as his earlier study, Cifesa, la antorcha de los éxitos (Valencia: Inst. Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1982). Also, Alfons García Segui, "CIFESA, la antorcha de los éxitos," Archivos de la Filmoteca, no. 4 (December 1989-February 1990): 38-49; and José Luis Téllez, "De historia y de folklore," Archivos de la Filmoteca, no. 4 (December 1989-February 1990): 50-57.

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65. During the early stages of World War Two some Spanish films were exported to Germany and Italy, as well as to their allies in Eastern Europe. But Latin America remained Spain's foremost market. Between 1945 and 1954 a total of 110 films were exported to Mexico and 118 to Argentina. See the chart in Fanés (1989), 261.

66. Although CIFESA's production averaged just under four films a year, it was subject to noticeable swings. The studio produced ten films in 1942 and eight films in 1943, but only one in 1945 and none in 1946. See Monterde, 205. Fanés provides data on CIFESA's production between 1939-1942 (182) and for the period after 1945 (231).

67. See Téllez. Parallel to the romantic comedies and folkloric musicals that constituted Casanova's bread and butter, CIFESA produced as well such high-brow features as *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, directed in 1947 by Rafael Gil. In addition, a number of prestigious nineteenth-century writers —Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, Armando Palacio Valdés— were brought to the screen. There were also adaptations of twentieth-century authors like playwrights Jacinto Benavente and Enrique Jardiel Poncela and novelist Wenceslao Fernández Flórez.

68. CIFESA's policy of spending with largesse was already in place by 1945. At a time when films cost an average of 1,900,000 to 2,1000,000 pesetas, *El Clavo* (1944) cost three million pesetas and *El fantasma y doña Juanita* (1945) cost 2,750,000.

69. Fernando Lara, "El cine español ante una alternativa democrática," Siete trabajos de base sobre el cine español, ed. Enrique Brasó (Valencia: Fernando Torres, 1974), 224.

70. Font, Monterde, Segui, and Vallés Copeiro all agree that CIFESA's pictures are a more or less transparent reflection of *franquismo*.

71. Téllez, 53, 57.

72. According to Vallés Copeiro, between 1942-48 CIFESA was loaned on average 1,100,000 pesetas per film, by comparison to the average subsidy of 560,000 pesetas per film. Casanova's pictures also benefitted from better classifications: out of 21 films produced during the aforementioned years, 8 landed in first category and 13 in second. Consequently, CIFESA accrued a great number of import licenses. Among six films made between 1947-49, 3 were declared of National Interest and 2 won the coveted prizes

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from the Sindicato Nacional. Vallés thus concludes that CIFESA indeed received special treatment from the administration. Vallés Copeiro, 47-48. Also García Segui, 49. Fanés takes a more nuanced position, indicating that CIFESA'S rival, Suevia Films, won almost as many awards and received equal, and at times preferred, treatment. See Fanés, 195-197.

73. In addition, the MPEA (Motion Picture Export Association), with the tacit support of the Allies, blacklisted Casanova's company in reprisal for its alleged ties to Nazi Germany, denying it virgin film stock and crippling its ambitious distribution network in Latin America.

74. For a contemporary portrait of several filmmakers of the 1940s see Antonio del Amo, "Una generación de directores," Imágenes, June 1946. Also, "Y ahora . . . ¿qué? Los directores del cine español siete años después," Primer Plano, no. 532, 24 December 1950. For more recent studies, see Sanz de Soto and García Fernández. For interviews with several key filmmakers from this period, see Antonio de Castro, El cine español en el banquillo (Valencia: Fernando Torres, 1975).

75. For such a study see Augusto Torres, Cine español: cine de subgéneros (Valencia: Fernando Torres, 1974).

76. See, for instance, Monterde, 229-238.

77. Company speaks of "un mayor o menor grado de corrosión, donde el genero queda dinamitado desde el interior de sus mismas estructuras de verosilimización." Juan Miguel Company, Formas y perversiones del compromiso. El cine español de los años 40, (Valencia: Ediciones Episteme, 1997), 4.

78. Army representatives had sufficient power to veto the exhibition of films that, having passed the censorship board, were nevertheless deemed offensive or unsuitable to the military's self-image, as was the case of Enrique de Campo's *El crucero Baleares* (1941).

79. See Leoncio Verdera, Lo militar en el cine español (Madrid: Adalid, 1995). Gubern argues that few military films were produced after 1943 because Franco was wary of the Allies' victory in World War II. Once the blockade was imposed, we see a resurgence of military films as a means to instill patriotism in the people and build consensus in the face of international hostility. See Gubern, Un cine para el cadalso.

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80. Diego Galán, "El cine político español" in Brasó, 90, 93.

81. One such writer was Benito Pérez Galdós, Spain's most prolific and arguably greatest novelist. Just four of his novels were adapted to the screen in Franco's lifetime, and only one of these, the relatively innocuous Marianela, saw the light in the 1940s. Carlos Serrano de Osma audaciously adapted Unamuno's Abel Sánchez in 1946 and did the same two years later with La sirena negra by Emilia Pardo Bazán, a proselytizer of Zola's naturalism.

82. The commercial and critical success of Saenz de Heredia's *El escándalo* (1943), based on a book by Pedro Antonio de Alarcón (1833-1891), signaled the direction that producers and fillmakers trod in mass in hopes of replicating its box-office results. Rafael Gil followed with *El clavo* (1944), *La pródiga* (1946) and *La fé* (1947), the first two based on works by Alarcón, the third on a novel by Armando Palacio Valdés. Saenz de Heredia adapted Palacio Valdés' *Las aguas bajan negras* (1948) and Juan de Orduña, Father Coloma's *Pequeñeces* (1950). Great classics from the *Siglo de Oro* like Cervantes' Don Quijote and Lope de Vega's play Fuenteovejuna were also brought to the screen.

83. From his pulpit one Catholic priest thundered: "The cinema is the greatest calamity that has befallen Earth since Adam to this date. A greater calamity than the universal flood, than the European war, than World War and the atomic bomb." Homily by Father Ayala, quoted in Rafael Abella, La vida cotidiana en España bajo el régimen de Franco (Barcelona: Argos Vergara, 1984), 80.

84. See J.A. Martínez Bretón, Influencia de la Igelsia Católica en la cinematografía española 1951-1962 (Madrid: Harofarma, 1982).

85. "No se trata de hacer cine político, sino sencillamente de hacer cine español. . . . En él cabe todo: desde la gran obra espectácular de tipo histórico hasta la farsa cómica. . . . Que se piense que entreteniendo al público se hace un servicio nacional". Carlos Fernández Cuenca, "Contra los indeseables del cine español," Haz, 27 January 1942.

86. A yearbook of 1955 listed over 220 comedies made between 1939 and 1950, broken down into four categories. See the chart in Monterde, 230.

87. Native sources included the elegant humor of novelist Wenceslao Fernández Florez; the absurdist surreality of

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Miguel Miura and Jardiel Poncela's plays; the gossamer Andalusian wit of the brothers Alvarez Quintero; or the brazen, acrid flavor of the Madrilenian *sainete*. Conversely, a director like Iquino carved a niche for himself in the early 1940s, producing light comedies, often interspersed with cabaret music, of a distinct cosmopolitan flair. Rafael Gil also launched his career as a director of comedies inspired by Capra and Lubitsch.

88. On the subject see Daniel Pineda Novo, Las folklóricas y el cine (Huelva: Festival de Cine Iberoamericano, 1991); Terenci Moix, Suspiros de España (Barcelona: Plaza & Janés, 1993); Camporesi, 29-65.

89. See Jo Labanyi, "Race, gender and disavowal in Spanish cinema of the early Franco period: the missionary film and the fokloric musical," Screen 38, no. 3 (Autumn 1997): 215-231.

90. See Abella; and Fernando Vizcaíno Casas, La España de la posguerra (Barcelona: Planeta, 1975).

91. As of January 1, 1943, the NO-DO was granted an absolute monopoly over the making of newsreels which endured until Franco's death in 1975. See Vicente Sánchez-Biosca and Rafael R. Tranche, NO-DO: el tiempo y la memoria (Madrid: Filmoteca Española, 1993).

92. Luis Gómez Mesa, "Misión trascendental del cine español," Arriba, 4 October 1942.

93. "Queremos en cambio un cine que exalte los hechos y las hazañas de los que combatieron y dieron su vida por la misión y grandeza de la Patria, con un espíritu y una actitud vital netamente hispana. Queremos, en cambio, un cine que exalte el cumplimiento y el acatamiento a la disciplina y al quehacer común en la marcha militar del Estado". Luigi Chiarini, "Ni un metro más," Primer Plano, no. 7, 1 December 1940.

94. "Es indudable que el cinematógrafo representa hoy el arma más eficaz de luchar para un movimiento cualquiera en pos de sus ideales. . . . Por eso sería estúpido prescindir de su empleo para catequizar las masas, para conmoverlas, para arrastrarlas a una empresa, para enseñarlas cuanto el político estima fundamental o conveniente". Bartolomé Mostaza, "El cine como propaganda," Primer Plano, no. 10, 22 December 1940.

95. Joaquín Romero Marchent, "Necesitamos una producción nacional," Radiocinema, 30 May 1942. Torres López likewise

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defended a cinema of political outreach and didactic purpose at the service of a unique, national truth. He writes, "el cine no puede estar desprovisto de . . . esa tendencia, de esa vida política que tiene que inspirar necesariamente a todos los elementos que deben utilizarse para lograr una educación del pueblo". See Manuel Torres López, "La política y el cine," Arriba, 4 October 1942.

96. F. Hernández Blasco launched a virulent attack from the pages of Arriba against the ideological poison of Soviet films, but could not quite conceal an admiration for their visual impact. See F. Hernández Blasco, "El Cine Soviético" in the film supplement of Arriba, 4 October 1942. See also "Presencia de la URSS en el cinema de la España roja," Primer Plano, no. 38, 6 July 1941.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO (pages 40-75)

97. José María García Escudero, who functioned on two separate occasions (1950-51 and 1962-67) as General Director of Film, once declared that Spain's cinema possessed no history, only a prehistory. Writing in the early 1960s, Escudero believed that Spain's cinema was yet to be born. What existed was impersonal, superficial, and intrinsically bad, a colorful window display for tourists. See José María García Escudero, Cine español, (Madrid: Rialp,. 1962), 19-31.

98. See the entry on Spanish cinema in Román Gubern, Historia del cine, third edition (Barcelona: Lumen, 1982), 210, 213.

99. For an overview and critique of this negative historiographical perspective see Luis Pérez Bastias and Fernando Alonso Barahona, Las mentiras del cine español (Barcelona: Royal Books, 1995), 83-86.

100. Font, 95-91, 101-103.

101. This is also Virginia Higginbotham's point of view. She affirms that Franco promoted his political and cultural mythology by means of films imbued with patriotic, militarist, and religious imagery. Higginbotham, x.

102. See Film Ideal no. 201-204 (1968).

103. Font, 95.

104. Castro, 13.

105. See Galán and Lara.

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106. García Segui, 42.

107. Aurora Bosch and María Fernanda del Rincón, "Franco and Hollywood 1939-1956," New Left Review, no. 232 (November/December 1998): 127.

108. Fernando Méndez Leite, Historia del cine español (Madrid: Rialp, 1965).

109. Pozo, 82; Juan Miguel Company, Formas y perversiones del compromiso. El cine español de los años cuarenta (Valencia: Episteme, 1997), 2.

110. Castro de Paz, 45.

111. Jo Labanyi "Feminizing the Nation: Women, Subordination and Subversion in post-Civil War Spanish Cinema" in Heroines without Heroes. Reconstructing Female and National Identities in European Cinema, 1945-1951, ed. Ulrike Sieglhor, London & New York: Cassell, 2000, 165.

112. See, for instance, José Luis Borau, "The Long March of Spanish Cinema towards Itself," prologue to Spanish Cinema. The Auteurist Tradition, ed. Peter William Evans, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999, xviii.

113. Pérez Bastias and Alonso Barahona, 31-32.

114. Ibid., 41.

115. Ibid., 32-33, 40-41. The authors stake out their critique of Republican cinema from a neoconservative position that aligns them with pro-Francoist historians of earlier decades, such as Fernando Méndez Leite and Fernando Vizcaíno Casas. Some of their opinions and assertions seem quite subjective and partisan at times, but they bring in my view a fresh and invigorating perspective to the field. In any case, leftist historians such as Román Gubern and Félix Fanés have also acknowledged that the cinema of the Second Spanish Republic did not always meet high standards of artistic excellence.

116. Pérez Bastias and Alonso Barahona claim that, out of 108 films produced between 1931 and 1936, only 8 may be regarded as unqualified commercial successes. According to the authors, about 50% of the total production of the 1940s turned a profit, whereas the profitability of the cinema of the Second Spanish Republic only bordered on 30%. Ibid., 37, 282.

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117. The group assembled in Salamanca included individuals loyal to Franco's regime, but critical of the state of Spain's film industry, such as writer Fernando Vizcaíno Casas, filmmaker José Luis Saenz de Heredia, and former General Director of Cinema, José María García Escudero, a reform-minded Falangist; independents such as filmmakers Antonio del Amo, Luis García Berlanga, and Fernando Fernán Gómez; and Communists such as writer Ricardo Muñoz Suay and filmmaker Juan Antonio Bardem. See Barry Jordan, "Culture and Opposition in Franco's Spain," European History Quarterly, no. 21 (April 1991): 231-235.

118. "Después de sesenta años, el cine español es: políticamente ineficaz, socialmente falso, intelectualmente ínfimo, estéticamente nulo e industrialmente raquítico." Juan Antonio Bardem, "Informe Sobre la Situación Actual de Nuestra Cinematografía," Objetivo, no. 6 (June 1955): 7-8. For an English translation of key segments from Bardem's speech see Peter Besas, Behind the Spanish Lens. Spanish Cinema under Fascism and Democracy (Denver: Arden Press, 1985), 40-41.

119. Ibid.

120. Pérez Bastias and Alonso Barahona, 13-25, 195-181. The authors indicate how after initial repressive measures Franco's administration eventually embraced the proposals of the Salamanca congress. The early 1960s witnessed the emergence of an auteurist art cinema, the *nuevo cine español*, that benefitted from generous state subsidies and was exhibited abroad as the international image of Francoist Spain. Nevertheless, few of these films succeeded at the local box office.

121. As García Berlanga put it, "Por el contrario, pienso que no hubo solución de continuidad alguna —como creo que se le ha escapado hace un momento a Félix Fanés— entre el cine de la República y el del franquismo". García Berlanga, 15.

122. Román Gubern, "Claves de la atipicidad del cine español," Archivos de la Filmoteca(Valencia), no. 1 (March-May 1989): 23.

123. On the effect of Franco's repressive policies on the film industry see Emeterio Diez, "La represión franquista en el ámbito profesional del cine," Archivos de la Filmoteca (Valencia), no. 31 (1999): 54-90. According to Diez (78), 22% of directors, 22% of screenwriters, and 9.4% of actors active in Spain prior to 1939 chose the path of exile.

124. The five directors under consideration in this study

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had been active in one aspect or another of Spain's film industry prior to the outbreak of the Civil War. Three of them —Benito Perojo, Luis Marquina, and Edgar Neville— had directed features; Juan de Orduña had enjoyed a successful career as one of Spain's leading actors in the 1920s and '30s; and Carlos Serrano de Osma was, in spite of his youth, already a promising film critic.

125. Fanés, 157.

126. José María Caparrós Lera, Arte y política en el cine de la República 1931-39 (Barcelona: Universitat, 1981), 21.

127. See Fanés, chapter 5. Graham and Labanyi too caution that we cannot assume that institutions in control of the production of meaning, such as the film industry, automatically and monolithically identify themselves with the state or the establishment. See Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi, "Culture and Modernity: The Case of Spain" in Spanish Cultural Studies, 5.

128. "El feroz dirigismo y la horrenda represión que, según los críticos e historiadores del periodo, fue la tónica general del cine de los años cuarenta, yo no la vi por ninguna parte durante mi juventud, cuando empezaba a bucear en este terreno." García Berlanga, 15.

129. However, while censorship organisms during the 1940s actively surpressed objectionable material from foreign films released in Spain, they intervened less often upon domestic titles, since most filmmakers practiced some variant of self-censorship from the script stage. Notwithstanding one or two notable exceptions, such as Rafael Gil's *La fé* (1947), the Church also exercised its coercive power more discreetly during this period, taking on a far more active role only with the emergence of an oppositional, sexually provocative cinema in the ensuing decades. See Pérez Bastias and Alonso Barahona, 73-80.

130. Marvin D'Lugo asserts that the film legislative program of Franco's administration "aimed at intimidating the renascent film industry into producing the type of films that would coincide with or even enhance the cultural and ideological pretensions of the state." Marvin D'Lugo, A Guide to the Cinema of Spain (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997), 9. As other standard accounts (Pozo, Vallés Copeiro, Higginbotham, etc.) would have it, Franco's administration undertook steps to reward loyal producers with import and dubbing licenses and fashion a pantheon of compliant directors. Thus, it is often assumed that Spanish film

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producers and filmmakers of the 1940s had no incentive to remain ideologically neutral. The new system of import licenses, government awards, and other perks unavoidably compelled them to make partisan films, in defiance of the wishes and expectations of their audiences. According to this scenario, producers eagerly pursued government subsidies, which could comprise up to half of a film's budget. If we were to add the profits accrued from the distribution of foreign cinema, which were contingent upon the allocation of import and dubbing licenses, many producers stood to gain substantially with a minimum of risk, provided they ingratiated themselves to the administration.

131. Monterde, 230.

132. See Pérez Bastias and Alonso Barahona, 56-66. Standard historiographical accounts seem to suggest that these quality films were made purely by accident. See García Segui, 41. My point of view is opposed to García Segui, who claims that the awards were granted solely on ideological and economic grounds and never took quality and artistic merit into consideration. It is true that important films were overlooked and bypassed at award ceremonies. This was the case with Carlos Serrano de Osma's more experimental films and Lorenzo Llobet's highly personal, independent feature *Vida en Sombras* (1948). Edgar Neville's neglect was perhaps most egregious. His two most significant works, *La Vida en un Hilo* (1945) and *El Último Caballo* (1950), did not receive the official recognition they deserved.

133. Hopewell, 34.

134. See, for instance, Fernando Fernán Gómez, "Los males del cine español," Imágenes, September 1951. From the pages of the weekly Triunfo the critic Jordán carried an outspoken campaign denouncing the failures of both the film industry and the administration's film policies: an excessive commercial orientation, a lack of originality, a propensity towards imitating pictures that reap box-office bonanzas etc. According to Jordán, producers either cozied up to the administration, crafting films that in principle would satisfy Franco's wishes, or copied the latest hit. See Jordán, "Hablar por no callar," Triunfo, no 155, 2 February 1949; and idem, "¿Que cine hacer? ¿De cuál apartarse?," Triunfo, no. 157, 16 February 1949. Also, see the anti-dubbing stances in note 47.

135. See for instance, Antonio Fraguas Saavedra, Part 4 of "El cine español y su economía," Informaciones, 29 December 1945.

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136. Bosch and Del Rincón, 119.

137. This lack of originality and innovation was already in effect by the 1930s. See Caparrós Lera, 256.

138. Sanz de Soto, 104. Two prominent films, one dealing with the Civil War (*Rojo y Negro*, 1942), the other celebrating the military ethos (*El crucero Baleares*, 1941), ran into trouble and were either censored or forbidden. Many filmmakers were forced to contend with overzealous censorship boards and excise controversial passages.

139. Jordán discusses the uncertainty that plagued Spanish film producers during the 1940s: "La única táctica de nuestra producción, si ha habido táctica, consistía en hacer lo que hacían los demás, o más ciegamente, en servir lo que se estimaba 'desde arriba'". "¿Que cine hacer? ¿De cuál apartarse?," Triunfo no. 157, 16 February 1949.

140. Monterde, 211.

141. El Español, "Cine, política y boicot," Primer Plano, no. 133, 2 May 1943. An editorial published two years later blamed the crisis of Spain's film industry on the fact that producers were too intent on making money, in detriment of the cinema's value as culture and propaganda. See "Crisis de una política cinematográfica," Primer Plano, no. 242, 2 June 1945.

142. This reluctance is suggested in Fernando Fernández de Córdoba, "Aspectos falangistas del cine español," Primer Plano, no. 95, 2 August 1942.

143. Blending the epic and the melodramatic, *Raza* charts the lives of three scions of a military clan from childhood against the backdrop of Spain's turbulent modern history. The action spans three decades, culminating in the Civil War, and concluding with documentary footage of Franco's triumphant march into Madrid, an ending that links back to a prologueue that declared, "Spaniards are of one blood, with one ideal and one noble purpose."

Raza has been the subject of considerable scholarshi In fact, it is one of the few films from the 1940s discussed by Anglo-American film historians, presumably because of the film's autobiographical connections to Franco. Readers are referred to Marsha Kinder's discussion of the film in Blood Cinema, 150-1; and Kathleen Vernon, "Re-viewing the Spanish Civil War: Franco's Film *Raza*," Film and History 16, no. 2 (1986): 26-34. Among Spanish historians Román Gubern has

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offered some of the most perceptive comments. See R. Gubern, "*Raza*: Un film modelo para un género frustrado," Revista de Occidente, no. 53 (October 1985): 61-75; idem, "Raza" in Antología crítica del cine español 1906-1995, 138-140.

144. "Rodado en español, con personal, escenas, paisje y sonido español, que tiende a mostrar al mundo el espíritu verdadero de una raza que renueva su historia de heroísmo." Antonio Más-Guindal, review of *Raza*, Primer Plano, no. 65, 11 January 1942. For Más-Guindal, *Raza* presented "los gérmenes y los orígenes y el estilo de vida nacional que el 18 de julio comenzó a vivir en España." Romero Marchent spoke of *Raza* as the quintessential Spanish film that explained "por qué nuestra tierra descubrió mundos, implantó normas, creó pueblos, convirtió infieles, ganó batallas y las perdió para ejemplo de heroes y espejo de mártires. . . . Sólo por espíritu de 'raza' España pudo liberarse a si misma y ganar para la civilización occidental la primera batalla al comunismo". Joaquín Romero Marchent, review of *Raza*, Radiocinema, 30 January 1942.

145. "El cine español desde el punto de vista falangista, o que sirva al punto de vista de nuestro Movimiento Nacional Sindicalista, está todavía por hacer. . . . Realmente nuestro cine político no se ha hecho. . . . Las casas productoras, por su parte, no lo harán, ya que tienen el concepto que las cosas de guerra y que evocan el sufrimiento reciente de España, no se deben hacer". Fernando Fernández de Córdoba, "Aspectos falangistas del cine español," Primer Plano, no. 95, 2 August 1942.

146. "La Falange es un modo de ser; el cinema que desde nuestros estudios se lanza a rodar por esas pantallas es propagandista del modo de ser diametralmente opuesto al modo de ser que para los españoles ambicionamos". See El Español, "Cine, política, boicot," Primer Plano, no. 133, 2 May 1943.

147. "El régimen victorioso no supo o no quiso o no pudo crear un cine de inspiración política . . . El cine español de la posguerra fue incapaz de servir al ideario oficial del régimen". Fernando Vizcaíno Casas, Historia y anécdota del cine español (Madrid: Adra, 1976), 71-72.

148. Font, 13. Falange seemingly exerted a measure of control over the film industry at least through 1941, when García Viñolas stepped down as Director of the Departamento Nacional de Cinematografía.

149. "A cada reajuste del sistema de dominación, a cada recomposición del bloque dominante, corresponde una mutación,

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generalmente superficial, pero importante a nuestros efectos, de los propuestos ideológicos cinematográficos". Domènenc Font, "El cine español durante la autarquía," Arte del franquismo, ed., Antonio Bonet Correa (Madrid: Cátedra, 1981), 293. Company also agrees that the plurality of Franco's power bloc prevented any particular faction from obtaining absolute ideological hegemony in the cultural domain. Company, 4.

150. Company, 15; González Requena, 92.

151. Graham and Labanyi, 15.

152. Font, 56-57.

153. González Requena, 92.

154. See the essays collected in Cinema and Nation, ed. Mette Hjort and Scott Mackenzie (New York/London: Routledge, 2000).

155. Andrew Higson, Waving the Flag. Constructing a National Cinema in Britain (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 7. See also Higson, "The Limiting Imagination of 'National Cinema'" in Hjort and Mackenzie, 63-74.

156. Andrew Higson, "The Concept of National Cinema," Screen 30 (Autumn 1989): 36-46.

157. Francisco Calvo Serraller, Paisajes de Luz y Muerte. La pintura española del 98 (Barcelona: Tusquets, 1998); idem, Del futuro al pasado. Vanguardia y tradición en el arte español contemporáneo (Madrid: Alianza, 1988); idem, Pintores españoles sobre dos fines de siglo (1880-1990) (Madrid: Alianza, 1990).

158. See Rafael Abella, La vida cotidiana en España bajo el régimen de Franco (Barcelona: Argos Vergara, 1984).

159. Franco's nationalist, autarkic agenda affected the film business in a variety of ways. For instance, only enterprises solely owned by Spanish interests could benefit from government subisdies. The mandatory practice of dubbing, which required that all foreign films be shown in Spanish, was ostensibly adopted to protect and foster the unsullied integrity of the Castilian language, although censorship imperatives likely weighed in more heavily. Posters and other forms of advertising were required to be in Spanish.

160. Marvin D'Lugo, The Films of Carlos Saura (Princeton,

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N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), 12.

161. Bartolomé Mostaza, "Un estilo español de cine," Primer Plano, no. 138, 6 June 1943.

162. García Viñolas, Primer Plano, no. 1, 1940.

163. See Fanés, 161-163, and Camporesi, 29-65.

164. For examples of this debate see Antonio Sánchez, "Trascendencia y misión de la hora española," Primer Plano, no. 53, 19 October 1941; Antonio de Obregón, "El futuro del cine español, Primer Plano, no. 61, 14 December 1941; Antonio Abad Ojuel, "Diálogo de dos cines españoles," Cámara, 1 July 1946. The international success achieved by Mexican cinema's fusion of nationalism, folklore, and commercial appeal was frequently held up as model for Spain's film industry to emulate. See Juan Francisco de Losa, "Una gran lección del cine mejicano," Cinema, 15 May 1948.

165. See Román Gubern, El cine sonoro en la II República (Barcelona: Lumens, 1977), 124-128.

166. See, for instance, Antonio Valencia, "Hacia una gran 'españolada'. Se necesita una *Carmen*," Primer Plano, no. 329, 2 February 1947.

167. For critical views of the *españolada*, see the editorial "Alerta contra la españolada," Primer Plano, no. 137, 30 May 1943; or Victorio Aguado, "Lo innecesario en nuestro cine. La Española," Radiocinema, 30 October 1948; Julio Antonio Gómez, "España Made in Spain," Imágenes, November 1950.

In truth, these controversies were not new to the 1940s; the *española*'s suitability had already stirred heated discussions in the 1920s and '30s. State intervention in the 1940s, and the corresponding greater importance assigned to the cinema, only heightened the stakes of the debate. For an overview of the critical debate over the *española* see Camporesi, 29-65.

168. Font, 309.

169. Camporesi, 44.

170. Juan de Alcárez, "Interview with Eusebio Fernández Ardavín," Primer Plano, no. 142, 4 July 1943.

171. Fanés, 250. See also José Luis Téllez, 50; and Camporesi, 94, 116.

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172. See Antonio Gramsci, Selection from the Cultural Writings, ed. David Forgacs and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1985), 206-212. Also, David Forgacs, "National-Popular. Genealogy of a Concept" in Formation of Nations and Peoples (London/Boston: Routledge & Kegan), 1984, 83-98.

173. Populism is another multivalent term; it has been used alternately to describe an ideology, a movement, or a cultural outlook. In its various incarnations populism tends to idealize and champion the people and its collective traditions, especially those belonging to peasant communities. Although some of its manifestations have exhibited radical, revolutionary impulses, populism generally advocates a conservative world view imbued with nostalgia for the past, mistrust of scientific and technological progress, and anti-elitist and anti-intellectual feelings. Its rhetoric mythologizes the "common man," be it a farmer, an office clerk, or a small businessman, as the bedrock of the community's values and virtues. See Margaret Canovan, Populism (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1981); also Gino Germani, Authoritarianism, Fascism and National Populism (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1978). Also, Ernesto Laclau, "Towards a Theory of Populism," Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory (London: NLB, 1977), 143-198.

Populist rhetoric is present in the writings of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, the founder of Falange, as well as in some of Franco's speeches. See José Antonio Primo de Rivera, Selected Writings, ed. Hugh Thomas, trans. Gudie Iawaetz (New York: Harper and Row, 1975). Also, Francisco Franco, Franco Ha Dicho . . . (Madrid: Editorial Carlos, 1947); idem, Preocupación social española: Antología de palabras del Caudillo (Madrid: Publicaciones Españolas, 1946).

174. Frederic Jameson, The Political Unconscious (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1981), 291, note 10.

175. José Ortega y Gasset, Invertebrate Spain, trans. Mildred Adams (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1937); idem, Velázquez, Goya and the Dehumanization of Art, trans. Alexis Brown (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1972).

176. Ortega writes that even Spain's greatest geniuses "have always belonged to the people and that their work has never completely freed itself from the plebeian and popular touch." Invertebrate Spain, 71-72.

177. Graham and Labanyi, 7. For instance, in a conference

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delivered in Buenos Aires in 1937, the Surrealist painter Maruja Mallo expounded on the presence of motifs from popular culture in her work. See "Lo popular en la plástica española a través de mi obra" in Ramón Gómez de la Serna, Maruja Mallo (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1942), 39-43 (English translation, 44-48). Mallo stated: "Lo popular en España es la afirmación permanente de lo nacional; es a la vez lo más universal, lo más elevado y lo más construido . . . en el arte popular están las alternativas de España." Idem, 39. For their part, Ernesto Giménez Caballero and Ramón Gómez de la Serna, two leading promoters of avant-garde literature and art in Spain, were enthusiastic lovers of popular culture and frequently included references to popular culture in their work.

178. Miguel Ángel Bastenier applies Ortega's ideas to explain Spanish cinema's fondness for narratives chockfull of multifarious popular types. For Bastenier Spain's cinema epitomizes their reign and that of the supporting actors that embody them. "El cine español, obediente a Ortega, se distingue por la mayor concentración atómica de talento sencillo y, aparentemente, humilde, que pueda existir por fotograma entre las cinematografías europeas . . . sólo sabe ver *pueblo*. Un cine abigarrado, pintarreajado, excesivo, repetitivo, obsesionado con la gente. Un *cine-belén*, en toda la extension de la palabra". Miguel Ángel Bastenier, "Como un belén," Academia, no. 15 (July 1996): 49.

179. I disagree here with Marvin D'Lugo's assertion that Franco's victory contributed to "the end of the flowering of a popular Spanish film tradition." D'Lugo, Guide, 9. A politically progressive popular voice may have been supressed, but a popular tone and a populist outlook remained very much alive in the 1940s, especially since the key populist filmmakers of the 1930s, Florián Rey and Benito Perojo, continued directing pictures into the 1940s. Furthermore, scholars like Gubern question whether the films of the Second Spanish Republic, taken as whole, can be seen as a truly progressive cinema given their predominantly conservative outlook. Gubern, El cine sonoro, 124-146.

180. The term "popular" itself is equivocal, for on the one-hand it refers to that which is well-liked by a majority of people, and on the other to objects and practices that originate within subaltern groups. If the latter acceptance of the term usually identifies the popular with folk art and traditions that are primarily rural, the first one conflates popular and mass culture. Here popular culture obtains its meaning by opposition to an official or élite culture that deems itself superior or legitimate. Generally speaking, official culture establishes its difference from popular/mass

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culture by denigrating it as formulaic, inconsequential, and lacking in authenticity. The writings of Theodore Adorno exemplify this censure of popular culture. See Stuart Hall, "Notes for Deconstructing the Popular," Cultural Theory and Popular Culture, ed. John Storey, 2nd edition (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 442-453.

On the topic of popular cinema, see Ginette Vincendeau and Richard Dyer, eds., Popular European Cinema (London: Routledge, 1992). Also, Joanne Hollows and Mark Jancovich, Approaches to Popular Film (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995).

181. Pierre Bourdieu, Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste, trans. R. Nice (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986). For instance, when Bourdieu speaks of an "aristocracy of culture," he is referring to the power and prestige that élite groups display through their consumption patterns, by means of which they draw the line between high and low art, good and bad taste. Bourdieu notes that élite intellectuals, for instance, espouse what he calls the "pure gaze," an aesthetic experience predicated upon critical distance and detachment, and often champion difficult art that makes great intellectual demands of its audience. Bourdieu opposes the "pure gaze" to a more immediate, emotional response, the "naive gaze," which he associates with consumers of mass culture.

182. The most recent addition to this trend is Evans, Spanish Cinema: The Auteurist Tradition. Although genre-oriented studies have occasionally been published in Spain, they still constitute a minority. When it comes to Anglo-American scholarship, they are virtually non-existent. See Torres, Cine español: cine de subgéneros. A number of works have been published on the subject of comedies, musicals, and film noir. Authors such as Gubern and Monterde believe that a genre-centered approach to the study of Spanish cinema represents the most fruitful avenue, since a continuity of generic themes and forms can be established beyond all the political discontinuities. See Gubern, "Claves," 24; Monterde, 229.

183. Monterde, 214-215.

184. Beginning in the 1950s, progressive critics and filmmakers hailed the neorealist alternative as the natural direction for Spain's cinema on several accounts: its focus on contemporary life; its critical view of social and economic formations that could be employed to expose and denounce Spain's economic stagnation and political

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immobilism; its kinship to the realist school of Spanish baroque painting. A decade later, the cinema of the 1960s, the *nuevo cine español*, exhibited a penchant for oblique, reflexive narratives that required the viewer to actively engage with the text and participate in the work's critical project. Conversely, Franco's populist films presupposed a passive, duped spectator incapable of resisting the text's allegedly insidious agenda.

185. Jo Labanyi, "Feminizing the Nation," 163-182.

186. García Segui, 40. Falangist critics of the 1940s were often intensely hostile to populist discourses that smacked of left-wing politics. See Luigi Chiarini, "Ni un metro más," Primer Plano, no. 7, 1 December 1940; Carlos Fernández Cuenca, "Contra los indeseables del cine español," Haz, 27 January 1942; El Español, "Cine política, boicot," Primer Plano, no. 133, 2 May 1943. Barry Jordan notes that even in the 1950s filmmakers who pursued a critical realist style met with the hostility of the Right. Jordan, 220-221.

187. See, for instance, J. Martínez Ramón, "El público y las películas españolas," Cámara, 15 March 1948; and Félix Centeno, "Papanatismo. El público ante las películas españolas," Cámara, 15 December 1948.

188. For instance, Bosch and Del Rincón's claim (127) that these films "had no popular appeal." Yet in Barcelona José Luis Saenz de Heredia's *Mariona Rebull* (1947) surpassed and doubled the accumulated box-office take of Hitchcock's *Rebecca*, the biggest Hollywood hit of the early 1940s, in just one month. See Imágenes, June 1947. In addition, Locura de amor had brought in 5 million pesetas in just three months (Triunfo, no. 165, 13 April 1949) and proved a commercial success in Latin America as well.

189. Pozo, 64; Camporesi, 78; Pérez Bastias and Alonso Barahona, 280-282.

190. Camporesi, 74-90.

191. Ibid., 67-70.

192. On this notion see Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism London: Verso, 1983.

193. James Hay describes the meta-comunnal as textual signifiers and codes that enable a discourse to communicate with and resonate among diverse audiences nationwide,

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transcending internal divisions so as to foster a sense of belonging. In order to be effective, though, meta-communication requires an audience's familiarity with these codes. Hay, 244-5. Philip Schlesinger notes that discourses like Hay's evince the influence of social communication theory and its concept of the nation as a "communicative space." See Philip Schlesinger, "The Sociological Scope of 'National Cinema'" in Hjort and Mackenzie, 19-31.

194. Camporesi, 31.

195. We know, for instance, that films that were popular in Madrid sometimes failed at the box office in Barcelona and viceversa. It is also a fact that certain films generated scarce enthusiasm among urban, middle-class viewers, yet appealed to spectators in rural areas. Reports from the Provincial Delegates to the central office of the Dirección General de Cinematografía on the local premieres of numerous Spanish films indicate that public reactions varied widely from one province to the next. These reports may be consulted at the Archivo General de la Administración in Alcalá de Henares, Madrid.

196. See Carlos Almeriza Picazo, Viva España. El nacionalismo fundacional del régimen de Franco 1939-1943 (Granada: Comares, 1998), 111-112.

197. Helen Graham emphasizes that Spaniards under Franco developed "the art of resignification." See Helen Graham, "Popular Culture in the 'Years of Hunger'" in Spanish Cultural Studies, ed. Graham and Labanyi, 237-245. Novelist Manuel Vázquez Montalbán has written about the 1940s as "the reign of ellipsis." If read between the lines, popular songs of the post-Civil War era, for instance, articulated all that could not be said openly. See Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, Crónica sentimental de España (Barcelona: Lumen, 1970).

198. Labanyi, "Race, gender, and disavowal," 215-231. Over the course of the Civil War, the inhabitants of cities and rural areas under Republican control had the repeated opportunity of viewing the masterpieces of Soviet cinema as well as numerous documentaries championing Communist, socialist, or anarchist ideology. See Caparrós Lera, 47-48. To this sector of the filmgoing public the motion pictures produced in Spain after 1939, specifically the military and religious films that exalted Franco's mandate, must have been profoundly alienating. Reports from provincial delegates to the Dirección General de Cinematografía ocassionally mention the public's disinterest in religious films and express reservations over the appropriateness of war-related

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pictures. Some of these comments appear, for instance, in the dossiers (*expediente de rodaje*) of *El capitán de Loyola* and *El santuario no se rinde* available for consultation at the Archivo Central de la Administración in Alcalá de Henares, Madrid.

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199. See Welch.

200. Rentschler cites Klaus Kremeier's Die Ufa-Story and Francis Courtade's and Pierre Cadars' Geschichte des Films im Dritten Reich as representative of this type of revisionist scholarshi See Eric Rentschler, The Ministry of Illusion: Nazi Cinema and its Afterlife (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996), 9, 12, 127.

201. Rentschler, 16-24.

202. Ibid., 218.

203. Ibid.

204. Idid., xii, 11.

205. On this subject see Ian Kershaw, "How Effective Was Nazi Propaganda?," Nazi Propaganda. The Power and the Limitations, ed. David Welch (Totowa, N.J.: Barnes & Noble, 1983), 180-205. Kershaw argues that in spite of its widespread display of power and its attempts to influence every aspect of daily life in Germany, the Nazi propaganda machine failed to create consensus for the regime's policies where none had existed before. Thus, it did not succeed in drumming up broad enthusiasm for World War Two, except for a brief period of time following the army's victorious advances on both fronts, nor did it manage to cancel regional, class or religious identities that stood in the way of a unified German people wholly devoted to the Nazi party.

206. See Theodore Adorno and Max Horkheimer, Dialectic of Enlightenment, trans. J. Cummings (New York: Seabury, 1972).

207. Rentschler, 222-223.

208. Siegfried Kracauer, From Caligari to Hitler. A Psychological History of the German Film (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Unviersity Press, 1947).

209. Rentschler, 222.

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210. Nicholas Reeves, The Power of Film Propaganda. Myth or Reality? (London/New York: Cassell, 1999),129.

211. Patrice Petro, "Nazi Cinema at the Intersection of the Classical and the Popular," New German Critique, no. 74 (Spring/Summer 1998): 41-55.

212. Stephen Lowry, "Ideology and Excess in Nazi Melodrama: Veit Harlan's *The Golden City*," New German Critique, no. 74 (Spring/Summmer 1998): 125-149.

213. Ibid., 131, 149.

214. Angela dalle Vacche, The Body in the Mirror. Shapes of History in Italian Cinema (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 24-31; Pierre Sorlin, National Italian Cinema 1896-1996 (London/New York: Routledge, 1996), 78-79.

215. See James Hay, Popular Film Culture in Fascist Italy: The Passing of the Rex (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987); Marcia Landy, Fascism in Film, The Italian Commercial Cinema, 1931-1943 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996). Earlier studies include Gian Piero Brunetta, Cinema italiano tra le due guerre: Fascismo e politica cinematografica (Milan: Mursia, 1975); Philip Cannistraro, La fabbrica del consenso: Fascismo e mass media (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1975); Riccardo Redi, ed., Cinema italiano sotto il fascismo (Venice: Marsilio, 1979).

216. Hall, 453.

217. For instance, see Meaghan Morris, "Banality in Cultural Studies," Block 14 (1988): 15-26; Duncan Webster, "Pesssimism, Optimism, Pleasure: The Future of Cultural Studies" in Storey, 554-569; Jim McGuigan, "Trajectories of Cultural Populism" in Storey, 587-599; Rosalind Krauss, "Welcome to the Cultural Revolution," October no. 77 (Summer 1996): 83-96.

218. See Jim McGuigan, Cultural Populism (London/New York: Routledge, 1992).

219. Marcia Landy, Film, Politics, and Gramsci (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

220. Antonio Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks, ed. and trans., Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1978).

221. Raymond Williams, "Base and Superstructure in Marxist

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Cultural Theory," Problems in Materialism and Culture (London: Verso, 1980), 33-49.

222. At home Franco faced the opposition of disgruntled Falangists who believed that the party's principles had been betrayed, as well as conspiracies by disaffected monarchists and other conservatives who disliked the regime's political direction. The end of the decade also witnessed the reorganization of underground cells of the Communist party and the resurgence of social unrest that, while limited and ultimately ineffectual, nonetheless kept Franco's repressive apparatus in a state of vigilance. The infiltration of leftist guerilla forces into Northern Spain further contributed to the feeling of impending chaos. Developments on the international front, i.e., Spain's precarious geopolitical stance after the Axis' defeat in 1945, compounded these domestic problems.

223. See Mike Richards, "Terror and Progress: Industrialization, Modernity, and the Making of Francoism" in Graham and Labanyi, 173-192.

224. Font, Del azul al verde, 27.

225. Alexandre Cirici Pellicer, La estética del franquismo (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1977), 12.

226. Domènec Font, "El cine español durante la autarquía" in Arte del franquismo, ed. Antonio Bonet Correa (Madrid: Cátedra, 1981), 293. Indeed, the evolution of Spain's cinema throughout the 1940s manifests noticeable discontinuances and readjustments in the nature and tone of its production. For instance, military epics and war pictures were a staple of the early stages of Francoism but dwindled in later years. Comedies also prevailed during the first half of the 1940s, but virtually disappeared in the latter part of the decade. On the other hand, historical films became extremely popular towards the end of the 1940s, as did psychological thrillers reminiscent of American film noir. Religious films too became more prominent in the second half of the 1940s. Finally, musicals, bullfighting films, literary adaptations, and costume dramas remained a constant presence on Spanish screens during this decade.

227. Cirici Pellicer, 178.

228. Luis García Berlanga, "El cine español de posguerra. Declaraciones de Berlanga (Pesaro, 1977)," Contracampo, no. 24 (November/December 1981): 15-18. Berlanga argued that the democratic flavor and Republican overtones of this populist

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cinema did not endear it to the bureaucrats who determined a film's ranking and subsidies. Hence, many of these pictures did not fare as well in the ranking of categories and the distribution of licenses and awards. Even CIFESA, a studio associated with many of the most blatantly partisan films of the period, occasionally produced this type of populist pictures without the benefit of offical approval in the guise of top awards and preferential classifications.

Berlanga's revisionist views cannot be divorced from his assessment of the state of Spain's cinema in the wake of Franco's death, particularly in regards to a perceived crisis in spectatorshi Faced with increasing audience indifference towards the auteurist art cinema that had blossomed during the final years of Franco's rule, Berlanga championed the well-liked populist cinema of the 1940s and '50s as a model that would enable present-day filmmakers to reconnect with their audiences.

229. Linda Williams employs the term "gaze theory" as a shorthand for the spectrum of structuralist, post-structuralist, and psychoanalytic film theory. See Williams' introduction to Viewing Positions: Ways of Seeing Film, ed. L. Williams (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 3-4. For a critique of these theoretical models see David Bordwell, "Contemporary Film Studies and the Vicissitudes of Grand Theory," Post-Theory: Reconstructing Film Studies, ed. David Bordwell (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), 3-36.

230. Judith Mayne, "Paradoxes of Spectatorship," Viewing Positions, 159.

231. Christine Gledhill, "Image and Voice: Approaches to Marxist-Feminist Criticism," Multiple Voices in Feminist Film Criticism, ed. Diane Carson et al. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 120. Gledhill develops this idea further in "Pleasurable Negotiations" in Female Spectators, ed. D. Pribram, London: Verso, 1988, 64-89.

232. Ibid.

233. French Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser defined ideology as a system by which indivduals set up an imaginary relationship to their real conditions of existence so that they come to see themselves as independent and autonomous beings who exist not as an effect of the social structure, but rather as its cause. Those who have applied Althusser's theories to the domain of culture have wanted to examine focus on the ways in which through an act of interpellation

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cultural artifacts and discourses compel their consumers to take up their position as subjects within the social structure. See Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses: Notes towards an investigation" in Lenin and Philosophy (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), 127-186. Althusser's ideas were developed within film studies by structuralist theorists such as Colin McCabe, who viewed classical cinema as a formal and narrative system whose particular mode of address, based on the production of an illusion of realism, worked to position its viewers as subjects within the ideology of the ruling class. See Colin McCabe, "Realism and the Cinema: Notes on Some Brechtian Theses," Screen 15, no. 2 (summer 1974): 21-27. See also Jean-Louis Baudry, "The Apparatus: Metapyschological Approaches to the Impression of Reality in Cinema," Camera Obscura 1 (1976), reprinted in Narrative, Apparatus, Ideology. A Film Theory Reader, ed. Philip Rosen (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 104-128; and Jean-Louis Comolli, "Technique and Ideology: Camera, Perspective, Depth of Field [Parts 3 and 4]," Cahiers de Cinéma, (1971-72)reprinted in Rosen, 422-443.

234. Mayne, 179.

235. Fantasy for Freud is a psychic production around an unconscious wish that posits the subject as the (visible or invisible) protagonist of an imaginary scene. See Sigmund Freud, "A Child is Being Beaten" in Sexuality and the Psychology of Love (New York: Collier 1919, reprint 1972), 107-132.

236. For Laplanche and Pontalis, fantasies function as stagings that defer the fulfillment of desire rather than satisfy it. See Jean Laplanche and Jean-Bertrand Pontalis, "Fantasy and the Origins of Sexuality" in Formations of Fantasy, ed. Victor Burgin et al.(London and New York: Methuen, 1964), 5-34.

237. Elizabeth Cowie, Representing the Woman: Cinema and Psychoanalysis (Minneapolis: Univeristy of Minnesota Press, 1997), 4, 118.

238. See Jacques Lacan, Ecrits. A Selection (New York: W.W. Norton, 1977).

239. Linda Schulte-Sasse, Entertaining the Third Reich (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996).

240. Schulte-Sasse, 8.

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241. Slavoj Žižek, The Sublime Object of Ideology (London: Verso, 1989, 127).

242. Fanés has interpreted the recurring motif of the double in CIFESA's early 1940s comedies as a symptom of a splintered, guilt-ridden society attempting to negotiate the traumatic experience of the war. Félix Fanés, El cas CIFESA, 219. For his part, González Requena offered a complex Lacanian reading of the 1948 film *Vida en sombras*, one of the few Spanish films from this period to directly deal with the Civil War. Jesús González Requena, "Vida en Sombras: The *Recusado*'s Shadow in Spanish Postwar Cinema," trans. Violeta Richards, in Modes of Representation in Spanish Cinema, ed. Jenaro Talens and Santos Zunzunegui(Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 1998), 83-103.

243. Paloma Aguilar, Memoria y olvido de la guerra civil (Madrid: Alianza, 1996), 122.

244. Aguilar stresses the role of short newsreels, known as NO-DO, which after 1943 were compulsory accompaniments to the projection of every feature film, in the process of legitimisation of Franco's regime. For a history of NO-DO see Vicente Sánchez Biosca and Rafael R. Tranche, NO-DO. El tiempo y la memoria (Madrid: Filmoteca Española, 1993).

Franco's official film press also participated in the propaganda war. Thus, an editorial in Primer Plano, commemorating the tenth anniversary of Franco's uprising against the Second Republic, cautioned the film community that the enemies of 1936 were still alive, ready to threaten Spain's peace again. See "En torno a Franco," Primer Plano, no. 300, 14 July 1946.

245. José Ortega y Gasset, "Sobre el fascismo" in El Espectador, vol. 5-6 (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1966), 128-140.

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246. One of the few examples among Anglo-American scholars is Linda Ehrlich, "Interior Gardens: Victor Erice's *Dreams of Light* and the *Bodegón* Tradition," Cinema Journal 34, no. 2 (1995), 22-36. In her book Blood Cinema Marsha Kinder discusses José Luis Borau's *Furtivos* in relation to José de Ribera's painting, as well as the work of Goya in connection with films by Luis Buñuel and Carlos Saura. See Kinder, 138-139, 156-157, 227-229, 329-330.

247. Áurea Ortiz and María Jesús Piqueras, La pintura en el cine. Cuestiones de representación visual (Barcelona: Paidós,

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1995), 11.

248. See, for instance, the interview with Fernández Ardavín in Primer Plano, no. 142, 4 July 1943.

249. See Zeev Sternhell, The Birth of Fascist Ideology. From Cultural Rebellion to Political Revolution (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 3-35.

250. George L. Mosse, "Towards a general theory of Fascism" in Masses and Man. Nationalist and Fascist Perceptions of Reality, New York: H. Fertig, 1980, 195.

251. Affron and Antliff in fact point out how this duality becomes a "productive principle" for Fascism, which sought to mask these contradictions through an overproduction of signs: images, monuments, slogans, posters, and, of course, films. See Matthew Affron and Mark Antliff, "Art and Fascist Ideology in France and Italy. An Introduction," Fascist Visions, ed. M. Affron and Mark Antliff (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 9-17.

252. Dalle Vacche, 25.

253. See Victoria di Grazia, The Culture of Consent (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

254. Kitsch is the style whereby art, and specifically cinema, comes closest to propaganda. Dalle Vacche, 24. For Saul Friedländer kitsch constituted the "bedrock of Nazi aesthetics." See Saul Friedländer, Reflections on Nazism: An Essay on Kitsch and Death, translation by Thomas Weyr (New York: Harper & Row, 1984), 29.

255. See Romy Golan, Modernity and Nostalgia (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

256. See Gabriel Ureña, "La nueva pintura de la España eterna" in Bonet Correa, 162.

257. Cirici Pellicer: "El franquismo no era una doctrina; era una situación y una correlante cambiante de fuerzas . . . Hablar de estética franquista resulta hablar de las adaptaciones que los artistas visuales y los críticos . . . hicieron para ser compatibles con las distintas etapas de aquella trayectoria". Cirici Pellicer, 12.

258. The Escorial stood for Spain's glorious imperial past. It was "la imágen más sublime y genial de lo que España quiso ser". Ernesto Giménez Caballero, El Arte y El Estado, Madrid:

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Gráficas Universal, 1935, 235.

259. Ibid., 244-245.

260. In this regard, Giménez Caballero asserted that "lo purista, lo esotérico y hermetizante es ajeno al genio español." Ibid., 38. Giménez Caballero and other Fascist thinkers often evince a contradiction between the rejection of the individualist tendencies of Romantic and avant-garde art on the one hand, and their defense of an individual expression in the face of the collectivist nature of Socialist art on the other.

261. Giménez Caballero: "Yo soy apasionado de todas esas artes casi sin nombre y autor." Ibid., 207.

262. The cinema for Giménez Caballero was a throwback to the populism of the theater of the *Siglo de Oro*. It also recovered the communal nature of medieval art.

263. In Madrid Nuestro (1944) Giménez Caballero urged a sublimation of the bustle of bullfights, soccer matches, and verbenas into the virile fervor of military parades. "Que tu bullanga de verbena y toros y de fútbol se haga al fin alegría varonil, estentórea y militar, de desfiles y de ejércitos." Ernesto Giménez Caballero, Madrid Nuestro, Madrid: Edición Vicesecretaría de la Educación Popular, 1944, 59.

264. See Enric Jardá, Eugenio D'Ors. Obra y vida (Barcelona, Ayma, 1967); Vicente Aguilera Cerni, Ortega y D'Ors en la cultura artística española (Madrid, Ciencia Nueva, 1966).

265. Writer Hernández-Blasco seconded this call for a tabula rasa: "Precisely because we fought for a better Spain we cannot build the new one in the image and likeness of what existed in 1936. Because then our Revolution would have been sterile." (*Precisamente porque se luchaba por una España mejor no podemos construir ahora lo nuevo a imágen y semejanza de lo que existía el año 1936. Porque entonces nuestra Revolución sería estéril.*) Luis Hernández Blasco, "Presencia de España en la Exposición de Venecia," Arriba, 4 October 1942.

266. See María Isabel Cabrera García, Tradición y vanguardia en el pensamiento artístico español (1939-1959) (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1998); Angel Llorente, Arte e ideología en el franquismo (1939-1951) (Madrid: Visor, 1995); and Arte para después de una guerra, Exhibition catalogue (Madrid: Fundación Caja de Madrid, 1993) with relevant essays

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by Francisco Calvo Serraller, Angel Llorente, and Victor Nieto Alcaide.

267. Cabrera writes: "el pensamiento de posguerra se gestará en parte desde muchas de las premisas del arte de anteguerra, o incluso 'en negativo', es decir por oposición a otra serie de principios que no comparte." Cabrera, 45.

268. Francisco Calvo Serraller, Medio siglo de arte de vanguardia 1939-1985 (Madrid, Ministerio de Cultura, 1985); idem, Del futuro al pasado, 9, 29.

269. Lafuente Ferrari writes: "lo que podía salvar a España era lo esencial . . . las virtudes ancestrales conservadas por el pueblo y en las que podía hallarse el germen de lo que engendró nuestra grandeza . . . Nuestros mejores hombres aspiran a encontrar el fondo castizo de España para buscar ese alcaloide español capaz de regenerar los ideales nacionales". See Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, "La pintura contemporanea en España," Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos 1-3 (1948): 512.

270. Luis María Saumells, "Algunas ideas sobre el arte de vanguardia," Arbor no. 40 (April 1949). Defenders of Spain's popular architecture, for instance, attacked the International Style as a Jewish, Marxist technophile aberration that put rationalism and novelty before emotion and tradition. See Pedro Muguruza, Arquitectura popular española (Madrid, 1940); and Fernando Chueca Goitia, Invariantes castizas de la Arquitectura española (Buenos Aires: Dossat, 1947. For other citations and original sources see Cabrera.

271. Architects, for instance, were advised to look for inspiration in the austere Renaissance style of El Escorial or the neoclassicism of eighteenth-century architect Juan de Villanueva. Poet and essayist Luis Felipe Vivanco exhorted sculptors to emulate the intense realism and spirituality of the Baroque school of religious sculpture by the likes of Gregorio Fernández and José Martínez Montañés. For the architectural paradigms of *franquismo* see Diego de la Reina Muela, Ensayos sobre las directrices arquitectónicas de un estilo imperial (Madrid: Verdad, 1944). For Vivanco's reflections on sculpture see Vértice, no. 3, 1939.

272. See Cirici, 108.

273. A number of artists turned to landscape painting as an alternative to the academic and militant art favored by Falange and developed a sort of mystique of the land. Spain

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never produced a landscape painter of the stature of Constable or Corot, but Aureliano Beruete and Darío de Regoyos created a significant body of landscapes in the second half of the nineteenth century. Moreover, the philosophers and writers of the generation of 1898, especially Unamuno and Azorín, made the landscape of Castille a cornerstone of their meditation on Spain's history and decadence. During the 1930s painters like Benjamín Palencia and the members of the School of Vallecas developed a modernist approach to the landscape that fused the intense colors of Fauvism with a geometric structure borrowed from Cubism. In the post-war Palencia assumed a leadership role in the preservation of a modernist style, inspiring a generation of artists known as the School of Madrid to pursue landscape painting. See Cabrera, 190-196.

274. See Ureña, "La nueva pintura," 162.

275. Of the three, Zuloaga evinced the greatest affinity with *franquismo*. He painted several portraits of Franco and was honored with a career retrospective at the Museum of Modern Art in Madrid in 1941. Zuloaga was often accused of perpetuating a cliché-ridden vision of Spain with his gallery of bullfighters, flamenco dancers, and majas. Yet Franco's regime valued his rugged style, his unequivocable preference for Spanish subject matter, and his interest in illustrating typical racial traits.

Zuloaga died the same year as Gutiérrez Solana, the author of a darker, more extreme vision of Spain: a world of brothels, sinister carnivals, gory bullfights, desolate villages, and somber religious processions. The more advanced Falangist intellectuals praised his work, yet it is somewhat odd that a painter like Solana, who had been associated with the Second Republic and whose work had little in common with the spirit of the Crusade, and a lot with the legend of "la España negra" (Black Spain), was held in such esteem. He was even awarded his first medal ever in a 1942 Exposición Nacional. His appropriation by the Franco regime may be understood in the light of Solana's status as a link with the tradition of Goya and, before that, the gloomy baroque painting of Valdés Leal. It is certainly indicative of the regime's versatility.

Vázquez Díaz was always regarded as more "extranjerizante" (fond of foreign ideas) and avant-garde than Spanish. Yet his themes —a certain mysticism, the landscape and history of Spain envisioned as a "nation of *conquistadores*"— endeared him to the regime. His murals in the monastery of La Rábida (Huelva, 1930) predated the

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regime's fusion of religion and imperialist yearnings and endeared him to Franco's cultural bureaucracy. As a living witness to Spain's avant-garde, he exerted considerable influence movement on the younger generation of artists through his teaching position at the Escuela Superior de Pintura y Escultura in Madrid.

276. See Samuel Ros, "Arte y política," Arriba, 23 June 1939; José Aguiar, "Carta a los artistas españoles sobre un estilo," Vértice no. 34 (September 1940); Luis Felipe Vivanco, "El arte humano," Escorial (November 1940): 141-150; Emiliano Aguado, El arte como revelación (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1942); Ángel Álvarez de Miranda, "Arte y Política," Revista de Estudios Políticos, no. 324 (1945); José Camón Aznar, "Sobre la pintura española actual," Arbor, no. 25 (January 1948); Joaquín Ruiz Jiménez, "Arte y política," Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos, no. 26 (February 1952). Other primary sources can be found in Gabriel Ureña, Las vanguardias artísticas en la posguerra española 1940-1959 (Madrid: Istmo, 1982)

277. The regime attempted to disseminate its artistic agenda through a broad network of propaganda outlets and events such as the notorious 1943 exhibit "Así eran los Rojos: asesinos y ladrones" (The Reds were murderers and thieves). This exhibit was organized by the Vicesecretaría de Educación Popular. Its catalog commanded the audience to contemplate and meditate on the horrors perpetrated by Red Spain and to kindle their memories of hatred: "Español! Contempla y medita . . . Hemos puesto el arte al servicio de un recuerdo que debes llevar en el alma. No son creaciones de la propaganda . . . Recuerdas, español, ¿verdad? Estas magníficas obras de arte plasman la angustia; el vivir en trance de media Patria durante largos e interminables meses; retratan algunas de las escenas donde el odio desató la crueldad más infrahumana . . . Recuerdas, ¿verdad?" "Así eran los Rojos: asesinos y ladrones" (1943), as quoted in Cirici Pellicer, 80.

278. Ángel Llorente observes how 148 artists out of the 343 who exhibited in the Exposición Nacional of 1941 had been present in the Expo of 1936 held under the auspices of the Second Republic. See Ángel Llorente, "¿Hubo un arte falangista?" in Arte para después de una guerra, 137-1942. Spain's participation in the Venice Biennials of 1938, 1940 and 1942 included work by the likes of Benjamín Palencia, Vázquez Díaz, Gregorio Prieto, and Eduardo Vicente, artists with strong affiliations to the avant-garde of the Republican era. As early as 1940 a few art galleries like Biosca and the Salón Cano in Madrid showed works of modern art and the Exposición Nacional of 1943 and 1944 included pictures by

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modernists like Palencia and Francisco de Cossío.

279. Arbor published a review by Luis María Saumells of the 1947 Surrealist Exhibition in Paris accompanied with illustrations of works by Miró, Tanguy, Ernst etc. Saumells highlighted the mythical-magical, and ultimately spiritual and religious aspects of Surrealism. See Luis María Saumells, "La exposición del Surrealismo en Paris, 1947", Arbor, no. 27 (March 1948): 436-444.

280. Eugeni D'Ors' yearly exhibitions of modern art co-organized with members of the Academia Breve constituted crucial attempts to preserve a connection with the vibrant avant-garde scene of the 1920s and '30s. Beginning in 1943, the *Salón de los Once* exhibited the work of Joan Miró, Pablo Gargallo, José Gutiérrez Solana, Joaquín Torres García, Marie Blanchard, and Isidoro Nonell, among others.

281. Delgado claims against the grain that Franco's Spain was never less isolated than in the 1940s. Its cultural policy was dependent on its foreign policy and its desire for legitimation in the international comunity, evolving in sync with the shifts of power in Franco's cabinet. See Lorenzo Delgado, Imperio de Papel. Acción cultural y política exterior durante el franquismo (Madrid: CSIC, 1992).

282. Among the artists exhibited in the French show were Braque, Derain, Dufy, Matisse, Van Dongen, Vlaminck and Vuillard. The Italian exhibtion included works by Modigliani, De Chirico and Morandi.

283. Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in Illuminations, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1988), 217-251.

284. Ibid., 234.

285. Susan Sontag, "Fascinating Fascism" in Under the Sign of Saturn (New York: Vintage, 1981), 71-105.

286. Benjamin, 234, 238-239.

287. Antonio Costa, Cinema e pittura (Torino: Loescher, 1993), 143-179.

288. For Kracauer the cinema should take a documentary-like approach rooted in the medium's basic photographic properties, i.e, its ability to capture and render visible physical, material reality. This position compelled Kracauer

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to dismiss all options that led film away from its main concern with recording and revealing reality. Siegfried Kracauer, "Basic Concepts" in The Theory of Film. The Redemption of Physical Reality (Oxford,: Oxford University Press, 1960), 27-40.

289. Brigitte Peucker, Incorporating Images. Film and the Rival Arts (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press), 1995.

290. Jacques Aumont, L'Oeil interminable: Cinéma et peinture, Paris: Séguier, 1989; on the subject of framing see idem, The Image (London: British Film Institute, 1997), 106-118.

291. Jacques Derrida, The Truth in Painting, trans. Geoff Bennington and Ian McLoed (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987).

292. Louis Marin, Etudes sémiologiques: Ecritures, peintures (Paris: Klincksieck, 1971), as quoted in Aumont, The Image, 117.

293. Golan, 164.

294. Angela dalle Vacche, Cinema and Painting (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 1.

295. Robert Stam, "From realism to intertextuality," in New Vocabularies in Film Semiotics, ed. Robert Stam et al. (London/New York: Routledge, 1992), 188.

296. David Bordwell, Narration in the Fiction Film (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

297. Kracauer, 36. Within the aesthetic debates that galvanized Spain's film community in the 1940s, a number of critics and filmmakers championed a realist aesthetic. In a peculiar anti-Kracauer argument, a few of them based their claims for the adequacy and Spanish distinctiveness of a realist cinema upon the naturalistic aspects of Spanish art of the Golden Age. See, for instance, "El tema dramático en el cine actual," Imágenes, May 1945. On the subject of realism in Spanish cinema see Camporesi, 48-55.

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298. *Locura de amor* had already garnered several top awards at the first Congreso Hispanoamericano de Cinematografía, held in Madrid June 27-July 4. The film opened the same day

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in Barcelona at the Windsor Theater; its reception there was far less enthusiastic and the film was withdrawn after three weeks.

299. Francisco Llinás says of Orduña, "fue lo más parecido a un cineasta oficial. . . . Sus películas coinciden en sus líneas generales con las necesidades ideológicas del Régimen". F. Llinás, Aproximación a Juan de Orduña (Madrid: Filmoteca Nacional, 1984), 1.

300. See reviews of *Locura de amor* in ABC, 9 October 1948; El Alcázar, 12 October 1948; Cámara October 1948; Primer Plano, 10 October 1948; Pueblo, 11 October 1948; and Ya, 9 October 1948.

For example, Alfonso Sánchez had this to say about Orduña's direction: "Orduña ha utilizado la técnica como simple vehículo de expresión. . . . La planificación tiene ritmo certero y responde siempre a una intención de gran eficiacia emotiva. . . . Hay algo espiritual que vibra en la película." As per Bautista's performance, Sánchez wrote: "La violencia y la insinuación, la renuncia y el apasionamiento, el grito y el susurro, la extensa gama de matices que presenta el personaje, hallan en ella una expresión adecuada." A. Sánchez, review of *Locura de amor* by Juan de Orduña, in El Alcázar, 12 October 1948. *Locura de amor* represented an important milestone as well in the careers of actors Jorge Mistral, Sara Montiel, and Fernando Rey.

301. Fernando Méndez-Leite, Historia del cine español, vol. 2 (Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, 1965), 21. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from Spanish into English are mine.

302. Diego Galán, "Aquella educación sentimental," El País, 4 March 1985. This review refers to a TV broadcast of the film.

303. Emilio Sanz de Soto, "1940-1950" in Spanish Cinema 1896-1983, ed. Augusto M. Torres (Madrid: Ministry of Culture of Spain, 1984), 132; Alfons García Segui, "Cifesa, la antorcha de los éxitos," Archivos de la Filmoteca (Valencia), no. 4 (December 1989-February 1990), 38-49.

304. Domènec Font, Del azul al verde. El cine español durante el franquismo (Barcelona: Avance, 1976), 80-91.

305. Augusto Torres writes in his entry on *Locura de amor*: "El máximo representante de estas grandilocuentes, falsas y plúmbeas producciones, donde entre grandes decorados de cartón piedra y apolillados ropajes antiguos, se distorsiona

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la historia nacional, es Juan de Orduña." Augusto M. Torres, "Locura de amor," El cine español en 119 películas (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1997), 101.

306. Llinás writes: "La obra de Orduña aparece como ajustada a su momento y, al mismo tiempo, se despega de él, contrasta con este hipotético cine oficial." Llinás, Aproximación, 1.

307. See J.C. Seguin's entry on *Locura de amor* in Antología crítica del cine español, ed. Julio Pérez Perucha (Madrid: Cátedra/ Filmoteca Española, 1998), 230-232.

308. José Luis Téllez, "De historia y de folklore," Archivos de la Filmoteca (Valencia), no. 4 (December 1989-February 1990): 50-57.

309. This type of meta-textual operation, according to Italian film historian Antonio Costa, is one of the two main functions that painting can perform in a film. Conversely, the diegetic mode simply incorporates painting into the plot and/or mise-en-scène without any attempt at self-reflexivity. Antonio Costa, Cinema e pittura (Torino: Loescher, 1993), 169.

310. On Tamayo y Baús see Gerald Flynn, Manuel Tamayo y Baús (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1973); idem, El teatro de Manuel Tamayo y Baús (Madrid: CSIC, 1965).

311. Ricardo Baños directed a second silent version in 1926. Benito Perojo became involved in a third adaptation in 1941 with producer Saturnino Ulargui, who had bought the rights, but Perojo eventually lost interest. In 1942 Ulargui made a second failed attempt to bring *Locura de amor* to the screen, this time with director José López Rubio.

312. An article in Cámara (September 1943) already mentions Orduña as the film's director. The cast, featuring Amparo Rivelles as Juana, Pepe Nieto, Armando Calvo and Mercedes Vecino, was completely replaced by the time CIFESA greenlighted the project. Although approved by the censorship board, the screenplay by Manuel Tamayo, the playwright's grandson, and Alfredo Echegaray was deemed commercially unviable, excessively vulgar, and too attentive to plastic aspects at the expense of the work's literary merits by CIFESA's own script department. A slump in the film industry triggered by the end of World War Two further stalled the beginning of principal photography. To boot, Orduña delayed shooting with his exhaustive search for the ideal actress to play Juana. See Felix Fanés, El cas CIFESA. Vinqt anys de cine espanyol 1932-1952 (Valencia: Filmoteca de la Genralitat

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Valenciana, 1989), 248.

313. The same structure, with a varied ratio of the romantic to the political, is present in among other movies Luis Lucía's *La princesa de los Ursinos* and three other films by Juan de Orduña: *Agustina de Aaragón*, *Pequeñeces*, and *La leona de Castilla*. See Fanés, 253.

314. Yet this bifurcation of the narrative is already present in Tamayo y Baús' play. By and large, Tamayo and Echegaray's screenplay preserves the basic structure and plot of its theatrical source, adding some new scenes and a few significant changes in terms of characterization. The play, for instance, opened with a meeting between the Admiral of Castile and don Juan Manuel and the Marquis de Villena; the latter try to persuade the former to join Philip's cause against his wife. In Orduña's version this scene appears approximately forty minutes into the film, inscribed within Alvar's flashback.

315. Born in Madrid in 1907, Juan de Orduña broke into the local theater scene as an actor at the age of sixteen and made his screen debut within a year in *La casa de Troya* (1924). Subsequently he starred as a matinee idol and leading man in several important hits of the 1920s and '30s, including Benito Perojo's *Boy* (1926) and Florián Rey's *Nobleza baturra* (1935). After directing his first film, *Una aventura de cine*, in 1927, Orduña did not return behind the camera until 1941, when he shot the Civil-War drama, *Porque te vi llorar*. He thereafter concentrated exclusively on directing a diverse range of genres: the military buddy film, *A mí la legión* (1942), delightful farces like *Ella, Él y sus millones* (1944), the missionary epic, *Misión blanca* (1946), musicals (*La Lola se va a los puertos, El último cuplé*), literary adaptations (*Pequeñeces, Zalacaín el aventurero*), and *Teresa de Jesús* (1961), a biography of Saint Teresa of Avila. During the 1960s, and until his death in 1973, Orduña worked mostly for television directing *zarzuelas*.

A monograph on Orduña is yet to be published. The only in-depth scholarship to date is comprised of Llinás' essays and program notes for the Filmoteca, as well as the articles by Seguin and Téllez. See also the entry on Orduña in Emilio García Fernández, Historia ilustrada del cine español (Barcelona: Planeta, 1986), 145.

316. See Francisco Llinás, "Juan de Orduña, Redundancia y pasión," Archivos de la Filmoteca (Valencia), no. 4 (December 1989-February 1990): . See an English translation in Modes of Representation in Spanish Cinema, ed. Jenaro Talens and

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Santos Zunzunegui (Minneapolis: University of Minnnesota Press, 1998), 104-112.

317. "Nosotros tenemos que hacer un cine nuestro, puramente español. . . . En el español más analfabeto hay una herencia rica y viva de arte, de buen gusto, de genialidad artística que el cine ha de seguir y de explotar hasta encontrarse. . . . Lo típico, cuando está bien conseguido, es universal, en función precisamente de su originalidad, de su sello genuino". Juan de Orduña, interview by D. Fernández Barreira, Primer Plano, no. 133, 2 May 1943.

318. Orduña himself protested this distorted view of his career. See Castro, 5.

319. Llinás writes, "Uno de los temas que vertebran su obra sería un españolismo enfrentado a la perfidia de los poderes extranjeros, presentados siempre como encarnación del mal, que se encaja sin estridencia alguna con un régimen aislado, autárquico y condenado por las fuerzas que han derrotado militarmente al fascismo". Llinás, Aproximación a Orduña, 1

320. Defeat in the Spanish-American war and the loss of Spain's last colonies, Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines, in 1898 compelled a broad spectrum of intellectuals to address the nation's conspicuous decadence, backwardness, and cultural isolation. With the dawn of the new century progressive revisionists like Joaquín Costa took up an anti-triumphalist position that challenged institutional views of history and contrasted with Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo's exaltation of Spain's glorious heritage. Costa exhorted, "Let's deflate those great names: Sagunto, Numantia, Otumba, Lepanto, with which our youth are poisoned in schools, and let's sponge them out." (*Deshinchemos esos grandes nombres: Sagunto, Numancia, Otumba, Lepanto, con que se envenena nuestra juventud en las escuelas y pasémosle una esponja.*) Quoted in Carlos Reyero, Imágen histórica de España 1850-1900 (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1987), 17.

321. Schools, military academies, student leagues and afterschool leisure activities fostered patriotism and procured the integration of Spain's youth into the ideology of the *Movimiento*. Spanish children were urged to preserve national customs and energetically oppose "those who wish to make a foreign, ridiculous caricature of our robust Spain because Spain has never been a backward country." Agustín Serrano de Haro, España es así, 4th edition (Madrid: Editorial Escuela Española, 1940), 20.

322. See Eric J. Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger, eds., The

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Invention of Tradition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

323. Serrano de Haro, 79. For example, the mythic *Reconquista*, the eight-centuries long process of delivering the Iberian peninsula from Islamic occupation, was frequently invoked as a prototype for Franco's own "crusade" against present-day infidels (i.e., Communists, Freemasons, Jews, Catalan and Basque separatists.) Serrano de Haro establishes an explicit correlation between the military victories of past Spanish armies and the Nationalist troops, who "cheering Christ, Spain, and Franco were the same soldiers of the Navas de Tolosa and Lepanto, of Saragossa and Bailén." (*Dando vivas a Cristo, a España y a Franco eran los mismos de las Navas de Tolosa y de Lepanto, de Zaragoza y de Bailén.*) Idid., 322.

324. With initial Allied support, the *maquis* carried on a long, although limited, campaign of sabotage and resistance, blowing up communication lines, bombing fascist establishments, liberating political prisoners from jail, and even freeing certain areas temporarily from government rule.

325. Rafael Abella writes in jest about the climate of anxiety and paranoia fostered by the regime: "International conspiracies, misunderstandings, ignorance of our truth, all these lie behind the most infamous plots bent on disturbing Spain's course, which offered the world the peerless spectacle of our peace and, above all, the very original political solution . . . that had abolished political strife, class struggle and economic conflicts." (*Conjuras internacionales, incomprensión, ignorancia de nuestra verdad, eran causa de que las más infames maquinaciones intentaran turbar el discurrir hispánico que ofrecía al mundo el impar espectáculo de nuestra paz y, sobre todo, el de la originalísima solución política que . . . había abolido las luchas políticas, las luchas de clase y las luchas económicas.*) Rafael Abella, Por el Imperio hacia Dios: crónica de una Posguerra 1939-1955, (Barcelona: Planeta, 1978), 172.

In reaction to increased pressure from the international community, Franco astutely aroused the sociocentric emotions of the Spanish people and elicited massive demonstrations of support that culminated in a giant rally in Madrid's Plaza de Oriente in December 1946 against a U.N. resolution barring Spain's admission. Newspaper headlines ranted: "España frente a la conjura internacional" (Spain against the international conspiracy); "Contra la injerencia extranjera" (Against foreign intervention); "Franco, con pan o sin pan, a tus ordenes" (Franco, with or without bread, we are at your

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command); and "En España manda Franco porque nos da la real gana" (Franco rules in Spain because we feel like it). Quoted in Abella, 201.

326. Rafael Calvo Serer, founder of the cultural review Arbor, saw positive benefits to Spain's isolationism during the age of the Counter-Reformation, such as the avoidance of modernization's pitfalls, i.e., the cult of technology, and the pernicious influence of positivism on the social and moral fabric. See R. Calvo Serer, España sin problema (Madrid: Rialp, 1949), 159.

327. "A España se la ha hostilizado siempre que ha resurgido desde los tiempos de Felipe II . . . y cuanto más se ha levantado, cuanto más independiente se ha hecho, cuanto más enérgicamente se ha extirpado un cáncer o una enfermedad que la corroía, más ha crecido contra España la hostilidad de fuera". Francisco Franco, Franco ha dicho, 1941, quoted in Carmen Martín Gaite, Usos amorosos de la postguerra española (Barcelona: Anagrama, 1987), 22.

328. See Manuel Augusto García Viñolas' declaration in Fanés, 246. See José Luis López Rubio's interview in Primer Plano, no. 6, 24 November 1940. López Rubio went on to direct two notable historical films, *Eugenia de Montijo* (1944), based on the life of the Spanish aristocrat who married Napoleon III and became empress of France, and the medieval epic, *Alhucemas* (1947). Another related article is by Alfonso Acebal, "Nos interesa el cine histórico" Primer Plano, no. 288, 21 April 1946.

329. "Pero de vez en vez para demonstrar al mundo que se sabe hacer más, para expandir el perfil de nuestra gloria, para llevar con más viveza y fuerza que lo puedan hacer los libros . . . la grandeza de la España imperial, sería de provecho dar factura cinematográfica a los mejores episodios y figuras de nuestra historia . . . para que los españoles se aficcionen a contemplar el pasado". Francisco Casares, "El cine en función de la Historia," Primer Plano, no. 66, 18 January 1942. Casares proposed Saenz de Heredia's *Raza* (1942) as his model for a historical cinema.

330. "También para la vida española el pasado ha de contar. La ambición marxista significa todo lo contrario. Un olvido absoluto de que hubiera base histórica . . . No ha existido la hazaña del Descubrimiento, no se tuvo la hegemonía física y espiritual sobre el mundo, no se realizaron rutilantes conquistas ni hubo figuras geniales. . . . Creo llegada la hora de cometer la empresa de forjar grandes películas de carácter histórico, con la dignidad y cultura que ellas deben

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revestir". F. Casares, "La respetable y erudita Historia," Primer Plano, no. 315, 27 October 1946.

331. For studies on CIFESA see Félix Fanés, Cifesa, la antorcha de los éxitos (Valencia: Instituto Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1982); and idem, El cas CIFESA. Also, the previously mentioned articles by Segui and Téllez in Archivos de la Filmoteca. On the topic of Francoist historical cinema see Javier Hernández Ruiz, "Películas de ambientación histórica" in La herida de las sombras. Cine español en los años 40., ed. Luis Fernández Colorado and Pilar Couto Cantero, a special issue of Cuadernos de la Academia, no. 9 (2001): 127-136.

332. "Dónde va sentirse nuestra historia, para plasmarla en fotogramas, como se siente en el propio solar español? ... Nuestra película histórica, película propia, interesa en todo el mundo." Quoted in Fanés, 250.

Reviewing CIFESA's cycle, one observes a recurrence of certain topoi: Spain as the last reserve of a superior spirituality; the glorification of imperial feats for the edification of new generations; the defense of political and cultural unity over diversity and regional differences, with special emphasis placed on heroic moments of resistance to foreign intervention. The themes and periods privileged by these films bespeak the historical discursivity of *franquismo*: the Middle Ages, sixteenth-century Spain —the era of the Catholic Monarchs, Charles V and Philip II, the building of empire, the triumphant campaigns against Protestantism, the discovery of America, the exploits of missionaries and the propagation of the Christian faith—, and the heroic war against Napoleon, generally known as *la guerra de independencia* (the War of Independence). These pictures alternately exalt the monarchy (Queen Isabella), the nobility (El Cid), the man of arms (Juan de Austria), the clergy (St. Ignatius of Loyola), and the common folk (Agustina de Aragon).

333. CIFESA was not the only firm committed to producing historical films nor were Orduña's pictures the first of their kind. Antonio Román's refined *Lola Montes* (1944), the Spanish-Portuguese co-production *Inés de Castro* (1944), directed by José María Leitao de Baros, and Rafael Gil's *Reina Santa* (1946) among others, preceded CIFESA's first effort, *La princesa de los Ursinos* (1947). For an overview of the historical cinema from the perspective of a Spanish critic see Antonio Carpenter, "El cine y la historia" in El cine de 1943 (Madrid: Instituto Samper, 1944), 125-36.

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334. *Locura de amor* became CIFESA's biggest international hit of the 1940s. It was shown in Havana, Mexico, Buenos Aires, and Montevideo to enthusiastic crowds, as well as in New York. This success allowed, albeit briefly, for a wider entry of Spanish films into Latin American film markets. Other CIFESA titles with successful runs in America included Rafael Gil's *El clavo* (Caracas) and *Don Quijote de la Mancha* (New York, Mexico). CIFESA's main rival, Suevia Films, also developed a successful policy of penetrating Latin American markets.

CIFESA's decision to greenlight costly super-productions was highly risky since the limited size of the local audience and the uncertainty of foreign markets could never guarantee a full recoupment of the heavy investments. In spite of some lucrative box-office hits, CIFESA rarely broke even and eventually went under.

335. Pioneering essays by Thomas Elsaesser and Geoffrey Novell-Smith, along with many other key articles, can be found in Home is Where the Heart Is: Studies in Melodrama and the Woman's Film, ed. Christine Gledhill (London: BFI, 1987). Other useful anthologies on the subject are Melodrama: Stage, Picture, Screen, ed. Jim Cook, Jackie Bratton and Christine Gledhill (London: BFI, 1984); and Imitation of Life: A Reader on Film & Television Melodrama, ed. Marcia Landy (Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1991).

336. Peter Brooks, The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama and the Mode of Excess (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 15.

337. Brooks, 17.

338. Orduña had tackled melodramatic subject matter before (for instance the musical *La Lola se va a los puertos*) with limited success. Two masterful melodramas followed *Locura de amor* in 1950: *Pequeñeces*, based on a novel by Father Coloma, a nineteenth-century Jesuit, and *Agustina de Aragón*, an epic about Spain's Napoleonic War that ably merged Casanova's dictum of the historical and folkloric to delirious effect.

339. Marcia Landy, Cinematic Uses of the Past (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

340. Pierre Sorlin has shown how the historical traditions defended by each social formation are ultimately means of discussing the present. The conflicts that divide a society and the goals pursued by its opposing forces are transfered and relocated in the semblance of past events. Pierre Sorlin,

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The Film in History: Restaging the Past (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1980), 17.

341. Slavoj Žižek, The Sublime Object of Ideology (London/New York: Verso, 1989).

342. In fact, the fantasmatic menace of a civil war is evoked twice, most notably during the Cortes' vote in the cathedral of Burgos.

343. Marta Selva points out that the identification of the Spanish nation with a female figure was a commonplace among historical films from the 1940s. Moreover, the Spanish word for homeland, *patria*, is gendered as feminine. See Marta Selva, "Mujeres y cine histórico," Ficciones Históricas. El cine histórico español, a special issue of Cuadernos de la Academia, no. 6 (September 1999): 179-190.

344. During a council session the Admiral tells his fellow Castilians: "The liberties of Flanders and Burgundy must not be tolerated in Castile." (*Las libertades de Flandes y Borgoña no pueden consentirse en Castilla.*) (Soundtrack.)

345. The confrontation below follows Juana's discovery that Aldara is the author of a love letter addressed to the King.

Aldara: "If you are the daughter of kings, so am I. . . . You hate me but I hate you even more because you believe in Jesus and I believe in the Prophet, because you are the daughter of Isabella and I of King Zagal." (*Si tú eres hija de reyes, yo también lo soy. . . . Tú me odias pero yo te odio mucho más porque crees en Jesús y yo en el profeta, porque eres hija de Isabel y yo del rey Zagal.*)

Juana: "And the King has betrayed me with you, an infidel, an enemy of my God. Never was a Catholic Queen of Spain ever so offended." (*Y ha sido contigo, con una infiel enemiga de mi Dios con quien el rey me engañaba. Nunca pudo ser más ofendida reina católica de España.*)

Aldara: "My blood is as noble as yours!" (*Mi sangre es tan noble como la tuya.*) (Soundtrack.)

346. The Admiral, for instance, tells the Council: "Thus governs the King his estates: he always places his amusement before matters of state." (*Así gobierna el Rey sus estados. Para el Rey las diversiones se anteponen siempre a los negocios del reino.*) (Soundtrack.)

347. His final words to Juana: "When Charles ascends to the

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throne, tell him all the harm Castile endured because of me." (*Cuando Carlos suba al tronor, dile todo el daño que por mi padeció Castilla.*) (Soundtrack.)

348. To the chords of an exotic, Moorish melody Aldara confesses:
"When my father, King Zagal, fled to Africa and the Sultan of Fez blinded him, I swore on the Koran vengeance upon Queen Isabella and all her descendants. . . . Perhaps this way I might silence the voices that echo inside of me since childhood: the burning of my palace, the galloping of the Christian cavalry." (*Cuando mi padre, el rey Zagal, huyó a Africa y el Sultán de Fez le quemó los ojos, yo juré sobre el Corán venganza contra la reina Isabel y todos sus descendientes. . . . Quizás así logre acallar las voces que desde niña resuenan dentro de mí: el fuego de mi palacio, el galopar de la caballería cristiana.*) (Soundtrack.)

349. The historicism of Franco's regime did not forget to address and interpellate women. For instance, a number of biographies proffering famous Spanish women as models of virtue, courage, and civic conduct were published. Guirnaldas de la Historia (Garlands of History), a textbook designed specifically for girls, stated in its prologueue its intention of highlighting how "above men's actions, illuminating their genius, stands a woman's figure so girls may learn history through episodes protagonized by women: mothers, queens, saints." (*Sobre la acción de los hombres destacará, iluminando el genio del hombre, una figura de mujer para que las niñas aprendan historia a través de episodios protagonizados por mujeres: madres, reinas, santas.*) See Agustín Serrano de Haro, Guirnaldas de la Historia. Historia de la cultura española contada a las niñas, 8th edition (Madrid: Editorial Escuela Española), 1958. Books like Guirnaldas underlined Woman's generative and civilizing mission along with her achievements in politics and the arts: "We owe women agriculture, the domestication of animals, pottery, and the home. Civilization is a woman's daughter." (*A la mujer debemos la agricultura, la domesticación de los animales, la alfarería y la vida del hogar. La civilización es hija de mujer.*) Ibid., 4. Heroines of state like Queen Isabella were depicted as instrumental to Spain's glory. "The hands that built and embroidered Spain's empire . . . were women's hands ... Women's hands kneaded Spain's greatness." (*Las manos que hicieron y bordaron el imperio de España . . . fueron manos de mujer . . . manos femininas amasaron la grandeza de España.*) Ibid., 82, 95. Female power, however, is somewhat neutralized through its association with metaphors of domesticity, such as embroidery, and breadmaking, that re-inscribe its effective

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domain as the hearth.

350. Jo Labanyi remarks that while Orduña's heroines act as "mouthpieces for the regime's rhetoric of national reconciliation and hostility to foreign influences," their prominent public role in these fictions recast them as unconventional role models for Spanish women of the early post-Civil War era. Jo Labanyi, "Feminizing the Nation: Women, Subordination and Subversion in post-Civil War Spanish Cinema," Heroines Without Heroes. Reconstructing Female and National Identities in European Cinema 1945-1951, ed. Ulrike Sieglohr (London/New York: Cassell, 2000), 174-175.

351. Unlike Juana, Isabella of Aragon is the subject of several pages in Guirnaldas. *Reina Santa* was produced by Suevia Films, CIFESA's main rival. It was also an expensive production (over 1,000,000 pesetas) that, despite considerable box-office success, was unable to recoup its production cost.

352. The text foregrounds this conflict on three separate occasions. When Juana decides to visit the inn where she suspects Philip has his extra-marital flings, her governess Elvira warns her of the impropriety of such an action:

Elvira: "You forget you are the Queen." (*Olividáis que sois reina*)

Juana: "Now I am just a jealous woman." (*Ahora no soy nada más que una mujer celosa.*)

In another scene Juana turns to Philip and tells him: "There are nights when I almost see my mother, Doña Isabella, pointing to the vast lands she bequeathed to me and I almost hear her voice saying to me: 'Think of your duties' and I think of you; 'Love your people' and I love you; 'Guard your estates' and I pray that God guard your life; and I want to cry as a Queen and I only cry as a woman in love." (*Hay noches en que me parece ver a mi madre, Doña Isabel, mostrando ese ancho pedazo de mundo que me dejó en herencia y me parece oír su voz que dice: 'Piensa en tus deberes' y yo pienso en tí; 'Quiere a tu pueblo' y yo te quiero a tí; 'Conserva tus estados'; y yo le pido a Dios que conserve tu vida y quiero llorar como reina y sólo lloro como mujer enamorada.*)

The danger posed by this collapse of public and private lives is most evident in the letter-writing scene. As Juana frantically compares the signature on a love letter addressed to the King with the handwriting of her ladies-in-waiting,

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the Admiral bursts in demanding her sole attention to urgent matters of state.

Admiral: "The Flemands sack and tyrannize the cities and hunger ravages the people. . . . Must you be so concerned with the handwriting of these ladies? (*Flamencos saquean y tiranizan las ciudades y el hambre hace estragos en el pueblo. . . .) Tánto os importa conocer la letra de esas damas?*)

Juana: "Nothing else concerns me more." (*Nada me importa tanto.*)

Admiral: Not even the salvation of a kingdom? (*¿Ni la salvación de un reino?*)

Juana: "Not even the salvation of a kingdom!" (*Ni la salvación de un reino!*)

In this life or death situation, Juana's lack of control over her emotions is immediately exploited by her consort as proof of her insanity and unfitness to rule. Philip himself in his speech to the Cortes bases his argument for Juana's removal on a similar collapse of the private and the public: "I have lost a wife; it is necessary that Castile lose a Queen." (*Yo he perdido una esposa, fuerza es que Castilla pierda una reina.*) (Soundtrack.)

353. "Yo sólo quiero olvidar que existe un reino y unos deberes para con él. . . . Es inútil luchar. . . . Defendía mis derechos de mujer y me han llamado loca, loca me creerían si defendiese mis derechos de reina". (Soundtrack.)

354. "Ya sé que me aborreces pero no me importa. Yo te quiero y cómo mi amor es tu castigo, cada día te quiero más y más." (Soundtrack.)

355. In contrast to the intellectual aptitude ascribed to men, *franquismo* asserted that women operated on the basis of their emotions. "La mujer, que está siempre en cierta condición de inferioridad frente al hombre, como ser instintivo y elemental que lo es frente al ser intelectual por esencia que es el hombre, alcanza en el amor su desquite y su trueque de papeles". Jose María Pemán, Doce cualidades de la mujer, 1947, quoted in Giuliana Di Febo, Resistencia y movimiento de mujeres en España (Barcelona: Icaria, 1979), 135.

Because, according to Pilar Primo de Rivera, leader of Sección Feminina, Falange's female wing, "Woman always act

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out of love," Falange ought to have interpellated and engaged women in an eroticized relationship with its program. She said: "Las mujeres siempre se mueven por razones amorosas y la Falange es una manera de amor." Pilar Primo de Rivera, Discurso del Quinto Congreso Nacional, Barcelona, 1941, quoted in Rosario Sánchez López, Mujer en España, una sombra de destino en lo universal: trayectoria histórica de Sección Feminina de Falange, 1934-1977 (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1990), 76.

356. "Me encanta el tema, el drama de esta mujer enamorada, el proceso morboso que la conduce a la locura por celos, la íntima reacción de esa alma atormentada". Orduña, interview, Cámara, no. 118, 1 December 1947.

357. "En ella he visto, antes que otra cosa, antes que la pompa de las grandes reconstrucciones históricas, antes que lo ornamental del género, el problema humano, la emoción tremenda de una pasión llevada hasta el desvarío". Juan de Orduña, interview, Triunfo, 12 December 1947.

358. Brooks, 48.

359. Llinás calls Orduña a "prisoner of melodrama." Llinás, "Juan de Orduña," 91.

360. Llinás writes, "Orduña never doubts to accentuate excess" (*Orduña no duda en ningun momento en potenciar el exceso*) and finds the director's sincere, unbridled committment to the material the saving grace of films like *Locura de amor*. In the 1940s film critic Alfonso Sánchez described Orduña as "the Spanish director who yields most easily to the rapture of his inspiration, who invests the most rabid sincerity in his work." (*[Orduña] el director español que más se deja llevar por el arrebato de su inspiración, que más rabiosa sinceridad pone en su obra.*) Alfonso Sánchez, El Alcázar, 12 October 1948. Emilio Sanz de Soto concludes his assessment of Orduña's cinema with an ironic trope: "Never was a director so sincere making the most insincere films." (*Jamás director alguno fue más sincero haciendo las peliculas más insinceras.*) Sanz de Soto, 132.

361. "Mi técnica de realización irá ceñida al tema, sometida a exaltar la fuerza emotiva, la posición dramática de la historia sin dejarme ganar en ningún instante por la grandilocuencia espectacular." Orduña, Cámara.

362. Orduña was known for his temperamental behavior on the set —he screamed a lot, was often vexed by small details, and frequently checked his pulse— and painstaking rehearsals

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in which he often coached his actors by performing their dialogue. See Juan de Orduña, interview, Cámara, 1 March 1947. A photo caption in Cámara (15 April 1945) reads "Juan de Orduña identifies with his characters and lives out the roles next to the camera." He was also notorious for inciting his actresses to emote rather than speak their lines. Years later he was appointed professor of Theory of the Film Actor in the Instituto de Investigaciones y Experiencias Cinematográficas.

363. Thomas Elsaesser, "Tales of Sound and Fury. Observations on the Family Melodrama" in Gledhill, 60-1.

364. Ibid.

365. Filiberto: ¿Más loca la queréis? (Soundtrack.)

366. Wilhelm Reich linked the rise and hold of Fascism to sexual repression. See W. Reich, Mass Pyschology of Fascism (New York: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux, 1973).

367. Llinás, Aproximación, 2.

368. Orduña, Primer Plano (1943). See also, Joaquín Romero-Marchent, "Juan de Orduña o la sensibilidad," Radiocinema, 30 June 1947.

369. "Teníamos que olvidarnos un poco de esa forma de 'interpretar a la americana', olvidarnos de la maldita contención". See Juan de Orduña, interview by Antonio Castro, El cine español en el banquillo, ed. Antonio Castro (Valencia: Fernando Torres, 1974), reprinted in Llinás, Aproximación, 4-6.

370. Llinás construes the film's exaggerated theatricality, a vestige of the fervent rhetoric of Romantic theater, as an homage to the passion of acting. Ibid., 2.

371. "Las peliculas históricas, para que sean verdaderamente soportables, deben tener un 20 o 30 % de rigor histórico y del 70% al 80% de apuntalamiento de fantasía." Castro, 74.

372. Landy, Cinematic Uses. On the subject, see Ellen Draper, "Untrammeled by Historical Fact. *That Hamilton Lady* and melodrama's aversion to history," Wide Angle 14:1 (January 1992): 56-63.

373. "Porque lo importante es el hecho de que desde el primer momento del film, el espectador sepa ya cuál va a ser el final; en el melodrama no hay sorpresa, lo esencial no es

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la historia, sino el tono. No lo que pasa, sino cómo pasa". Llinás, Aproximación, 2.

374. Brooks, 48, my emphasis. Diderot in his Salons had already argued for a correspondence between theater and painting: the perfect play, conceived as a succession of pictures, becomes a gallery filled with "as many tableaux as there are actions favorable to the painter." Quoted in Roland Barthes, "Diderot, Brecht, Eisenstein" in Narrative, Apparatus, Ideology. A Film Theory Reader, ed. Philip Rosen (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 172-178.

375. *Locura de amor* cited paintings by Francisco Pradilla and Eduardo Rosales; Agustina de Aragón (1950) quoted Goya; *La leona de Castilla* (1951), Antonio Gisbert Pérez; *Alba de América* (1951) alluded to paintings by Pradilla, Eduardo Cano, and Dióscuro Teófilo de la Puebla.

376. "El gran pintor aspirará, como la suprema expresión de su arte, a hacer perdurable la realidad pasada. . . . (Todos) no podemos imaginarnos tantos y tantos episodios de nuestra historia patria sin que les sirvan de esquemas plásticos inevitables estas composiciones". Elías Salverría, El cuadro de historia (Madrid: Real Academia de San Fernando, 1944), 12.

377. José Luis Diez locates the origins of Spain's history painting in Goya's renowned pictures of the war of Independence: The 2nd of May, 1808 and The 3rd of May, 1808. These works were commissioned by the Regency Council in 1814 to commemorate Spain's resistance against Napoleon's army and endorse the reestablishment of absolutism by King Ferdinand VII. See José Luis Diez, "Evolución de la pintura española de historia en el s. XIX" in La Pintura de Historia del Siglo XIX en España (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1992), 69-102. The development of history painting in Spain underwent three distinctive stages. The first wave of history painting spanned from 1856 to 1871 and encompassed the careers of Antonio Gisbert Pérez, José Casado del Alisal, and Eduardo Rosales. These artists drew inspiration from the French academic tradition of David, Gros, and Ingres. As the genre's popularity waned in the 1870s, Francisco Pradilla (1848-1921) ushered in a second wave in 1878 with the acclaimed presentation of his canvas Juana La Loca at the National Exhibition. A third current arriving at the end of the century infused history painting with the luministic technique of Impressionism and the decorative urge of Symbolism. See Carlos Reyero, La Pintura de Historia en España: esplendor de un género en el siglo XIX (Madrid: Cátedra, 1989).

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378. Enrique Arias Anglés, "Los orígenes del fenómeno de la pintura de historia del siglo XIX en España," Academia, no. 62 (January-March 1986): 210.

379. Murals heavily infused with military notions of honor, duty, heroism, and self-sacrifice were commissioned for government buildings, army headquarters, and a variety of public spaces. The artistic language of choice was an academic, often listless figurative style that drew inspiration in almost equal parts from the Beaux Arts school of Salon painting and the Spanish tradition of emotional baroque art. Among the better painters working in this style were José Aguiar, César Álvarez Dumont, Mariano Bertuchi, José Caballero, Juan Cabanas, Pedro Mozos, and Carlos Saenz de Tejada. See Angel Llorente Hernández, Arte e ideología en el franquismo, 1936-1951 (Madrid: Visor, 1995), especially chapter 4, 187-221. See also Antonio Bonet Correa, ed., Arte del franquismo (Madrid: Cátedra, 1981); and Alejandro Cirici Pellicer, La estética del franquismo (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1977).

"National" styles were privileged over "international" models and avant-garde art was emphatically ruled out for commemorative purposes. As Ros phrased it, "In short, we are only interested in saying that we are terrified by the thought that cubist painters could exist to immortalize the memory of our heroes and exploits, from the humble fallen Falangist to the victorious general." (*En definitiva, sólo nos interesa decir que nos espanta la idea de que existan pintores cubistas para eternizar la memoria de nuestros heroes y nuestros sucesos.*) Samuel Ros, "Arte y política," Arriba, 23 June 1939, quoted in Gabriel Ureña, Las vanguardias artísticas en la posguerra española 1940-1959 (Madrid: Istmo, 1982), 309-310.

Nevertheless, certain themes and styles within the canon of Spanish painting, even within the oeuvre of a given artist, were favored at the expense of others. Looking at Velázquez, politician Rafael Sánchez Mazas praised the creator of historical canvases and epic portraits, but denounced the painter of bufoons, dwarves, and still lives. On the latter he enjoined: "Do not paint the blemishes of the motherland or gather pots and pans into the subversive disorder which is later termed *still life*. . . . Reveal, instead, the essential values of the new Spain." (*No pinteis las lacras de la Patria ni tampoco reunáis cachivaches caseros en el desorden subversivo que luego llaman "naturalezas muertas". . . . revelad los valores esenciales de la España nueva.*) Rafael Sánchez Mazas, "Textos sobre una política de arte," Escorial, vol. 9 (October 1942): 15.

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This historicizing frenzy also pervaded the graphic and applied arts. Illustrations for newspapers, magazines, textbooks and children's coloring books, based on renowned nineteenth-century prints or canvases by the likes of Casado del Alisal, Pradilla, and Rosales, resurrected the heroes and myths of yore as models for the present: El Cid, the Gran Capitán, Don Pelayo, James I of Aragon, etc. These reproductions appeared on medals, insignia, pins, and stamps, and were further commodified in the guise of calendars, picture cards, posters, almanachs, and even bank bills. A whole industry was built around the commodification and merchandising of Spain's heroic past, often degenerating into kitsch as factories spewed ceramics, tins, flower vases, fans, and tapestries decorated with motifs drawn from Spanish history painting. See Javier Pérez Rojas & José Luis Alcaide, "Apropiaciones y recreaciones de la pintura de historia" in José Luis Diez; and Juan Antonio Ramírez, "Imágenes para un pueblo. (Conotaciones, arquetipos y concordancias en la iconografía de posguerra)" in Arte del franquismo, ed. Antonio Bonet Correa (Madrid: Cátedra, 1981), 225-260.

380. Ros, 161.

381. "La pintura sería muy poco . . . si fuese ahistórica y apolítica. Un cuadro es un acontecimiento histórico . . . una compleja revelación de una idea del orden o desorden frente a la época. . . . Dime cómo recuerdas y qué es lo que hay que recordar y te diré quién eres, qué conoces, qué esperas". Rafael Sánchez Mazas, "Confesión a los pintores," first published in Arriba 17 March 1940, and reprinted in Escorial, vol.9 (October 1942): 3-24.

382. See Casimiro Torreiro, "Por el imperio hacia Dios. El cine histórico de la autárquía," Ficciones Históricas, 53-66.

383. On the subject of Spanish painting's presence in the mise-en-scène of various Spanish historical and period films, see Javier Hernández Ruiz, "Historia y escenografía en el cine español: una aproximación," Ficciones Históricas, 151-166.

384. Llinás, "Orduña," 92.

385. See Costa, 143-176.

386. Charles Tashiro, "When History Films (Try to) Become Paintings," Cinema Journal 35, no. 3 (Spring 1996): 19-30.

387. Ibid.

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388. "Lo que va narrarse es conocido de antemano por vosotros; no aguardéis discusión o divergencia alguna de aquello que la historiografía oficial, a través de estas famosas estampas, desde aquí, una vez más, os ordenan a creer. Librad pues vuestra voluntad espectadora a la efusión de sentimiento con que, a partir de este instante, se inflamarán sin término". Téllez, 55.

389. Barthes, 173-175.

390. Norman Bryson describes it as the only moment when all the forces at work in the situation enter visibility and can be read at once. N. Bryson, Word and Image: French Painting in the Ancien Regime (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 187.

391. Téllez, 54.

392. The first fireplace belongs to the castle of Tordesillas, where Juana is confined; the second fireplace is in the castle of La Mota, where Queen Isabella is about to expire. Orduña takes a few liberties with Rosales' composition, most notably eliminating Juana, who stands in the painting to the left of her mother's deathbed, but the scene is otherwise clearly recognizable.

393. Tashiro, 30.

394. "Comenzó la noche en que España perdió para siempre a la reina Isabel . . . y un aire de tristes presagios recorrió España de punta a punta". (Soundtrack.) In Tamayo's play there is a long conversation between two patrons of an inn who reminisce of Queen Isabella's reign as a vanished Golden Age in comparison to the political discord marring Juana's rule. This scene is not present in Orduña's film, but its content is implicit in the opening lines of Alvar's flashback.

395. Isabella II ruled Spain from 1834 to 1868, a period of civil war and constant infighting between absolutists (the *carlistas*) and liberals, as well as between monarchists and republicans.

396. Eduardo Llosent y Marañón warmly praised Rosales in a piece about the reopened Museum of Modern Art. He wrote of the painter: "Great Spanish painting either ends or begins its renewal [with Rosales]." (*Es aquí donde termina la gran pintura española or donde principia a renovarse.*) See E. Llosent y Marañon, "Dieciseis salas del Museo de Arte Moderno y dieciséis preferencias," Escorial (November 1943): 178.

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397. Franco's *Movimiento* made the negation and repression of the nationalistic claims of Catalunya, the Basque territory and other regions of Spain, and their corresponding cultural manifestations, a key component of its political agenda. On the religious front, the violent anti-clericalism of extreme left-wing groups was projected onto the democratic forces of the Second Republic at large. Republican sympathizers were frequently jeered as atheists, protestants, or Jews.

Font argues that the historical films of the 1940s denied the diversity of Spain's various "nationalities" in favor of a unified and homogenous view of nationhood centered on Castile's drive for hegemony. Font, 81.

398. Francisco Pradilla y Ortiz (1848-1921) painted Juana La Loca in 1877 in Rome, where he was residing thanks to a scholarship from the Academy of Fine Arts, and submitted it to the 1878 National Exhibition of Fine Arts in Madrid. The picture secured every major medal and subsequently garnered important awards in Munich, Vienna, and Paris. It is highly probable that the painter was inspired by a performance of Tamayo's play, yet he returned to the subject on repeated occasions, painting at least a dozen works between 1906 and 1912 around episodes of Juana's life. Other pictures of Juana include Doña Juana La Loca recluida en Tordesillas (1907), another Juana La Loca (1910) and Locura de amor (Pinacoteca de Sao Paulo).

From his base in Rome and then Madrid, Pradilla attained enormous fame and numerous honors and managed a successful career. Juana La Loca became the most renowned historical canvas in Spain, although history painting constituted a fraction of Pradilla's voluminous output. In fact, Pradilla's works were so highly esteemed that he was voted the second most popular painter, after Sorolla, in a poll conducted in 1904 by the weekly Blanco y Negro. However, at the time of his death in 1921 he had been nearly forgotten. After a memorial exhibition in 1922 Pradilla's painting virtually vanished from the art circuit for sixty-five years until a retrospective was held in 1987 at Madrid's Museo Municipal. See Francisco Pradilla, exhibition catalogue (Madrid: Museo Municipal, 1987). The sole exception was a retrospective commemorating the centennial of his birth held in Zaragoza in 1948, the year of *Locura de amor*'s release. For additional information regarding the critical reception of Pradilla's most famous painting see Edward Sullivan, "Francisco Pradilla's *Juana La Loca*," Arts Magazine (January 1980): 168-171.

399. Reyero uses the term "desimperializar" to describe

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Pradilla's novel approach to history painting. Carlos Reyero, Imágen histórica de España 1850-1900 (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1987), 330.

400. With the exception of *Alba de América*, an account of Columbus' first voyage of discovery, women dominate Orduña's historical cycle. *La Leona de Castilla* (1951) retells the insurrection of María de Padilla, widow of the leader of the Comuneros, Francisco Pradilla, against the imperial armies of Charles V. *Agustina de Aragón* (1950) honors the valor of a plebeian woman who incited the resistance to Napoleon's army during the siege of Saragossa.

Incidentally, Fanés and Requena have remarked how Spain's historical cinema is overwhelmingly protagonized by women. Other notable historical films from the 1940s with strong female protagonists include *Inés de Castro* (1944), *Eugenia de Montijo* (1944), *Lola Montes* (1944), and *La princesa de los Ursinos* (1947).

401. Brigitte Peucker, Incorporating Images, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993. Peucker draws her argument from W.J. Thomas Mitchell's discussion of Lessing's aesthetics in W.J. Thomas Mitchell, Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 101-104.

402. See Annette Kuhn, "Women's Genres. Melodrama, Soap Opera, and Theory" in Gledhill, 339-349.

403. Jean-Claude Seguin also detects the presence of other art historical references in the sets and props: Flemish and Spanish medieval paintings like Albert Bouts' *Tryptich of the Assumption of the Virgin* and works by Jan Van Eyck (*The Virgin of Chancellor Rolin, The Dresden Tryptich, Virgin in a Church*) and Roger Van der Wayden (*Crucifixion in a Church*. See J. C. Seguin, "Locura de amor" in Pérez Perucha, 232.

404. In his seminal 1972 essay, Elsaesser pointed out soem of the ways in which Hollywood melodrama siphoned off its excess of emotion, as well as feelings silenced or repressed by the narrative, and projected them onto aspects of the mise-en-scène, such as color, lighting, and music. Elsaesser, 51-55.

405. An ad for *Locura de amor* further clarifies that death is the ultimate signified: to the right is a close-up of actress Aurora Bautista, in the background a gothic arcade, and to the left, a coffin. Art mediates between femininity and death.

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406. Smoke has traditionally symbolized in *vanitas* paintings the passage of time and fleetingness of life. Here it is called forth to instill life into an otherwise frozen image.

407. Jean-François Lyotard, "Acinema" in Rosen, 351.

408. Ibid., 356.

409. Judith Lewis Herman, Trauma and Recovery (New York: Harper Collins, 1992), 2.

410. Stephen Bann, The Clothing of Clio (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 14.

411. "La historia es tan penosa que yo desearía me libraseis de relatarosla. . . . Quizás mi relato os produzca tanta amargura que no podreis olvidarlo pero, al fin, es la historia de vuestra propia sangre". (Soundtrack.) The use here of the Spanish word "historia" makes for a telling conflation between story and history.

412. *Serenata española* (1947), *Agustina de Aragón* (1950), *La leona de Castilla* (1951), *Alba de América* (1951), *Zalacaín el aventurero* (1954) and *El último cuplé* (1958) frame their main story within a flashback.

413. "Aún vive en ese temor. Aún habla con él. Aún nos ordena que guardemos silencio para no despertarle". (Soundtrack.)

414. Llinás observes that nearly all of Orduña's historical films seek to make the viewer an accomplice to their fictions and ideolgoy. Llinás, "Orduña," 92.

415. Alvar and Aldara's farewell is one of the film's most lyrical scenes, a moment of unabashed romanticism:

Aldara: "You know that she will never be yours, yet you risk your life for her. . . . I would give my entire life to be regarded in such a way. Why is my fate so despicable? Not even tonight will your hands caress those that saved your life." (*Sabes que jamás será tuya y sin embargo expones por ella tu vida. . . . Toda mi vida daría, Capitán, por sentirme mirada así. ¿Por qué mi sino es tan despreciable? Ni aún esta noche logro que tus manos acaricien las que te han salvado la vida.*)

Alvar: "Every morning I shall remember this moment . . .'I see the light of this day because Aldara, the most beautiful daughter of Islam, protected me.'" (*Todas las*

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mañanas recordaré este momento ... 'Veo este día porque Aldara, la hija más bella del Islam, protegió mi pecho'.)

Aldara: "I shall also say in my African land, 'Today Alvar, the best captain of Christianity, looks towards the East and thinks of me.'" (*Yo también diré en mi tierra de Africa, 'Hoy Alvar, el mejor capitán de la Cristiandad, mira hacia Oriente y piensa en mí'.*) (Soundtrack.)

416. At the very beginning of the film a telling exchange takes place between Captain Alvar and King Charles:

Alvar: "My greatest pride is having been able to devote my life to her service." (*Mi mayor orgullo is haber podido dedicar mi vida a su servicio.*)

King Charles: "Burying yourself while still alive is too great a sacrifice." (*Enterarse en vida es demasiado sacrificio.*) (Soundtrack.)

417. "La mujer de Orduña es siempre un ser deseante, estructurado narrativamente en razón de una demanda insistente, cuya posibilidad de gratificación se frustra de modo irremisible". Téllez, 55.

This feeling of unfulfilled desire foreshadows Orduña's latterday confession of an analogous professional dissatisfaction: "Actually I never made the films I wanted to. At the most, a few scenes in certain films, but the film I wanted, the one I felt inside, I have never made that one. They never let me." (*La verdad es que no he hecho el cine que quería. Lo más, algunas escenas de ciertas películas, pero la película que yo quería, la que yo sentía, no la he hecho nunca. No me han dejado.*) Orduña in Castro, reprinted in Llinás, 6.

418. Téllez, 55; Llinás, 93.

419. It can be argued that Orduña is advocating here a kind of "corporal conservatism" that reads the grieving bodies on the canvas as emblems of political institutions in crisis. See Beth Segal Wright, Painting and History during the French Restoration (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 78.

The year 1948 witnessed attempts by monarchists to restore the monarchy in Spain. Franco held conversations with the pretender, Juan de Borbón, but eventually settled on the pretender's son, the young Juan Carlos, as his future heir. The monarchy was not actually restored until 1976.

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420. "Que tu Dios y el mío velen por nosotros". (Soundtrack.) See note 413 for the dialogue to Aldara's final scene.

421. "Cuando las turbulencias y estragos de las discordias civiles produjeron en todos una profunda impresión, y la nacionalidad, más que nunca exaltada y enérgica, pide a los tiempos pasados altos ejemplos de abnegación y patriotismo, cuando los presentimientos sombríos y los amargos desengaños se apoderan del ánimo . . . preciso es que . . . el artista, que no puede ser extraño a cuanto le rodea, recurra a los espectáculos conmovedores, a la energía de las grandes pasiones." Quoted in Arias Anglés, 211.

422. Téllez writes: "La 'leccion de historia' se transforma en la tragedia del deseo sin correspondencia." Téllez, 55.

423. Cirici, 30, 108.

424. "Con ella se señala una fecha en la Cinematagrafía española: el descubrimiento de la emoción del público". Gómez Tello, review of *Locura de amor*, Primer Plano 10 October 1948. Critic Alfonso Sánchez greed: "*Locura de amor* tiene el mérito de emocionar a la masa de espectadores, de encadenar su atención al drama que ocurre en la pantalla, haciendola vibrar al compás de su acción y al impulso de sus personajes. . . . La trágica historia de Doña Juana, su historia amarga de celos y desconsuelos, está relatada con apasionamiento, tomando partido por un personaje que se exalta". A. Sánchez, review of *Locura de amor*, El Alcázar, 12 October 1948.

Actor Fernando Rey in an interview at the time said of Orduña: "Me parece que serán muy pocos los que le aventajen en saber captar la emoción del público, en trabajar de cara al público. Domina como pocos el resorte de la emoción. . . . Es ante todo un intuitivo genial. Y rueda sin vacilación, sin un retoque a la situación porque llega al plató con la película pensada, "hecha", lo cual se complementa con la intensidad con que vive él mismo la situación en su película, desde el ensayo de la escena hasta el momento en que situado al lado de la cámara da su aprobación definitiva. Lo que quiere decir que al finalizar una de sus películas, la exhuberancia de Orduña, su gran sensibilidad le ha hecho repetir, de un modo automático, todos y cada uno de los gestos que hemos hecho sus actores". Fernando Rey, interview about the filming of *Locura de amor*, Triunfo, 28 February 1948.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX (Pages 182-229)

425. Perojo had received a prize for his film, *Marianela* (1941), in the previous edition of the Biennale. The other director honored in 1942 was Florián Rey. His remake of the silent classic, *La aldea maldita* (The Cursed Village), which he himself had directed in 1929, was awarded a special medal.

426. Although *Goyescas* was announced in 1940 as Perojo's first post-war feature, film historian Román Gubern's research indicates that the rights to the property were acquired as far back as 1929. The enormous popularity of the centennial of Goya's death in 1928 may have been a factor in the genesis of this project. Since financing was not immediately forthcoming, the film was postponed for over a decade until a small group of investors, which included a couple of aristocrats, eventually floated it. Román Gubern, Benito Perojo, Pionerismo y supervivencia (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, Filmoteca Nacional, 1994), 359.

The budget was approximately 3,000,000 pesetas, an unusually high figure for the period; it went mostly into costumes and sets. The film was produced by a new company, Universal Iberoamericana de Cinematografía, founded in March of 1942, and released by Filmófono. Shooting took place from June through August and the premiere was held in Madrid on October 9, 1942 at the Palacio de la Música. See Gubern, 359, 361.

427. The right-wing cultural journal Vértice carried an essay that that explicitly equated Goya with the deepest essence of Spain. See "Goya o el sentido profundo de España," Vértice, 1 May 1939.

428. Historian Ramón Menéndez Pidal elucidated this concept in his multi-volumed Historia de España, vol. 1 (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1947), LXXI-CI.

429. Born in Madrid in 1894, Benito Perojo took up filmmaking at the age of twenty. Dissatisfied with professional conditions in Spain, he moved to Paris in the early 1920s, working as an actor and assistant director before making his first feature. Over the course of the next decade, Perojo shuttled between Paris and Madrid, directing a number of international co-productions. Hollywood soon noticed his mastery of the medium and hired him in 1931 to produce and direct Spanish-language features in Paramount's Joinville studio, located in the outskirts of Paris. Perojo also traveled to California to direct a feature for Fox before returning to Spain in 1932. Perojo reached his

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creative peak in the following years, directing a highly successful body of work that combined a populist sensibility with formal experimentation. After making films for thirty years, Perojo ceased to direct in the 1950s and launched a successful career as a film producer.

During the Civil War Perojo was invited to work in Berlin, where he made three Spanish-German co-productions in 1938. His sojourn there exposed him to the high professional standards of German film production and put at his disposal the technical means and financing to shoot pictures that fulfilled his taste for lively and elaborate pageants. These three movies —an adaptation of *The Barber of Seville; Suspiros de España;* and *Mariquilla Terremoto*— were lavish *españoladas* showcasing actress-singer Estrellita Castro. They anticipated the sensibility of *Goyescas* in their blend of populist subject matter and spectacle. *The Barber of Seville* in particular displayed Perojo's predilection for ornate camera movement, expressive compositions and chiaroscuro effects as well as attention to the role of art direction.

The end of hostilities found him in Italy's Cinecittá studios shooting the comedies *Los hijos de la noche* (1939) and *La última falla* (1940). Upon his return to Spain in 1940 he directed *Marianela*, his first film shot in Spanish studios since the outbreak of the Civil War. Based on a novel by the nineteenth century writer Benito Pérez Galdós, *Marianela* was an odd choice given the political climate in Spain: Galdós might have been Spain's most illustrious novelist since Cervantes, but his socialist and anti-clerical leanings were unpalatable to Franco's administration. *Marianela*'s warm reception at the 1941 Venice Biennale vindicated Perojo's gamble. Moreover, the film was generally well received by contemporary reviewers. In recent years it has been praised as a valiant attempt to create a cinema of quality and intellectual independence in the midst of the restrictive circumstances imposed by the new administration.

430. Enrique Llovet, a friend of Perojo, characterized him as a liberal Republican sympathizer and his films as "comedias sajonizadas" (comedies with a Saxon influence). See Gubern, 288-289. Many of Perojo's films from the 1930s exhibit a sensibility reminiscent of his French contemporaries Jean Renoir and René Clair. Hence the frequent criticism "that they did not seem Spanish," objections that date back to the 1920s when Perojo was actively working in Europe. See Gubern, 462. For details on the controversy over Perojo's internationalism see Gubern, 118-23.

431. According to Gubern's research, Perojo accepted the

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offer to work in Nazi Germany because his friend, the Spanish producer Saturnino Ulargui, was involved in a co-production venture with UFA. Florián Rey was also in Berlin making films with Imperio Argentina, an actress much admired by Hitler. Shot abroad while war raged in Spain, Perojo's "German trilogy" exudes an undeniable whiff of nostalgia, which may partially account for the films' excessive reliance on the clichés of the *española*.

It has also been argued that these Spanish-language films were conceived by Goebbels as part of a strategy to open up new markets, specifically Latin America, to the German film industry. Perojo's recourse to stereotypes could then be understood as conforming to widespread perceptions of Spanish culture that would facilitate audience reception of these films. Yet in Spain a zealous Falangist like Luis Gómez Mesa openly found such a body of work to be inadequate and improper for the goals of the new regime. He wrote: "In a hierarchic order of values, as currently prevails in the Spanish state . . . this sort of film neither exists nor has any merit." (*En una ordenación jerárquica de valores, como rige en el Estado español . . . este género de películas no son nada ni existen.*) Arriba, 11 October 1939.

More recently, several critics have observed a continuity of themes and style between Perojo's "German" films and his Spanish production during the Republic. Gubern describes these UFA films as "a playful and uninhibited cinema that follows the hedonistic premises of Perojo's Republican cinema." (*Un cine juguetón y desinhibido que sigue las premisas hedonistas del cine republicano de Perojo.*) See Gubern, 300. Meanwhile, Emilio Sanz de Soto certifies these films as "completely Spanish . . . like those made in the Second Spanish Republic. Seen today, it is difficult to believe they were shot in foreign studios." (*Netamente españolas, a imagen y semejanza de las realizadas durante la II República, y que, vistas hoy, cuesta trabajo imaginar que fuesen rodadas en estudios extranjeros.*) Emilio Sanz de Soto, "1940-1950" in Cine español 1896-1988, ed. Augusto Torres (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1989), 171.

432. Perojo was found guilty of pandering to the gallery and attacked as one of those artists "who never look up high, preferring the low and the vulgar." (*Nunca miran a lo más alto sino a lo más bajo y vulgar.*) Luis Gómez Mesa, review of *El barbero de Sevilla*, by Benito Perojo, Arriba, 8 November 1939.

433. Gubern, 368-9, 463. A comparison of *Goyescas* with *The Barber of Seville*, made in 1938, provides us with the grounds

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to question Gubern's remarks. Both films are musical comedies that deal with the interaction of aristocrats and commoners. On the one hand, the salty dialogueue and irreverent, piquant humor of *The Barber* have been subdued and replaced in *Goyescas* by a stiff formalism and a taste for ostentatious sets and costumes. On the other hand, the strict separation of the classes in the earlier film is blurred in the latter. Figaro and the Count, Rosina and the gypsy girl may share provisionally the same social space but their rank is never questioned. Moreover, *The Barber*'s plot and resolution depict a harmonious, trouble-free society, whereas *Goyescas* magnifies conflict and confrontation. To my mind, *The Barber* is essentially a sexual comedy that occasionally pokes fun at military authority; *Goyescas* is a probing essay on Spanish cultural identity camouflaged as an operetta.

434. Domènec Font, Del azul al verde. El cine español durante el franquismo (Barcelona: Avance, 1976), 92-95.

435. See Antonio Lopes Ribeiro, "La lección de Venecia," Primer Plano, no. 103, 4 October, 1942. *Goyescas* was even distributed in the States with some critical and financial success, although its New York premiere occurred in a run-down, seedy Times Square venue, the World Theater, a showcase for Mexican B movies. See the corresponding reviews in The New York Times, 29 May 1944, and Variety, 28 June 1944, quoted in Gubern, 371.

436. *Goyescas* was awarded 250,000 pesetas, which placed it behind Rafael Gil's romantic comedy, *Huella de luz*, Florián Rey's *La aldea maldita*, two films by Antonio Román, *Intriga* and *La casa de la lluvia*, and the religious biopic, *Forja de almas*. Unlike Perojo or Rey, both Gil and Román were young directors who had just broken onto the scene.

437. Ródenas in ABC (10 October 1942) and Luis Gómez Mesa in Ya (10 October 1942) censured the recourse to picturesque stereotypes redolent of the *españolada*. See Gubern, 369. Primer Plano responded to these charges with an apology of the *españolada*: "There will be no lack of malicious remarks about the aftertaste of *hispanicity* offered here to foreign palates. But, gentlemen, these qualities are ours; to dismiss them with contempt would entail yielding our distinguishing traits in the cinematic universe. What matters is to treat the subject in earnest and with dignity and to impart a clean and authentically Spanish expression." (*No faltará, ante la reflexión, quien aluda maliciosamente al regusto de españolidad que al paladar extranjero ofrecemos. Pero es, señores, que estos matices son tan nuestros que desecharlos despectivamente sería prescindir de nuestras características*

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diferenciales en el ámbito universal de la cinematografía. Lo que importa es, como ahora, tratarlos en serio y con dignidad, y saber hacer de ellos expresión limpia y auténticamente española.) "*Goyescas* en Venecia," Primer Plano, no. 101, 20 September 1942.

438. "Despite its luxurious presentation, its direction and slight, anecdotal plot do not capture the true spirit and authentic ambience of such a picturesque and colorful era. Its director, Benito Perojo, missed a wonderful opportunity to realize a film of a pure and genuine Spanish pedigree, instead of a succession of engravings." (*Fastuosamente presentada, no recoge, sin embargo, en su leve y anecdótico argumento y en su realización, el verdadero espíritu y el ambiente real de aquella época tan pintoresca y colorista. Su director, Benito Perojo, desaprovechó una estupenda ocasión para lograr una película de neta y castiza raíz española y no una sucesión de estampas.*) Luis Gómez Mesa, "Disquisición sobre películas españolas premiadas este año," Vértice, no. 66, January 1943. Gómez Mesa's final assessment of *Goyescas* viewed it as a film "more costly than valuable."

Radiocinema praised "the cinematic evocation of an era immortalized on genial canvases and tapestries." (*La evocación cinematográfica de una época que se inmortalizó sobre lienzos y tapices geniales.*) Review of *Goyescas*, by Benito Perojo, Radiocinema no. 77, 6 June 1942. Noting the references to tapestries and canvases, José S. Parada writes, "Many of its scenes resemble pictures that the great Aragonese painter infused with his exceptional creative genius." (*Muchas de sus escenas parecen cuadros a los que el gran pintor aragonés les hubiera infundido su excepcional genio creador.*) J.S. Parada, "*Goyescas*, una película digna de España," Arriba, 4 October 1942.

439. Granados' *Goyescas*, which had its world premiere at New York's Metropolitan Opera in 1916, recounts a tragic love triangle between a *maja*, a bullfighter, and a captain. The opera begins with a dance entitled *El pelele* (The dummy), and proceeds with the following numbers: *La calesa* (The calash), *Requiebros* (Flirting), *El coloquio en la reja* (Dialogueue at the grille), *El fandango del candil* (The candlelight fandango), *La maja y el ruiseñor* (The maja and the nightingale), *El amor y la muerte* (*Love and death*), and *Serenata del muerto* (*Deadman's serenade*).

440. The end of the 18th century witnessed the emergence of the *tonadilla*, short musical pieces of a comic or satirical nature inspired by popular melodies and performed during theatrical intermissions of serious plays. When royal favor

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towards Italian opera eventually displaced national musical expressions to the margins, *tonadillas* and *zarzuelas* were discounted by the élite as eminently plebeian entertainment. See José Subirá, "La música teatral en la época de Goya" in Cinco estudios de Goya (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1949), 110.

441. *El negro que tenía el alma blanca* (1934), *La verbena de la Paloma* (1935) and the three UFA productions filmed in Berlin in 1938 are the most significant examples from the 1930s. *The Barber of Seville* is an exception among Perojo's earlier films in its use of classical music. Its juxtaposition of melodies and arias from Rossini's opera with original songs and music composed by Juan Mostazo and Walter Sieber prefigures *Goyescas*' own eclectic score.

442. See Gubern, 366.

443. *Goyescas* was shot in 60 days and classified in its shooting permit as a musical comedy. It suffered some minor excisions at the urging of the censorship commission, which also reviewed and approved each song.

444. Both generic models were familiar to Perojo through his sojourns in Rome and Berlin during the war years. See Gubern, 368. Spanish audiences would have also been conversant with these foreign models given the uncommonly high number of German and Italian pictures exhibited in theaters between 1939 and 1945.

Goyescas' stylistic continuity with Perojo's Berlin period was partially ensured by the collaboration of two professionals formed in German studios: stage designer Siegfried Burmann, who endowed the film with an atmosphere of elegance and refinement, and Russian-French cinematographer Michel Kelber, who devised its chiaroscuro lighting and pictorialism.

445. Beginning in 1943 with José Luis Saenz de Heredia's *El escándalo*, an adaptation of a nineteenth-century novel by Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, the trend towards lavish period films continued unabated throughout the decade. It culminated in Juan de Orduña's *Pequeñeces* (1950), another adaptation of a nineteenth-century novel which Perojo had once expressed interest in filming.

446. See "Psicoanálisis de Benito Perojo," ABC, 26 January 1964. Spanish art critics like Ricardo Gutiérrez Abascal, writing under the pseudonym of Juan de la Encina, located in Goya the expression of the national genius, "which gushed

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forth from his brushes already at a young age." (*Que desde su juventud empezó a brotar a raudales de sus pinceles.*) See Juan de la Encina (Ricardo Abascal), El mundo histórico y poético de Goya (Mexico: Casa de la Cultura, 1939), 49. Likewise, the Marquis of Lozoya, an art historian and the director of the Jefatura Nacional de Bellas Artes, could excitedly proclaim: "I wish to cry out very loud that Goya contains whatever lies in the essence of Spain." (*Yo quiero gritar muy alto que en Goya está, lo que está en la esencia de España.*) Marqués de Lozoya, "Casticismo y universalidad de Goya," Arriba, 31 March 1946.

For its part, the Falangist review Vértice left no doubt as to Goya's Spanish soul: "In no other painter but Goya does the infinite and mysterious heart of Spain beat." (*En ningún pintor como en Goya palpita el corazón innumerable y misterioso de España.*) "Goya o el sentido profundo de España," Vértice, no. 22, May 1939.

Nor were Spaniards the only ones to identify Goya with Spain. Théophile Gautier called Goya "the national painter par excellence" and Eugene Delacroix's impressions of a trip to Andalusia transmuted picturesque locales and peoples into canvases of Goya sprung to life. This conflation of painter and national identity still informed Havelock Ellis' observation in 1908 that "Goya represents the Spanish temper and Spanish interests more comprehensively than any other Spanish painter . . . He has all the fantastic energy of Spain." Havelock Ellis, The Soul of Spain (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1908), quoted in Nigel Glendinning, Goya and His Critics (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 177-78.

447. Valentín Sambricio, Los tapices de Goya (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 1946), 40. The cartoons were conceived as preliminary sketches for tapestries made to cover the walls of royal recreational palaces. Goya's earliest cartoons, designed circa 1775, were painted in a warm and luminous palette and reflected the delicate and feminine elegance of Rococo painting and the evocative mood of the pastoral. Their subject matter underwent a gradual shift over time from the paragon of French court art and Flemish genre painting to a nationalistic aesthetic rooted in *costumbrismo*. For a detailed history of the production and iconography of the cartoons, see J.M. Arnaiz, Francisco de Goya, cartones y tapices (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1987); and Janis A. Tomlinson, Francisco de Goya, The Tapestry Cartoons and Early Career at the Court of Madrid (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989). For a comprehensive overview of the evolution of 18th century genre painting see Valeriano Bozal, Goya y el arte moderno (Madrid: Alianza Forma, 1994), especially

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chapter 2. For a similar survey of engravings, see Valeriano Bozal, "Formación del costumbrismo en la estampa española del siglo XVIII," Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos, no. 384 (1982): 499-535.

448. For instance see José Camón Aznar, "Goya y el arte moderno"; and Enrique Lafuente Ferreri, "Goya y el arte francés" in Cinco Estudios de Goya.

449. "Exhausta nuestra pintura tras el esplendor que alcanzara en la Edad de Oro, agotado el aliento creador de nuestra raza . . . hasta que, por designio de la Providencia, del letárgico marasmo en que se hallaba sumida, vino a sacarla el genio de Francisco de Goya.... Él solo, sin discípulos ni secuaces, rebelde a todo yugo e imposición doctrinal . . . fue a un tiempo el último retoño del genio nacional y la encarnación arrogante del espíritu revolucionario." Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Historia de las ideas estéticas en España vol. 3 (S. XVIII), 1883 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Estéticas, reprint 1940), 549, quoted in Sambricio, 3.

450. Emilio Castelar, the nineteenth-century politician and writer, envisioned Goya's art as a weapon against superstition, repression, censorship and absolutism, "all the crimes which the winds of revolution swept away." Quoted in Glendenning, 183. Conversely, José Llampayas saw Goya as an apolitical artist, void of ideological concerns. "Goya, en efecto, es ajeno a la política, sin preocupaciones ideológicas." José Llampayas, Goya (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional, 1943), 112.

España es así, the classic children's history textbook under *franquismo*, takes the painter as an excuse for a lesson in chauvinism: with Goya Spanish art ceased to imitate foreign schools and demonstrated instead that Spain was born to be "a mistress and a lady rather than a disciple and slave." Agustín Serrano de Haro, España es así fourth edition (Madrid: Editorial Escuela Española, 1940), 261. In a similar vein, Llampayas establishes an oblique parallel between the perceived decline of Spain's art scene in the eighteenth century and the social discord of the Second Spanish Republic. He writes: "Until the end of the seventeenth century, our painters' impetus stemmed from our ethnicity. . . . An indigenous art led the way. . . . Not now. Now in the eighteenth century anarchy has set in." (*Hasta fines del siglo XVII el impulso de nuestros pintores partía de la raza. . . . Guiaba un arte indígena. . . . Ahora, ya no. Ahora, en el setecientos, ha empezado la anarquía.*) Llampayas, 61.

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451. José Ortega y Gasset, "Goya" in Velazquez, Goya and the Dehumanization of Art, trans. Alexis Brown (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1972), 120.

452. Francis Klingender was instrumental in propagating the image of a revolutionary Goya. See F. Klingender, Goya in the Democratic Tradition (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1948). The notion of a plebeian Goya is still current today. Valeriano Bozal, a prominent Spanish art historian, characterizes Goya as Spain's popular and *castizo* painter par excellence. Elements and motifs associated with *costumbrismo* constitute the raw material of his imagery. Bozal writes: "Si un pintor ha sido reconocido como popular y castizo, ese es Goya." V. Bozal, Imagen de Goya (Barcelona: Ed. Lumen, 1983), 51.

453. "(Goya) se hace amante de las damas de la antigua aristocracia española para rebajarlas, para vencerlas a fuerza de ponerlas mantillas y abanicos en las manos. . . . Las hace populares, las hace majas, mujeres del pueblo". Ernesto Giménez Caballero, "Goya, vértice de España," Síntesis 2, no. 18 (November 1928): 275.

454. Ramón Gómez de la Serna, Goya (Santiago, Chile: Ed. Ercilla, 1940), 22-23, 26. The first edition appeared in Spain in 1928. A revised and enlarged edition was published in 1937 and reprinted in 1943.

Gómez de la Serna's droll humor fancies the painter as quintessentially Spanish as the omelette: "Goya es la tortilla a la española." See R. Gómez de la Serna, "Paradigmas de Goya," Arriba, 31 March 1946.

455. "La hora lírica de Goya, cuando se encara con lo risueño y humano de la vida." Ramón Gómez de la Serna, 39. Recently, Valeriano Bozal has stated that the cartoons render "an integrated, happy and optimist society" marked by the unproblematic mingling of the high and the low. See V. Bozal, 89. For a dissenting perspective see Janis A. Tomlinson's thoughtful and provocative readings of the social interaction of aristocrats and majos in Goya's cartoons. J. A. Tomlinson, "Come then to the fair" in Francisco de Goya, 65-94. Tomlinson advises a more cautious appraisal of Goya's rapport with popular culture, which would take into consideration a degree of ambivalence. However, she has also advanced a consideration of Goya as a "painter of mediation." See idem, Goya in the Twilight of Enlightenment (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 168.

456. "A la evocación de su nombre surge otro Madrid en el

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Madrid actual y otra España en la España de hoy". Gómez de la Serna, Goya, 23.

457. "La pintura de Goya, decía, ahora más que nunca, parece que quiere metérsenos por los ojos . . . [P]orque ahora, más que nunca, el entendimiento revolucionario español, o sea, la revelación popular de España, se nos ofrece en España con intensidad expresiva dramáticamente insuperable. Y Goya es un reflejo, una transparencia de esa voluntad popular revolucionaria española. La pintura de Goya es como su revelación permanente. Que por serlo, se nos actualiza, ahora, sobre todo. . . . Pues esta plenitud temporal revolucionaria, reveladora del pubelo español, adquiere en la pintura de Goya su expresión eterna. . . . [N]os empuja hacia esa cólera, hacia esa furia, auténticamente popular . . . para vencer, en suma, a un mundo muerto, creando una vida nueva. . . . Para hacernos, verdaderamente, de nuevas". José Bergamín, "Pintar como querer (Goya, todo y nada de España)," Hora de España (Valencia), vol. 1, no. 1-5 (May 1937): 342.

458. "Dudo que sin la experiencia propia de ese entusiasmo revolucionario popular que hoy vivimos —y convivimos— los españoles, pueda ningún hombre . . . darse cuenta exacta de la plenitud de sentido y valor permanente que tiene para nosotros, la pintura de Goya". Bergamín, 343. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from Spanish into English are mine.

459. Valentín Sambricio, "Aspectos inéditos de la vida de Goya: Goya no fue afrancesado" and the Marquis de Lozoya, "Casticismo y universalidad de Goya," both in Arriba, 31 March 1946.

460. Granados' opera was subject to a comparable appropriation by Franco's cultural elite. It was chosen to inaugurate the first post-Civil War season at Barcelona's Liceo Theater on December 10, 1939. When *Goyescas* was performed in Berlin, the periodical Destino (October 26, 1940) asserted that Granados' score implicitly breathed Spain's ethnic temperament in every single note. "La música de Granados infundirá . . . el fuego de nuestro espíritu racial latente en cada nota de la partitura". Quoted in Carol Hess, Enrique Granados (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 57.

461. Victor Alcaide Nieto explores this identification of Franco's avant-garde with Goya in an essay in the exhibition catalogue, Del Surrealismo al Informalismo. Arte de los años cincuenta (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, Consejería de Cultura, Dirección General del Patrimonio Cultural, 1991), 72-75. See also María Isabel Cabrera García, Tradición y

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vanguardia en el pensamiento artístico español (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1998), 277.

462. The reactionary critic, J.M. Junoy, depicted a Goya at home both among plebeians and aristocrats. He stated: "Goya was an intimate friend of La Tirana, La Caramba and Rita Luna —who were the duchesses and marchesses of the common people— and attended the salons of Alba, Alcañices, and Osuna —who were, so to speak, the Caramba and Tirana of the upper classes." (*Goya fue amigo íntimo de la Tirana, de la Caramba, de la Rita Luna —que eran las duquesas y las marquesas de abajo— y frequentaba los salones de la de Alba, de la de Alcañices, y de la Osuna —que eran las Caramba y las Tirana, por decirlo así, de arriba.*) La Tirana, La Caramba and Rita Luna were three of the most popular actresses of Goya's age. Alba, Alcañices and Osuna were three aristocratic families of ancient lineage. See J.M. Junoy, Sentido del arte español (Barcelona: Ediciones Aymá, 1944), 25.

463. For a consideration of *plebeyismo* see José Ortega y Gasset, "Goya"; and idem, Invertebrate Spain, translated by Mildred Adams (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1937); Julio Caro Baroja, Temas castizos (Madrid: Taurus, 1980). For an analysis of parallel phenomena in Europe see Peter Burke, Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe (London: T. Smith, 1978).

464. Carmen Martín Gaite, Love Customs in 18th-century Spain (Usos amorosos del dieciocho), translated by Maria G. Tomsich (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), especially chapter 2, 42-71.

465. See Ortega y Gasset, "Goya," 113.

466. The *majos* adopted native styles of fashion and speech, affected airs of superiority, and profited from every occasion to show their scorn for the values of the *afrancesados*, a pejorative name for those enamored of foreign ideas, especially the philosophical and social principles of the Enlightenment. While the *majos* reigned in the tavern and the bull ring, the *majas* found their vocation in the theater and, in the *tonadilla*, a prime vehicle for self-expression.

The *maja* became an object of desire for noblemen and the new feminine ideal among fashionable aristocratic women. An active trendsetter among her peers, the Duchess of Alba led the way, grafting popular fads to her public image, and surrounding herself with an entourage of commoners which included famous bullfighters like Pedro Romero, Costillares, and Pepe Hillo, and singers La Tirana and La Caramba. Legend

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also has it that the Duchess socialized with her servants, mastered street slang and danced *fandangos* from a tender age. Gómez de la Serna vouched for Alba's *casticismo* on the basis alone of her birth in the heart of Madrid's popular quarters. He wrote: "La duquesa de Alba es castiza porque ha nacido en el barrio de la gitanería, en los barrios bajos, casi en la cabecera del Rastro". R. Gómez de la Serna, Don Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (Buenos Aires: Ed. Poseidon, 1942), 74-75. For a short biography of the Duchess of Alba and an account of her relationship with Goya see idem, Goya, 117-144.

467. On the one hand, Martín Gaite suggests that *plebeyismo* functioned as a means for the nobility to redefine their difference from the bourgeoisie's mimicry of aristocratic styles. On the other hand, arising at a time of eroding political leadership for the grandees, *plebeyismo* may have been a calculated move by the ruling class to regain legitimacy with the people, who felt largely alienated from the reforms implemented by politicians like Gaspar de Jovellanos (1744-1811).

468. "Contra los que amenazaban destruir las más genuinas y arraigadas tradiciones del pueblo español". Quoted in Sambricio, 78.

469. "Un trasunto fiel y poético de los únicos elementos nacionales que quedaban en aquella sociedad confusa y abigarrada". Quoted in Sambricio, 81.

470. For instance, a Royal Order of 1784 was issued against the practice of aristocrats masquerading as commoners (gypsies, contrabandists, bullfighters, and butchers), with the consequent erosion of class distinctions effected through attire. See Bozal, 39.

471. Calvo Serer appropriated Ortega's metaphor and spoke of "revertebrating" Spain's social body, restoring the masses to their role as extremities guided by a head. See Rafael Calvo Serer, España sin problema (Madrid: Rialp, 1949).

472. "[. . .] en el continuo y prolongado contacto con el pueblo, de frequentar su trato y celebrar sus chistes, de remedar sus gustos y su lenguaje y de casi vivir su vida". Sambricio, 82.

473. "Llamarla democracia sería impropio, porque es anterior y superior a toda ley y a toda política . . . No es por haber leído a Rousseau sino porque la sal de Lavapies les baila en el cuerpo por lo que van a las tascas y verbenas y se visten de majas las duquesas". Llampayas, 230.

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474. Guirnaldas de la Historia. Historia de la cultura española contada a las niñas, 8th edition (Madrid: Editorial Escuela Española 1958), 164. One finds an interesting parallel in criticisms leveled in the 1940s against women who favored American fashion and lifestyles. "Do not be fooled by that type of woman that blossoms in the favorable climate of our multi-faceted society, that snobbish female who adores every extravagant thing and would die for anything foreign. That sort has nothing to do with the Spanish woman and, if anything, is the deplorable translation of a model unworthy of imitation." (*No hay que dejarse engañar por ese tipo de mujer que florece en el clima propicio de nuestra polifacética sociedad, esa fémina ansiosa de "snobismo" que adora lo extravagante y se perece por lo extranjero. Tal tipo nada tiene que ver con la mujer española, y todo lo más, es la traducción deplorable de un modelo nada digno de imitar.*) Agustín Isern, Y, September 1943, quoted in Carmen Martín Gaite, Usos amorosos de la postguerra española (Barcelona: Anagrama, 1987), 26-7.

475. "Reflejo fiel y evocador de una de las épocas más importantes de España, en que el tipismo clásico y hondo nacido de la misma entraña del pueblo luchaba contra el extranjerismo y la moda no sólo ridícula, sino también afeminada, que quisieron imponer los franceses". J.S. Parada, "Una película digna de España."

476. España es así, 240.

477. The charm and sassy demeanor projected by these performers won them favor with the nobility of the eighteenth century as well as the loyal following of the people. Prominent noblewomen such as the Duchess of Alba and the Duchess of Osuna, who were on the cutting edge of their era's fashions and trends, lent the weight of their rank and the benefit of their admiration to their singing protegees, often setting the stage for highly publicized rivalries. The funeral of one such star *tonadillera*, María Ladvenant, dead prematurely at the age of twenty-five, drew huge crowds in mourning. See C. Martín Gaite, Love Customs, 66.

478. For an elucidation of the term "bicultural" see Burke, chapter 1.

479. The Anuario Cinematografico Hispanoamericano described *Goyescas* as the story of "*manolas* who are duchesses and gentlemen disguised as blacksmiths" (*manolas que son duquesas y chisperos que encubren a grandes señores.*" See "Goyescas," Anuario Cinematografico Hispanoamericano (Madrid: Sindicato Nacional del Espectáculo, 1950), 223, quoted in Gubern, 367.

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Although *Goyescas* only narrates a one-way transaction of identity, namely Petrilla is never given the opportunity to impersonate the Countess, the fluidity and instability of Perojo's text allows for such a possibility. It is rather the conservative nature of plebeyismo and the reactionary atmosphere of post-Civil War Spain that suppresses that subplot.

480. "Vistiéndola de *maja* como tú, no sabríamos en verdad quién es Petrilla". (Soundtrack.)

481. *The innkeeper* (addressing the Countess): "Petrilla, milady, I do not know what I am saying, but it makes no difference. (*Petrilla, señora, no sé lo que digo, pero es igual.*)

Captain Pizarro: "What do you mean it makes no difference? (*¿Cómo que es igual?*)

482. Félix Fanés, Il Cays Cifesa. Vinqt ans de cine espanyol (1932-1952) (Valencia: Textos Filmoteca Valencia, 1989), pp 218-220. After a handful of titles in 1939-42, plots revolving around mistaken identities become overwhelmingly prevalent in successive years; nearly half of the films produced between 1942-45 by CIFESA, the leading Spanish studio, deal with the subject, including such pictures as Iquino's *El difunto es un vivo* (1941) and *Un marido a precio fijo* (1941), and Rafael Gil's *Huella de luz* (1942) and *El fantasma y Doña Juanita* (1944). Given that CIFESA comedies were addressed primarily to an urban middle class, Fanés notes how the theme of social climbing is often linked to and at one with that of mistaken identity: the latter advances the former. Incidentally, many films by other production companies besides Cifesa dwell on the topic as well. *Goyescas* is one of them. In fact, throughout his career Perojo resorted oftentimes to the motif of the double. See Gubern, 463. Furthermore, mistaken identity was not a theme exclusive to Franco's cinema. Italian white telephone comedies of the Mussolini era like Mario Camerini's *Il Signor Max* (1937) and Mario Soldati's *Dora Nelson* (1939) mine similar terrain.

Sigmund Freud and Otto Rank's classic studies of the uncanny offer psychoanalytic interpretations of the literary motif of the doppelgänger. See Sigmund Freud, "The Uncanny" (1919) in The Standard Edition, volume 17 (London: Hogarth Press, 1955); and Otto Rank, The Double: a Psychoanalytic Study (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971). Siegfred Kracauer and Thomas Elsaesser have examined the motif in the context of Weimar cinema. See S. Kracauer, From Caligari to Hitler. A Psychological History of the

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German Film (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947); and Thomas Elsaesser, "Social Mobility and the Fantastic. German Silent Cinema," Wide Angle 5, no. 2 (1982): 14-25.

483. To achieve this effect Perojo employed two separate writers, in another instance of doubling, to provide dialogueue for Imperio Argentina: Luis Vargas penned the Countess' words whereas Antonio Quintero added spice to Petrilla's lines.

484. "Esta mezcolanza de lo culto y lo popular era un componente esencial, no accidental, del proyecto cultural de *Goyescas*, en su discurso en torno a las clases sociales aristocrática y plebeya. De alguna manera esta yuxtaposición o contraste era una razón de ser de *Goyescas*". Gubern, 369. In spite of Falange's call for social justice, class entitlements were being actively reinstated in the aftermath of the war through the dismantling of land reform and the squelching of labor activism.

485. See Rafael Abella, Por el Imperio hacia Dios: crónica de una Posguerra 1939-1955, Barcelona: Planeta, 1978.

486. "*Goyescas* es la gran película especular de la España de la postguerra." Gubern, 368.

487. See Paloma Aguilar, Memoria y olvido de la guerra civil (Madrid: Alianza, 1996), 113.

488. Petrilla sings to the Countess: "Your ladyship, you do not reach with all your crimson the satin tip of my chopines." (*Usía no me llega con sus carmines al pespunte del raso de mis chopines.*) In another moment, Petrilla arrogantly belittles the Countess: "She is not much of a Countess to dare laugh at Petrilla." (*Es muy poco la Condesa para reírse de Petrilla*). Soundtrack.

489. *Petrilla*: "There are only two women here." (*Aquí no hay más que dos mujeres.*)

Countess: "But of very different social standing . . . even though you are insolent enough to resemble me." (*Pero de distinta condición . . . aunque tengas el descaro de parecerte a mí.*)

Petrilla: "You are honored to resemble me." (*Es usted quién tiene el honor de parecerse a mí.*) (Soundtrack.)

490. Petrilla admits to the Countess: "I know we are not equal." (*Sé que no somos iguales.*) (Soundtrack.)

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491. A description of the film in Primer Plano suggested that Petrilla's bleak future would soon change for the better thanks to the Countess' intercession: "(La condesa) se siente tan feliz al adentrarse en los brazos del Capitán Pizarro como la tonadillera lo será en brazos del bandolero, cuyo perdón regio no será dificil de obtener si el capitán y la condesa se lo proponen." "*Goyescas* en Venecia," Primer Plano no. 101, 20 September 1942.

492. "Caminito adelante que voy buscando, yo voy buscando/unos ojos muy negros de contrabando, de contrabando/ aunque me tema que al ver sus ojos no me resista/y me haga para siempre contrabandista". (Soundtrack.)

493. Manuel Vázquez Montalbán has discussed the importance of songs as cultural vehicles of potentially resistant meanings in the 1940s. See M. Vázquez Montalbán, Crónica sentimental de España (Barcelona: Lumen, 1971). Filmmaker Basilio Martín Patiño directed a famous documentary, *Canciones para después de una guerra* (1971), that featured newsreel images set to many popular songs from this period. The film was banned by Franco's administration, a fact that indicates how these apparently innocuous tunes could be read against the grain and still convey dissent decades later.

494. Petrilla's ditty sets off an associative chain of meaning —contrabandists, fugitive republicans, communist guerillas— that could not have gone unnoticed in as a rarefied context as the early post-Civil War. The Romantic cliché of the Andalusian bandit tends to obscure its origins in poverty and social disenfranchisement. Some of the most mythic nineteenth-century *bandidos* such as El Empecinado fought the absolutist rule of Ferdinand VII.

495. *Goyescas* thrives in intertextuality: the sainetes of Ramón de la Cruz, the various musical influences that converge in the soundtrack —Granados' opera, *tonadillas*, zarzuelas— and the distant example of Central European operettas on film, Italian calligraphic films, and the españoladas Perojo himself made in Berlin.

For an overview of the presence of Goya's art in Spain's cinema see Cristina Cadafalch and Carmen Granados, "Goya y su influencia en el cine español de la posguerra: una aproximación através de los directores Benito Perojo, Juan de Orduña y Luis Buñuel," Goya 250 años después 1746-1996 (Marbella: Congreso Internacional, Museo del Grabado Español Contemporáneo, 1996), 479-490.

496. Antonio Costa, Cinema e pittura (Torino: Loescher,

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1993), 152-156.

497. The dichotomy of Goya's painting shaped the evolution of two distinct tendencies in Spanish nineteenth-century art: the Andalusian school of *pintoresquismo* represented by Valeriano Domínguez Bécquer (1834-1870), among others, and the Madrilenian Romantic school headed by Eugenio Lucas (1824-1879) and Leonardo Alenza (1807-1845). If the first current, affable, sensuous, and lighthearted, looked back to the cartoons, the second one, with its darker, hallucinatory, and often tragic outlook, stemmed from Goya's *Disparates* and the Black paintings. Notwithstanding their differences, both tendencies were implicated in the ongoing battle over the signs of Spanish identity. Andalusian *pintoresquismo* at its most meretricious degenerated into an export-oriented cottage industry devoted to the mass-production of pleasing stereoptypical depictions of Spain for wealthy foreigners. Conversely, the haunted, saturnine painting of Lucas and Alenza was alternately exploited and attacked to validate or denounce the myths (poverty, violence, atavism, and fanaticism) of *la España negra* (Black Spain). See Francisco Calvo Seraller, Imagen romántica de España (Madrid: Alianza, 1995), 32-40; and idem, Del futuro al pasado: Vanguardia y tradición en el arte contemporaneo español (Madrid: Ed. Alianza, 1988), 9-25.

498. Authentic tapestries were loaned by the Patrimonio Artístico Nacional. Imperio Argentina's name appears over the tapestry of The Dressed Maja, Perojo's over Fight at the New Inn and the title of the film, *Goyescas*, over The Parasol. Goya's works materialize in the opening sequence in the following order:

1) The Kite 2) The Dressed Maja 3) The Parasol 4) The Stiltwalkers 5) Fight at the New Inn 6) The Toper 7) La Gallina Ciega 8) The Mannequin 9) The Wedding 10) The Picnic and 11) The Blind Guitarist.

499. Marcia Landy, The Folklore of Consensus. Theatricality in the Italian Cinema, 1930-1943 (Albany: SUNY Press, 1998), 42.

500. See Mary Ann Doane, "Film and the Masquerade: Theorising the Female Spectator," Screen 23, no.3-4 (1982): 74-87.

501. Perojo's silent films already showed a predilection for imaginative dissolves, wipes and superimpositions. In *La verbena de la Paloma* (1935) he employed a dolly shot along the facade of a building and a tracking shot following a tram

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in, and in *The Barber of Seville* there is a long tracking shot that moves from one room into the next.

502. Guillermo Díaz Plaja, "Some brief Goyesque comments. (On the occasion of the Centenary)," quoted in Agustín Sánchez Vidal, "Góngora, Buñuel, the Spanish Avant-Garde and the centenary of Goya's Death" in The Spanish Avant-Garde, ed. Derek Harris, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 119.

503. "(Goya) ha lanzado a los españoles a revisar nada menos que toda la historia de España . . . Yo veo en Goya, por eso, la figuración patética, más trágica e interesante de nuestra vida nacional". Giménez Caballero, 274, 290.

504. Luis Gómez Mesa, for instance, held out this opinion, critiquing what he perceived to be a crass commercialism looming behind Perojo's emphasis on the picturesque aspects of Goya's era and art. See Luis Gómez Mesa, review of *Goyescas*, by Benito Perojo, Pueblo, 10 October 1942.

505. Antonio Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks, ed. and trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1978).

506. The war of Spanish Independence (1808-1814) was the subject of several films from the 1940s, including *El abanderado* (1943), *El tambor del Bruch* (1948), *Sangre de Castilla* (1950) and *Agustina de Aragón* (1950). On the one hand, these films invoke the trope of an invaded motherland and thus appeal to a zealous nationalism. On the other, they use the ideological split of 1800 Spain as an indirect allusion to the Civil War. The former conflict exposed for the very first time the estrangement between a progressive and a reactionary Spain; the latter resolved that discord in an exhausting bloodshed. Both wars witnessed the intervention of foreign powers on Spanish soil and forced numerous Spaniards on the road to exile. Nevertheless, the films of the 1940s stress the depiction of a unified front against Napoleon's army and gloss over the participation of liberals and their efforts during the war to abolish absolutism and impose a liberal democracy. For an overview of the political climate in Goya's era and some insightful remarks on the tumult of Aranjuez see Gwyn A. Williams, Goya and the Impossible Revolution (New York: Pantheon, 1976).

507. Janis A. Tomlinson observes in a study of Goya's genre paintings that the *ilustrados*, the partisans of the Enlightenment, often envisioned the masses as *vulgo*, associating it with tradition, ignorance and superstition,

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and assigning it "the role of adversary." See J.A. Tomlinson, "Visualizing el Vulgo: Observations on the Genre paintings of Francisco de Goya" in Consortium on Revolutionary Europe 1750-1850, ed. Donald D. Horward, John C. Horgan (Tallahassee: Florida State University, 1990), 742.

Ortega y Gasset found a comparable ambiguity in Goya's *Caprichos* and *Desastres de la guerra*: was he exalting or condemning his popular subjects? Ortega y Gasset, "Goya," 120.

508. Elizabeth Cowie, Representing the Woman: Cinema and Psychoanalysis (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 1997), 217-218.

509. Cowie, 268.

510. Film historian José María Caparrós Lera has classified 57 films as musicals, out of a total sound production of 101 titles. The figure includes Hollywood-type musicals, operettas, folkloric films, and adaptations of zarzuelas. See J.M. Caparrós Lera Arte y política en el cine de la República, 1931-1939 (Barcelona: Universitat, 1981), 265.

511. Charles Tashiro, "When History Films (Try to) Become Paintings," Cinema Journal 35, no. 3 (Spring 1996): 19-33.

512. Tashiro, 30.

513. Gubern repeatedly stresses Perojo's dissafection from Franco's regime and his refusal to direct sheer propaganda or bombastic epics. Gubern, 288-289. Conversely, conservative cultural historian Fernando Vizcaíno Casas cites how Perojo's presence in Nazi Germany and Mussolini Italy prior to his prompt return to Spain at the end of the war imply tacit sympathy for Franco's cause. See F. Vizcaíno Casas and Ángel A. Jordán, De la checa a la meca. Una vida de cine (Barcelona: Ed. Planeta, 1988).

514. Gubern, 369. Petrilla in particular emerges as a model of autonomy and self-reliance. Several lines of dialogueue allude explicitly to her wilfulness: "When I want something you bet I get it." (*Cuando quiero algo vaya si lo consigo.*) At one point she tells the innkeeper, "The Minister may rule in Spain but I rule in my province." (*El ministro mandará en España pero yo mando en mi provincia.*)

Gubern's thesis that the cinema of *franquismo* was as a whole mainly male-oriented is highly questionable. In any case, examining the images of masculinity in *Goyescas*,

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Captain Pizarro personifies the military ethos, the reign of law and order. He is a little dry and boring like most Facist heroes committed to higher causes. Nuévalos, by contrast, comes across as a hedonist and his uncertain future envelops him in a romantic aura. In a less obvious way Perojo continues here his strategy of doubling, opposing severity and discipline, the cornerstones of much Falangist rhetoric, to pleasure and recklessness.

515. See "Psicoanálisis de Benito Perojo," ABC, 26 January 1964, quoted in Gubern, 371. He also mentions *La verbena de la Paloma* and *Marianela*.

516. Gubern, 374-375. He points out that Perojo was about to depart for Argentina in the winter of 1942 but postponed the trip when *Goyescas* was given a green light. On Perojo's change of heart see an interview in Primer Plano, no. 72, 1 March 1942.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN (pages 230-280)

517. As early as the eighteenth century, the remarkable success of Escenas andaluzas, a collection of short plays by Serafín Estébanez Calderón, aka el Solitario (1799-1867), initiated a fad for all things Andalusian that flourished during Romanticism with the arrival of foreign travelers, many of them artists and writers. See Julio Caro Baroja, Temas Castizos (Madrid: Istmo, 1980). The commodification of popular Andalusian culture into spectacle and its subsequent transformation into mass culture accelerated in the nineteenth century. See José Ortega y Gasset, Teoría de Andalucía, Second edition (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1944).

518. Malvaloca proved a popular topic. Benito Perojo had already directed a silent version in 1926 and Ramón Torrado would helm a third adaptation in 1954. Marquina's *Malvaloca* was co-produced by CIFESA and UPCE at a cost of 900,000 pesetas; shooting took place between March 9 and May 20, 1942 in Barcelona's Trilla Orphea Studios. Apparently Marquina and CIFESA's interest in the project predated the Civil War, an instance of continuity within Spain's film industry.

519. Joaquín and Serafín Álvarez Quintero, Malvaloca in Obras completas, vol. 2, third edition (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1967), 2703-2779.

520. John Hopewell, Out of the Past: Spanish Film after Franco (London: British Film Institute, 1986), 39. Hopewell acknowledges that his interpretation of Marquina's film is

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indebted to an unpublished paper, "Malvaloca, melodrama latino y sacramental," which I have not read, presented by Jesús González Requena at the 1983 Valldolid Film Festival.

521. See Felix Fanés' entry on *Malvaloca* in Antología crítica del cine español 1906-1995, ed. Julio Pérez Perucha (Madrid: Cátedra/Filmoteca, 1997), 147-149. Fanés regards *Malvaloca* as an unusual, atypical film of the period that bespeaks a society in crisis and a community searching for its identity. See F. Fanés, El Cas CIFESA. Vint anys de cinema espanyol 1932-1951 (Valencia: Filmoteca de la Generalitat Valenciana, 1989), 199.

522. Throughout a corpus of over two hundred short plays and full-length comedies, melodramas, and dramas, the hugely successful Álvarez Quintero Brothers, Serafín (1871-1938) and Joaquín (1873-1944), elaborated a sentimental, picturesque and unproblematic view of Southern Spain in which social tensions and political discord yielded to an emphasis on local color and popular mores. The amiable and trouble-free image conjured up by their plays contrasted with the harsh realities of turn-of-the-century Andalusia: a backward and impoverished region wracked by hunger and social inequality; the abuses of wealthy landowners; the repressive policies of the *guardia civil* (civil guards), especially against gypsies; and bouts of violence (peasant uprisings, anarchist bombings, burnings of church property etc.). See the entry on the Quintero Brothers in Francisco Ruiz Román, Historia del teatro español de siglo XX, Third edition (Madrid: Cátedra, 1977), pp 49-53. For an overview of the critical history of the Quinteros' theater see Anselmo González Climent, Andalucía en los Quintero (Madrid: Escolier, 1956).

523. See Charles Affron, Cinema and Sentiment (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 17.

524. See Julio Pérez Perucha, El cinema de Luis Marquina (Valladolid: Semana Internacional de Cine de Valladolid, 1983), 7-9, 21-24. Luis Marquina, the son of renowned playwright and poet Eduardo Marquina (1879-1946), was destined for a career as an industrial engineer. His contacts with the Casanova family, founders of CIFESA, helped him secure instead a post of sound engineer in the studios CEA, after having spent two years abroad learning the latest in sound technology. Before long Marquina found his way into the director's chair: he completed his first assignment, *Don Quintín el Amargao*, for Filmófono in 1935 under Luis Buñuel's supervision. A work of debatable merit based on a sainete by Carlos Arniches, it exemplified the populist cinema made during the Second Spanish Republic. Marquina's next feature,

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El bailarín y el trabajador (The Dancer and the Worker, 1936), based on a screenplay of his own, and thought lost until recently, followed in a similar populist vein. With the outbreak of hostilities in 1936, Marquina took the path of exile and resided in Argentina until the end of the Civil War.

After the conflict ended, Marquina resumed his career under contract with CIFESA and worked in a variety of genres: folkloric musical comedies (*Torbellino*, 1941; *Filigrana*, 1949), sophisticated melodramas (*Vidas Cruzadas*, 1942; *Noche Fantástica*, 1943), historical epics (*Doña María la Brava*, 1948) and swashbucklers (*Capitán Veneno*, 1950). In the 1950s he founded his own production company, DIA, and gradually concentrated on producing other people's films. He directed his last feature in 1971.

525. Pérez Perucha's monograph includes excerpts from various print and radio interviews, as well as lectures, granted by Marquina throughout the 1940s. See Pérez Perucha, 124-154.

526. Marquina stated: "I believe the director should be invisible in his work. The work, in its whole and in its details, is everything . . . and, in short, the less it draws attention to itself in isolated, sundry values . . . then one can be precisely assured of having done a technically good and authentically cinematic job ... My major obsession was to avoid every unjustified movement, to impart a feeling of absolute normalcy to the character's reactions, to achieve the highest degree of neutrality in the actors, in short, to disappear as much as possible . . . if I am not less invisible it is because I ignore how to." Interview with Luis Marquina in Marca, 20 December 1942, quoted in Pérez Perucha, 131-132.

Marquina's pantheon of Hollywood directors included Borzage, Lubitsch, Hitchcock, and like so many other Spanish filmmakers, King Vidor. He offered this list of directors in an interview granted to the film magazine Fotogramas in 1943 and reproduced in Pérez Perucha, 123. He mentioned The Crowd as his favorite film.

527. Pérez Perucha, 8.

528. Fernando Méndez Leite, Historia del cine español, vol. 1 (Madrid: Rialp, 1965), 430.

529. See the review of *Malvaloca*, by Luis Marquina, Radiocinema, no. 81, 30 October 1942; review of *Malvaloca*, by

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Luis Marquina, Primer Plano, 8 October 1942; review of *Malvaloca*, by Luis Marquina, El Alcázar, 3 October 1932.

530. Review of *Malvaloca*, by Luis Marquina, Informaciones, 3 October 1942.

531. See the review of *Malvaloca*, by Luis Marquina, Ya, 4 October 1942.

532. "Una vida nada ejemplar que se dignifica al final, pero sobre la que pesará siempre la sombra de su pasado". Review of *Malvaloca*, by Luis Marquina, Pueblo, 4 October 1942.

533. According to Fanés, the censorship board approved the first version of the script, written by Rafael Gil, on August 1, 1941, but Joaquín Álvarez Quintero vetoed it. A revised version was greenlighted on January 12, 1942. Prior to authorizing the shooting permit, the censorship bureau requested that changes be made to the script's ending that reinforced the protagonist's repentance and upheld the sacrament of marriage.

Leonardo's final words in the script originally submitted for censorship approval were: "Siempre Malvaloca, a mi lado como tú te mereces, llevando mi nombre, unida a mí bajo la bendición de Dios". Judging that these words did not sufficiently exonerate Malvaloca from her sinful past, the censor suggested the following substitution: "Ven conmigo. Al pie del altar del que todo lo puede te serán perdonados tus pecados y los míos. Gozaremos de un hogar feliz. Te esperan mi hermana, mi casa y mis brazos".

Another earlier modification was suggested in Juanela's dialogue with Leonardo regarding whether Malvaloca should return to their home. I am reproducing below the censor's revised version:

Juanela: "No la dejes ir".

Leonardo: "¿Lo quieres tú?"

Juanela: "Lo quiero; es tu vida. Nuestra madre sonreirá desde arriba cuando purifiques tu amor ante el altar, y ella se lo merece porque he visto en sus lágrimas lo bueno de su corazón".

Leonardo: "Sí, bueno, digno de la redención de sus cuplas, del perdón de Dios, del tuyo, del mío".

Marquina adopted neither of these two suggested revisions in the finished film. A copy of *Malvaloca*'s script

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with the censor's comments may be consulted in the Film Department of the Archivo General de la Administración in Alcalá de Henares (Madrid).

534. Comparing Perojo's silent version to Marquina's, film historian Román Gubern states his preference for the former on account of Perojo's use of outdoor scenes and newsreel footage that enhance the picture's documentary-like realism. Gubern's opinion is just another instance of how easily Francoist cinema has been dismissed or devaluated for its failure to conform to a model of realism that is automatically assumed to be superior. For an analysis of Perojo's version of *Malvaloca* see Román Gubern, Benito Perojo. Pionerismo y supervivencia (Madrid: Filmoteca Nacional, 1995), 109-117.

535. Timothy Mitchell, Passional Culture. Emotion, Religion and Society in Southern Spain (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990).

536. Mitchell, 179.

537. Isidoro Moreno Navarro, La Semana Santa en Sevilla (Sevilla: Publicaciones Universitarias de Sevilla, 1982), 231.

538. See Isidoro Moreno Navarro, Andalucía. Identidad y Cultura (Málaga: Ed. Agora, 1993), 94-102.

539. Mitchell, 180.

540. At one point Malvaloca tells Salvador: "Estás contento a mi vera, pero en mi calabozo no entras. La cadenita de las lágrimas no te la echas tú al hombro" (soundtrack). Later in the film, when Leonardo declares his love, Malvaloca warns him that he will undoubtedly suffer for her cause. Leonardo tells her that there can be no love without sorrow.

541. Francisco Villaespesa called him "the supreme poet of the Andalusian soul" (*el poeta máximo del alma andaluza*), quoted in Alberto Villar Movellán, "Romero desde Romero," Julio Romero de Torres desde la Plaza del Potro (Madrid: Electa, 1994), 22.

542. Between 1905 and 1912 Romero participated in the annual Exposición Nacional de Bellas Artes, but in spite of the enthusiasm of key arbiters of advanced taste, such as Ramón Gómez de la Serna and Ramón del Valle-Inclán, his painting attained only limited success with jurors. By 1912 Romero's luck changed. A couple of works were bought by the State in

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1912 at the suggestion of King Alfonso XIII and his painting Retablo de Amor was awarded a medal at Barcelona's Sixth Exposición Internacional. Finally, the Exposición Nacional of 1915 displayed six paintings in a special room devoted exclusively to Romero's work. After that year he relocated to Madrid and found himself in demand as a society portraitist. His sales spiralled ever upwards and his one-man shows sold out regularly from London to Buenos Aires.

543. Francisco Calvo Serraller, "La hora de iluminar lo negro: Tientos sobre Julio Romero de Torres," Julio Romero de Torres (1874-1930), exhibition catalogue (Madrid: Fundación Mapfre Vida, 1993), 19-75. A shortened version is available in Francisco Calvo Serraller, Paisajes de Luz y Muerte. La pintura española del 98 (Barcelona: Tusquets, 1998), 55-87. Romero's combination of modernism and folkloric regionalism appealed as much to the Europeanized bourgeoisie of Catalunya, the middle classes of Argentina, or the Paris intelligentsia as to the people of agrarian Andalusia. See Villar Movellán, 22.

544. Lilly Litvak writes: "Puede decirse que la mujer es la única protagonista de su obra; inflamada por la pasión, apoyada lánguidamente en el quicio de la puerta desde donde se vislumbran escenas de celos y amor ardiente; melancólica y enlutada, tocada de mantilla, atormentada por la pasión religiosa, vendiendo su cuerpo por dinero". Lilly Litvak, Romero de Torres (Madrid: Electa, 1999), 40.

545. Upon his death, Romero's native city of Cordoba honored him with a massive outpouring of collective grief. Twenty-six cars bursting with garlands followed representatives of the major leftist parties and trade unions who walked displaying their insignia. The famous singer Conchita Piquer dedicated to his memory a song, "Adiós a Romero de Torres," that was on the lips of the entire nation. See Francisco Zueras Torrens, Julio Romero de Torres y su mundo (Córdoba: Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1987), 73, 119. Within a year of his death, the city of Cordoba turned the house where Romero was born into a museum.

546. Romero's very archaistic bent initially lent his art a revolutionary face, but as avant-garde movements occupied center stage, the painter came under attack because of that very retrograde sensibility. See Valeriano Bozal, Historia del Arte en España (Madrid: Istmo, 1978), 107. Writer José Moreno Villa dismissed Romero's painting as mannered and mellifluous. Other detractors denounced it as a spurious, reactionary depiction of Southern Spain, populated by valiant bullfighters, bronzed gypsies, languid beauties, and other

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commonplaces pandering to the decadent taste of the bourgeoisie. Even as late as 1974, certain circles dismissed Romero de Torres as "a painter who does not educate himself in school but in performances of flamenco; who does not read books; and who, every now and then, glances at a bill of 100 pesetas" (*Un pintor de un pueblo que no se culturiza en la escuela sino en los espectáculos flamencos, que no lee libros y que de vez en cuando contempla, mas o menos fugazmente, un billete de 20 duros*). Another critic lambasted Romero as "the most pathetic example of a vulgar regionalism that sinks to the lowest levels of folklore and traditionalism" (*El ejemplo mas lamentable de un regionalismo ramplón, que cae en los niveles más bajos del folklore y el casticismo*). See Zueras Torrens, 9.

547. Ana Basualdo, Julio Romero de Torres (Barcelona: Ed. Labor, 1980), 80. Critic Rafael Cansino Asséns wrote: "En los cuadros de Romero de Torres . . . está todo el drama andaluz expresado en su fatalidad mística y redimiéndose en una gloria de belleza". Rafael Cansino Asséns, La copla andaluza, 1933 (Sevilla: Ed. Andaluzas Unidas, reprt. 1985), 33.

548. Basualdo, 63. Basualdo links Romero's conflation of eroticism and spirituality to the decadent aesthetics of Symbolism, specifically to the influence of poet, novelist and playwright Ramón María del Valle-Inclán, one of the painter's staunchest supporters. In his writings, Valle Inclán advocated "a lyrical style of profanation" that may have left its imprint on Romero. Ibid., 64. Valle-Inclán was a sort of mentor for Romero de Torres and the staunchest advocate of his art. He praised Romero's painting at length, describing it as "una estética sutil que busca en las cosas aquel gesto misterioso que las hace únicas y durables". Ibid., 46. Calvo Serraller also proffers a Bataillean reading of Romero de Torres' painting. See Calvo Serraller, 78-99.

549. Basualdo, 63-64. For a look at this dichotomy in European nineteenth-century painting see Linda Nochlin, "Lost and *Found*. Once more the Fallen Woman" in Feminism and Art History: Questioning the Litany, ed. Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard (New York: Harper and Row, 1982), 221-242.

550. Cansino Asséns, 65. Calvo Serraller relates an anecdote that has Romero de Torres strolling down the streets of his native Córdoba mentally selecting fragments of female body parts —a woman's foot, another one's face or eyes— to create his ideal type.

551. Cecilio Barberán claimed: "Pintura más espiritual que la de Julio Romero de Torres no se ha producido en España

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desde los tiempos de los pintores primitivos". Cecilio Barberán, Julio Romero de Torres (Madrid: Ed. Afrodisio Aguado, 1947), 121.

552. This painting became a highly popular devotional image among the people of Córdoba; it was for some time preserved inside a ceramic altarpiece embedded in a wall of the hospital of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.

553. The Quintero Brothers premiered Malvaloca on April 6, 1912 in Madrid's Teatro de la Princesa, with famed actress María Guerrero starring in the title role. Until that year, Romero had exhibited regularly at the annual Exposicion Nacional de Bellas Artes with mixed success. His painting La Consagración de la Copla was ignored at the 1912 exhibition, but a group of prominent intellectuals organized a crowded, well-publicized dinner of reparation and awarded him a special medal. He was also admitted in 1912 to the Academy of Sciences, Belles Lettres, and Fine Arts in his native city of Córdoba.

554. Cansino Asséns, passim.

555. Quoted in Basualdo, 242.

556. Cansino Asséns maintained that his painting's roots in Andalusian folklore enabled Romero de Torres to express "el alma apasionada y pesimista de la raza" (the race's passionate and pessimistic soul). Cansino Asséns, 141. This tragic understanding of life, inflected by the omnipresence of pain and death, and its sublimation into artistic manifestations of refined elegance and sensuous appeal, has routinely been declared a trait of the Andalusian people. See Juan Fernando Ortega Muñoz, "Una aproximación al alma andaluza" in Apuntes para una teoría de Andalucía (Málaga: Ágora, 1992), 69-120.

557. Litvak, 13.

558. Charles Affron remarks how doorways and thresholds function as sites of affect charged with the emotional dynamics of entering and exiting, establishing boundaries between inside and outside space. As the setting for crossings and passages, doorways and thresholds frame transitions from stasis to motion; they contain presence and absence in configurations that echo the boundaries of the screen and the frame of a painting. Affron, 44.

559. Affron notes how the window functions as an important correlative for the frame of the cinematic screen,

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underlining the medium's specular nature. See Affron, 42-3. While the motif of the window usually emphasizes the act of seeing, in *Malvaloca* the protagonist's gaze offscreen introduces a contemplative and introspective kind of looking that tends to curb the narrative's forward drive. This is especially true because the spectator is never afforded a glimpse of what the character is looking at. In fact, rather than pointing to the act of outward seeing, these scenes figure a kind of inward seeing.

560. "La encontré en la calle. La dejo bajo techo. No se puede quejar". (Soundtrack.)

561. "The model [of the penitent woman] is as pertinent to men, thanks in part to the numerous images of Mary Magdalene that are carried through Andalusian streets during Holy Week." Mitchell, 82.

562. See Susan Haskins, Mary Magdalen. Myth and Metaphor (New York, San Diego & London: Harcourt Brace & Co.), 1993.

563. Haskins, 317-365. In Mitchell's view, Andalusia's Passional culture still refracts the figure of Mary Magdalen through a spiritual lens: "The prostitution of La Magdalena is not understood as a socio-economic but a moral problem, and in the end faith raises her from the mud." Mitchell, 82.

564. "El amor en las tierras del sur es un sentimiento tan absorbente y aquellas criaturas se entregan a él con tan absoluta devoción, que por fuerza ha de ser funesto, suplantando el lugar de todo su destino, sin dejar espacio para ninguna otra cosa, cerrándoles los horizontes, cegándoles, maniatándolas, haciéndolas vibrar con esa intensidad que aún en la dicha resulta dolorosa". Cansino-Asséns, 140-141.

565. "Rosa me puso mi madre para que fuese desgraciada, pues no hay rosa en el mundo que no muera deshojada". (Soundtrack.)

566. The festival in the background is known as a "Cruz de Mayo," which takes place in Andalusia in early May and features crosses made out of flowers. Households compete for prizes awarded to the best flower arrangements.

567. "Doblando el mapa caemos juntos". (Soundtrack.)

568. Anthropologist David Gilmore claims that Andalusian males tend to offset their socio-economic impotence with an assertion of their erotic potency. Gilmore writes, "The man

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ascribes a putative weakness to women, displacing his own feelings of inadequacy and vulnerability on her, making her a victim of sexual (but not physical) aggression." David Gilmore, Aggression and Community. Paradoxes of Andalusian Culture (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 150. On the subject of Andalusian codes of masculinity see Stanley Brandes (Metaphors of Masculinity. Sex and Status in Andalusian Folklore (Philadelphia: University of Pennyslvania Press, 1980).

569. His words to the innkeeper, as he hands him an envelope with money for Malvaloca, further underline his smugness and lack of sensitivity and empathy: "I found her on the street, I am leaving her with roof over her head. She cannot complain" (*La encontré en la calle, la dejo bajo techo, no se puede quejar*). (Soundtrack.)

570. "Si el primer hombre que a mí me pretendió de mocita hubieras sido tú —es un poner— con todo y con ser tú un hombre bueno, a estas horas sería yo lo mismo que soy: una desgraciá. Si el primer hombre que da conmigo es ese hombre . . . ¡Otra sería mi suerte"! (Soundtrack.)

571. Leonardo tells Malvaloca: "Te respeterán todos, te perdonarán todos, todos olvidarán lo que fuiste". (Soundtrack.)

572. Georges Bataille, Erotism. Death and sensuality, trans. Mary Dalwood (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1986), 107.

573. Bataille, 39.

574. At one point Leonardo tells Salvador of his passion for Malvaloca: "A mí me emboba. No sé si es por el contraste entre nuestras condiciones". (Soundtrack.)

575. Kaja Silverman, Male Subjectivity at the Margins (London & New York: Routledge, 1992).

576. Peter Brooks, The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama and the Mode of Excess (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976); Home is Where the Heart Is: Studies in Melodrama and the Woman's Film, ed. Christine Gledhill (London: BFI, 1987).

577. María-Antonietta Macciocchi, "Female Sexuality in Fascist Ideology," Feminist Review, (1977): 75. Macchiocchi argues that Fascism not only represses female sexuality, but also encourages the castration of men, sublimating male sexuality onto war and death.

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578. Bits of dialogue also seek the spectator's assent on the question of Malvaloca's merit. At one point, Leonardo asks a nun, "¿Verdad que es buena esta mujer?" The nun responds: "Sí, es buena; digna de que se la quiera con lealtad". (Soundtrack.) Here religious authority, the highest within the film's moral scale, certifies Malvaloca's virtue and worth.

579. On this point see Silverman, 198. Silverman elaborates this argument from Theodore Reik's ideas on moral or social masochism as refracted through Christian religious beliefs. See Theodore Reik, Masochism in Sex and Society, trans. Margaret H. Bersel and Gertrude M. Kurth (New York: Grove Press, 1962).

580. Antoine Vergotte, Guilt and Desire. Religious Attitudes and their Pathological Derivatives, trans. M. H. Wood (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

581. See Timothy Mitchell, The Betrayal of the Innocents. Desire, Power and the Catholic Church in Spain (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998).

582. On the subject of the Catholic revival in post-Civil War Spain see José Angel Tello Lázaro, Ideología y política. La Iglesia Católica española 1936-1959 (Zaragoza: Libros Portico, 1984); Rafael Díaz Salazar, El capital simbólico (Madrid: Ediciones HOAC, 1988), pp 41-45; Feliciano Blázquez, La traición de los clérigos en la España de Franco (Madrid: Ed. Trotta, 1991); and Abel Hernández, El Quinto Poder (Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 1995).

583. The proselytizing activities of Acción Católica and its "misiones populares" were instrumental to the Church's quest to reform public morality and regain its lost influence among the working-class. In a speech at the head office of Acción Católica, Franco reaffirmed his support to this mission: "Hay que recristianizar a esa parte del pueblo, envenenada por doctrinas de corrupción. Para hacer esta labor antes había que luchar contra la obra del gobierno. Ahora podéis apoyaros en el poder para realizarla. . . ." Ecclesia, 1 January 1941, 2.

584. Other events included ceremonies nationwide consecrating cities to the cult of the Sacred Heart of Jesus or Mary, the revival of Easter week festivities and other popular religious devotions, the restitution of images removed from holy sites, and the organization by youth groups of pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela. See Hernández, 28-34.

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585. See Blázquez, 59.

586. Fanés speaks of "a world of withered desires that seemingly feeds off anguished guilt" (*Un mundo de deseo marchito que parece alimentarse de culpas angustiosas*). Fanés, 149.

587. "Merecía esta serrana/ que la fundieran de nuevo/como funden las campanas." The only English translation published in the U.S. offers an alternative translation: "This little girl of whom I tell/Should be recast like a broken bell." Joaquín and Serafín Álvarez Quintero, Malvaloca, trans. Jacob S. Fassett (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Page & Co., 1916), 93. The Quintero Brothers had this to say about the process whereby this *copla* became the source of inspiration for Malvaloca: "La mujer bonita y buena que se pierde por hambre, por infección de un ambiente viciado o por engaño del señorito grosero y bestial es caso frequente en Andalucía. El dolor resignado de una de ellas, por lo que considera instintivamente irremediable, y el atormentado y sin consuelo del pobre amante que en su locura llega a querer fundirla como una campana, para que siendo la misma, la vean nueva y sin mancha sus ojos, nos parecieron hermoso tema para escribir un drama". Joaquín and Serafín Álvarez Quintero, Obras completas, vol. 7 (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1953), 8815, quoted in González Climent, 132.

588. The Spanish cinema of the 1940s is usually thought of as unduly prudish; censors were known to remove kisses and all hints of sexual activity from both national and foreign movies. Yet in *Malvaloca* the brief kiss between Leonardo and Malvaloca is quite passionate.

589. Hopewell, 39.

590. Silverman, 54-55.

591. "Cuando vuelva a sonar la Golondrina parecerá que su hijo la llama de nuevo". (Soundtrack.)

592. This sequence begins with Malvaloca's departure from Juanela's home and lasts approximately three minutes and twenty seconds on the video version viewed for this study.

593. The words to the entire *saeta* are: "Clavado en el madero/ay, niños del valle, es divino./ Tú eres rey del mundo entero./Señálame tú mi camino,/ilumina mi sendero". (Soundtrack.) The original play offered a different saeta: "Señó [sic] que ar [sic] mundo viniste/para remediá [sic] sus males/ampara desde tu Cruz/la rosa de mis rosales". Joaquín

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and Serafín Álvarez Quintero, Malvaloca, 2777. ("O Christ, thou blessed Redeemer/look down from Heaven above/and lay thy tenderest blessing/on this, the Child I love." *Malvaloca*, English translation, 146.)

594. "Siempre conmigo; llevando mi nombre y unidos bajo la bendición de Dios". (Soundtrack.)

595. See Thomas Elsaesser, "Tales of Sound and Fury. Observations on the Family Melodrama" in Gledhill, 43-69; and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, "Minnelli and Melodrama," idem, 70-74.

596. "Empecé a quererte un día/ sin concederle importancia/ y cuando ví que te quería/fué tan grande la distancia/que ya no conseguía huir". (Soundtrack.)

597. "De amores todo el mundo tiene una historia/de amores y desengaños" (Soundtrack.)

598. "Mira ese tren que se aleja./Cómo se le vuelve el humo/hacia los campos que deja". (Soundtrack.)

599. Calvo Seraller, Paisajes, 85-86.

600. Ricardo León considered the Quinteros' women to be "españolas siempre . . . sin huella ni sombra de afectación extranjera". Quoted in González Climent, 113.

601. See Andrés Sopeña Monsalve, La morena de la copla (Barcelona: Grijalbo Mondadori, 1996).

602. "El arte debe ser alivio, descanso y recreo del espíritu más bien que excitación morbosa que lo desconcierte, lo aflija o lo aturda . . . Somos optimistas por que conocemos que hay dolor, pero ese dolor puede ser atenuado, y aún tener consuelo". Joaquín and Serafín Álvarez Quintero, "El arte del teatro," Obras completas, vol. 7, 9015, quoted in González Climent, 15-16.

In response to repeated objections to their amiable and sweet representation of Andalusia, the Quintero Brothers declared: "Hay muchos que nos critican lo que ellos llaman nuestra visión unilateral de la vida. Recuerdo que los críticos hablaron largo tiempo de que la Andalucía pintada por nosotros era siempre amable, optimista, graciosa, olía a flores y se deshacía en piropos. Y añadían que la Andalucía trágica, la triste, la que está llena de dolores, encorvada sobre los campos quemados de sol, hambrienta y sin hogar, no aparecía por parte alguna. Quizás tuvieran razón, pero nosotros nos hubiéramos traicionado a nosotros mismos en el

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caso de llevar a escena argumentos y situaciones que no hemos visto o no hemos sentido". José María Losada, Perfil de los hermanos Álvarez Quintero (1945), quoted in González Climent, 203.

603. Indeed, as early as 1909 Spain's fledging film producers sought in the works of the Sevillian playwrights a standard of quality with sufficient popular appeal to warrant the investment risk; by 1961 about thirty film adaptations had been made off their plays. During the silent era there were adaptations of La reina mora (José Buchs, 1922) and Malvaloca (Benito Perojo, 1926), among others; the arrival of sound in the 1930s brought the original screenplay, Aqua en el suelo (Eusebio Fernández Ardavín, 1934), a new version of La reina mora (Fernández Ardavín, 1936), and El genio alegre (Fernando Delgado, 1936-39). After the Civil War, eighteen adaptations were done from 1939 to 1961. Ten of these were made between 1939 and 1950: Benito Perojo's *Mariquita Terremoto* (1939); Julio Torremocha's *Cancionera* (1939); Fernando Delgado's *Fortunato* (1940); Fernández Ardavín's *Tierra y Cielo* (1940), based on an orignal screenplay by Joaqúin Álvarez Quintero; Fernando Delgado's *La Patria Chica* (1943) and *La Calumniada* (1947); Gonzalo Delgrás' *La Boda de Quinita Flores* (1943); Alejandro Ulloa's *Tambor y Cascabel* (1944), and Ladislao Vajda's *Cinco Lobitos* (1945); and, of course, Luis Marquina's version of *Malvaloca*.

604. According to Urrutia, this depoliticized, slice-of-life world of amusing, quick-witted plebeians who never challenged the status and entitlements of their betters naturalized an unjust class system, a mode of production based on the exploitation of dispossessed farm laborers, and the power and privileges of the Catholic Church. Jorge Urrutia, "El cine sobre los Quintero: Una visión de Andalucía, una simbolización de España" in El cine en Andalucía, ed. Rafael Utrera & Juan Fabián Delgado (Utrera: Editorial Argantonio, 1986), 47-54.

The Quintero Brothers themselves proposed a model for a Spanish cinema that would be grounded in "what is specific and essential to the race: our way of feeling, our idiosyncrasy, our accent, our rich and picturesque way of being . . . our Spanishness" (*Lo que es privativo y esencial de la raza —nuestro sentir, nuestra idiosincracia, nuestro acento, nuestra modalidad, rica y pintoresca . . . nuestro españolismo*). Interview with Joaquín Álvarez Quintero in Primer Plano (1942), quoted in Urrutia, 48.

605. Slavoj Žižek, The Sublime Object of Ideology (London/New York: Verso, 1989).

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606. After the end of the Civil War many female relatives of dead or incarcerated Republican sympathizers, forced to earn a living on their own, resorted to prostitution. The phenomenon was widespread enough to warrant the creation of government organisms and ecclesiastical institutions directed at curbing the problem. See Assumpta Roura, Mujeres para después de una guerra (Barcelona: Flor del Viento, 1998).

607. Rafael Cansino Asséns was among the first to establish this connection. Cansino maintained that the painter's works resembled *coplas* in their succinct expression of the passionate and pessimistic soul of Andalusia. He wrote, "Cada uno de estos lienzos es una copla". Cansino Asséns, 33. Ramón Pérez Ayala claimed that comments to Romero's pictures should be rendered in coplas. See Basualdo, 242.

608. On the affective power of the human voice see Affron, 106-131.

NOTES TO CHAPTER EIGHT (pages 281-321)

609. The provincial government of the city of Cádiz, home to one of Spain's most ebullient and notorious carnivals, reasoned the prohibition in these terms: "The time Spain is living through is not the most propitious for the rear guard to be celebrating the forthcoming festivities of Carnival. The blood spilt, the lives relinquished for the reconquest, the pain, and the remembrance of so many loved ones remind those who are not fighting in the front that a New Spain demands sacrifices, austerity, hardship, moral behavior, while the aforementioned celebrations are an excuse for release, joy, but also for excesses which are in flagrant contradiction with the war." (*Los momentos por los que España atraviesa no son los más propicios para que la retaguardia celebre las próximas fiestas de Carnaval. La sangre derramada, las vidas entregadas por su reconquista, el dolor y el recuerdo de tantos seres queridos traen a la memoria de los que no luchan en los frentes de guerra, que la Nueva España exige de todos sacrificios, austeridad, privaciones, moralidad de costumbres, siendo las expresadas fiestas motivo de expansión, de alegrías, pero que también dan lugar a los excesos que tan en contraposición se encuentran con la guerra.*) Quoted in José Manuel Medina Tamayo, "Algunas notas sobre la prohibición del carnaval de Cádiz bajo el régimen de Franco," Actas del Quinto Congreso del Carnaval (Cádiz: Fundación Gaditana del Carnaval, 1992), 53.

This contingent prohibition became indefinite after 1941 and Cádiz's carnival would not resume its former splendor until after Franco's death in 1975. During the post-Civil War

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period a few private balls, restricted to the upper echelons of power, were nonetheless permitted and after 1949 the *Coros Gaditanos* (local folkloric associations of dancers, singers and musicians) were allowed to perform under tight supervision and censorshi Within this climate of repression and supression, oral testimonies speak of discreet gatherings at home where small groups of individuals celebrated carnival with contestatory songs. Medina Tamayo, 57.

610. "(Es) un aguafuerte español. . . Hay películas que tienen como misión esencial desarollar una plástica, un fondo, un ambiente. *Domingo de carnaval* es un *sainete* madrileño en 1917, en el Rastro y en los tres días de Carnestolendas. Todo lo alucinante que tienen los cuadros de máscaras de Solana, toda la algarabía del Entierro de la Sardina de Goya es lo que ha inspirado esta película". Interview with Edgar Neville, Radiocinema, no. 117, 30 November 1945.

611. If *plebeyismo* describes the ruling class' predilection for popular culture, *costumbrismo* comprises the visual and literary manifestations of this phenomenon. Margarita Ucelay in her pioneering study of the classic book Los españoles pintados por si mismos (Spaniards painted by themselves) defines *costumbrismo* as a literary, and by extension, artistic genre marked by the depiction of characters or scenes with a satirical or sociological intent. Although the sources of *literatura costumbrista* go back to the sixteenth-century picaresque novel, the genre flourished in the nineteenth century with the expansion of printed media, the rise of journalism, and the accompanying surge in short essays and stories. *Costumbrismo* attempted to challenge hackneyed and distorted foreign images of Spanishness, but almost as often indulged in the very stereotypes it set out to critique. It celebrated Spain's *difference;* however, taken to its extremes, this emphasis risks collapsed back into the picturesque, presenting a circumscribed, reductive vision of Spain, limited mostly to Madrid and Andalusia. Spanish intellectuals since the Enlightenment have been traditionally ambivalent towards the figures of *costumbrismo: majos* and *majas,* gypsy dancers and guitarists, bullfighters, bandits, and smugglers. Their brand of *casticismo* was frequently coded as backward and anti-modern. For an in-depth examination of *litertura costumbrista* see Margarita Ucelay, Los españoles pintados por si mismos (Mexico: FCE, 1951); and the classic studies by Julio Caro Baroja, Ensayo sobre la literatura de cordel (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1969); and idem, Temas castizos (Madrid: Taurus, 1980).

612. See Mikhail Bakhtin, Rabelais and His World, trans.

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Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984).

613. Edgar Neville was born in Madrid on December 28, 1899, the son of a British engineer and a Spanish aristocrat. He published his first collection of short stories, Adán y Eva, in 1926, staged his first play in 1927, and wrote his first novel in 1929. In 1928 he was appointed to the Spanish embassy in Washington. Shortly after his arrival in the U.S. he traveled to California and befriended Mary Pickford, Douglas Fairbanks, and Charles Chaplin, among others. Smitten by the cinema, Neville sought employment first at MGM, and then Paramount, writing and supervising Spanish versions of American films like *El presidio*(The Big House, 1930) and *La fruta amarga* (Maid and Bill, 1931). In Hollywood he presided over a small community of Spanish directors, actors, and screenwriters, many of who crossed the Atlantic at his beckoning. For this little known chapter of Spanish film history see Jesús García Dueñas, Nos vamos a Hollywood (Madrid: Nikel Odeon, 1993); and Emilio Sanz de Soto, "1930-1935 Hollywood" in Spanish Cinema, 1896-1983, ed. Augusto Torres (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1984), 50-67. For Neville's own reminiscences of this period see Marino Gómez Santos, "Edgar Neville cuenta su vida," Pueblo, 1, 2, 3, 5 & 7 May 1962, reprinted in Nickel Odeon, no. 17 (Winter 1999): 63-80. See also "Edgar Neville en Hollywood," Primer Plano, no. 182, 9 April 1944.

Back in Madrid in 1931, Neville turned to filmmaking and playwriting in earnest. The features *El malvado Carabel* (The Villainous Carabel, 1935) and *La señorita de Trevélez* (The Young Lady from Trevélez, 1936) were made shortly before the outbreak of the Civil War. When the army under Franco's command rebeled, Neville sided with the *Nacionales*, participated in combat in the front of Madrid, and headed a documentary film crew, which produced war propaganda. His wartime experiences were translated into the collection of short stories, Frente de Madrid, which was also the title of his second post-Civil War film.

After making his first post-Civil War features in Italy, Neville relocated to Spain and directed the adventure romance *Correo de Indias* in 1942. In 1944 he directed the first of a trilogy of mystery pictures suffused with the spirit of *costumbrismo*. He followed this series with a flawed adaptation of *Nada* (1946), the contemporary novel by Carmen Laforet, and the period film, *El marqués de Salamanca* (1947), a biography of the 19th century financier that was probably a concession to the vogue for historical superproductions. By the end of the decade, *El ultimo caballo* (The Last Horse,

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1950), generally acknowledged as his masterpiece, formulated an aesthetic whose affinities to Neorealism anticipated the trends of the 1950s towards a realistic cinema imbued with spcial concerns. He achieved his greatest success as a playwright with the premiere of the comedy El Baile in 1952, adapted for the screen in 1959.

614. "Asustaba entre las derechas con su audaz volterianismo, su espíritu disolvente en lo político y su mordacidad en lo sentimental. . . . Pero rodeado de personas de izquierda resultaba casi un irritante señorito. . . lleno de caprichos exquisitos, técnico de la buena cocina y devoto de los coches caros y deslumbrantes". Víctor Ruiz Iriarte, foreword to E. Neville, Teatro selecto (Madrid: Escesicer, 1967), 8.

615. Together with Ramón Gómez de la Serna, Miguel Mihura, and Enrique Jardiel Poncela, Neville represented the droll, playful side of Spain's literary avant-garde, a faction that favored surreal humor and whimsical fantasy over direct political statements. Throughout the 1940s Neville contributed essays to both the Falangist monthly Vértice and La Codorniz, a weekly magazine of iconoclastic humor that represented one of the few sites of resistance to the prevalent ideology. See María Luisa Burguera Nadal, Edgar Neville: Entre el humorismo y la poesía (Málaga: Servicio de publicaciones, Diputación Provincial de Malaga, 1994).

616. Llinás writes, "Hay en Neville un amor por lo auténtico, por el goce, por lo espontáneo, mientras es evidente su desprecio hacia el simulacro del goce, las falsas apariencias, el mal gusto y la ostentación". See Francisco Llinás, "Juan de Orduña y Edgar Neville: el Haz y el Envés," Secuencias, no. 1, October 1994.

617. Emilio Sanz de Soto, "1939-1951" in Spanish Cinema, 117-119. Neville defined his peculiar sense of humor as "half-believing in what others worship unconditionally." (*El humor es... creer a medias lo que los otros veneran incondicionalmente.*) See E. Neville, "Sobre el humanismo" in Obras selectas (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 1969), 739.

618. For instance, Emilio C. García Fernández describes Neville as "la personalidad más destacada de los cuarenta . . . el único que sobresalía del cine, en gran medida, decadente de la época." Emilio C. García Fernández, Historia ilustrada del cine español (Madrid/Barcelona: Planeta, 1985, 170). In spite of his stature, the bibliography on Edgar Neville is still scant. For many years the only monograph on Neville's

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cinema was the short catalogue by Julio Pérez Perucha, El cinema de Edgar Neville (Valldolid: 27 Semana Internacional de Cine de Valladolid, 1982). Emilio García Fernández devoted an entry to Neville in Historia Ilustrada del Cine Español, 166-170. There is also a program of notes produced in 1977 by Madrid's Filmoteca Nacional on the occasion of a retrospective. In 1999 the magazine Nickel Odeon devoted its entire winter issue to the cinema of Edgar Neville. Fernando Fernán Gómez, the star of *Domingo de carnaval* and *El último caballo* has written affectionately about Neville in his memoirs. See Fernando Fernán Gómez, "El dandy en la taberna" in Desde la última fila. Cien años de cine (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1995), 253-257.

619. Nevertheless *Frente de Madrid* (1939), one of the few films of the era to deal with the Civil War, failed to please the administration; its ending, which depicted a Falangist and a Republican soldier embracing, was deemed an affront to the war effort and duly censored.

620. "Mientras España es la reserva espiritual de Occidente, él va a un universo más amplio, aunque en dimensiones externas sea más pequeño: el barrio, la torre de una calle, y hasta una sardina. Tipismo madrileño, esencia de lo popular". See the introduction by Conchita Montes in Pérez Perucha, 17.

621. Neville often stated the importance of a good script, as opposed to his unconcern for technique and mise-en-scène. "Yo he dicho muchas veces que en el cine lo más importante es lo que se cuenta y no el 'cómo' se cuenta. Lo importante es la obra, la idea, el argumento, la caracterización de los personajes". Interview with Edgar Neville, Triunfo, 1 November 1947.

622. Domenic Font does not mention it; José Enrique Monterde, Emilio Sanz de Soto and Emilio Garcia Fernández refer to it in passing. Augusto Torres chooses instead to discuss *El crimen de la calle Bordadores* in his book El cine español en 119 películas (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1997), 92-96. Entries on two other films by Neville appear in Antología crítica del cine español, ed. Julio Pérez Perucha (Madrid: Cátedra/Filmoteca Española, 1997).

623. See Valeria Camporesi, Para grandes y chicos. Un cine para todos los españoles 1940-1990 (Madrid: Turfan, 1994), 52-53.

624. *Domingo de carnaval* premiered on October 22, 1945 at the Palacio de la Música Theater in Madrid, where it ran for two weeks. It enjoyed an additional six weeks in reruns at

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second-class theaters.

625. "Pesa sobre nuestro cine tanto mimetismo —fundamental defecto controno a la profunda, vigorosa e íntegra originalidad hispánica— que constituye un gran motivo de júbilo hallarse con una película que refleja típicos aspectos reales del variado ambiente maitrense" "Domingo de carnaval," Ya, 23 October 1945.

626. "Lejos de imitaciones exóticas el cine español debe incorporar temas populares de firme arraigo entre nosotros. Lo es el de *Domingo de carnaval* en todo su aparato externo: el Rastro madrileño, el entierro de la Sardina, el clima alucinante en que el drama se desarolla. Y solo obrando asi podrá nuestro cine ganar universalidad". "Domingo de carnaval," El Alcázar, 24 October 1945.

627. Luis Gómez Tello, "Domingo de Carnval," Primer Plano no. 263, 28 October 1945.

628. "La exquisita sensibilidad de Edgar Neville se satura de fruición del ambiente kaleidoscópico madrileñista. En su retina se reflejan las imágenes con la más variante tonalidad y en la escuela de colores. Neville, como un pintor maestro, sabe encontrar la mezcla, con la más exacta y enjundosa perfección". Miguel Rodenas, "Domingo de carnaval," ABC, 24 October 1945.

629. Review of *Domingo de carnaval*, by Edgar Neville, El Diario de Barcelona, 13 November 1945.

630. The Burial of the Sardine originally took place at the Pradera del Corregidor near the river Manzanares. Revellers carried a small coffin with a sardine wrapped in a shroud. The retinue, which parodied a religious funeral, was led by a mummer disguised as death. For a description contemporary to the period depicted in Neville's film see "El entierro de la Sardina," La Esfera (Madrid), 3, no. 114 (March 1916). By the 1920s Carnival had relocated to fancier quarters, the Paseo de la Castellana, which struck an even more dissonant contrast between the posh surroundings and the irreverent carrying-ons.

631. See Julio Caro Baroja, El Carnaval, un análisis histórico-cultural (Madrid: Taurus, 1965). Madrid's carnival, for instance, achieved a peak of splendor and magnificence under the seventeenth-century Hapsburg monarchs. However, in 1716 Philip V, the first king of the Bourbon dynasty, banned the masquerades that had been so popular in the past. Despite royal interdiction, Madrid's carnival endured and flourished

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anew in the nineteenth century. The writings of Mariano José de Larra (1809-37) and Ramón Mesonero Romanos (1803-1882), generally regarded as the maximum exponents of *costumbrismo* vividly described the merrymaking that enthralled Madrilenians for nearly a week. See Catalina Buezo, El carnaval y otras procesiones burlescas del viejo Madrid (Madrid: Avapis, 1992).

632. In Málaga attempts were made to outlaw masks, censor songs, and limit the type of costumes worn. Ordinances were issued banning processions of mummers —*comparsas* and their low-rent counterparts, the *murga*— and fines and jail terms were imposed on violators. See María Jesús García, Málaga era una fiesta: los carnavales en la II República (Málaga: Primitel Ediciones, 1991).

633. Bravo Morata describes two separate carnivals in turn-of-the-century Madrid: a refined bourgeois event featuring carriages and floats covered in flowers, located near the Retiro Park, and an uncouth proletarian festival which took place in old Madrid. The author finds the latter, "un carnaval desgarbado, de una fealdad solemne. . . . No es Madrid pueblo para carnavales, porque tiende a menudo al tono esperpéntico de Solana". Federico Bravo Morata, El *sainete* madrileño y la España de *sainete*. Historia de Madrid (Madrid: Fenicia, 1973), 50.

634. For instance, in 1934 La Vida Gráfica applauded the recent prohibition of masks in Málaga: "Faraway are the times of those grotesque and uncouth large masks, mostly too plebeian and vulgar, that sullied our streets durin these days and added a shrill note of crassness and poor taste." (*Ya están lejos los tiempos de aquellos mascarones grotescos y groseros, demasiado plebeyos y ordinarios las más de las veces, que daban a nuestras calles en estos días un feo aspecto y ponían una aguda nota de ordinariez y mal gusto.*) Quoted in María Jesús García, 131.

At the same time, the leftist daily El Popular lamented: "Poor towns that endure (carnival's) dirty pandemonium! Lacking the requisite spiritual policing to remove those masks, they must bear the invasion until, sated and tired, the masks go home to sleep off their barbarous drunkenness." (*Pobres pueblos que sufren su sucio alboroto. Sin policía espiritual suficiente para hacer que las caretas caigan, han de sufrir la invasión hasta que las máscaras, ahítas y cansadas, marchen a dormir su embriaguez de barbarie.*) Quoted in García, 118.

635. Medina Tamayo, 55.

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636. A chronicle published by Juan Roca in the Diario de Cádiz (5 February 1936) urged the public "to renounce those democratic and pathetic drunken sprees of Carnival in which *señoritos* and workers commingled with such conspicuous frequency that wine and champagne achieved what Karl Marx and Leo XIII could not." (*[...] renunciar a aquellas democráticas y patéticas borracheras de Carnaval, en las que confraternizaban los señoritos y los obreros con ostensible frecuencia, logrando así el morapio y el champán lo que no habían podido conseguir ni Carlos Marx ni León XIII.*) Quoted in Jesús Fernández Palacios, "Del Carnaval a las fiestas típicas" in Actas del Quinto Congreso de Carnaval, 214.

637. Socialist mayor Enrique Tierno Galván reinstated Madrid's Carnival on February 9, 1983.

638. "Hoy se siente la ceniza en los labios sin el previo regusto del vino dionisíaco. No nos preocupe. El carnaval lo ha sido de tres años. . . la enmascarada y astrosa saturnal que no hemos olvidado". "Ahora, la Ceniza," Arriba, 8 February 1940.

639. "Una supervivencia de la barbarie y el desenfreno atávicos. Bravo gesto él de quienes decidieronse a desenmascarar la locura....(la fiesta callejera) no suscita emociones de orden artístico". Manuel Comba, "Un recuerdo del desparecido carnaval." Vértice, no. 40 (February 1941): 13.

640. *Domingo de carnaval* was budgeted at 1,640,000 million pesetas. Shooting took place over the course of forty days. Upon its completion, the film was awarded two import and dubbing permits, which helped Neville offset some of the production costs.

641. Juan Antonio Ríos Carratalá, Lo *sainetesco* en el cine español, Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 1997.

642. Arniches once declared: "I love picturesque customs, the noble and strange psychology of these good and happy folk of Madrid's poor districts, with their lively ingenuity, their impulsive emotions, their wit, banter and merriment." Carlos Arniches, Obras completas, vol. 4, 331, quoted in Douglas Mckay, Carlos Arniches (New York: Twayne, 1972), 71. Mckay's is the only book-length study in English on Arniches. The review Segismundo devoted in 1967 its entire fourth issue to Arniches' theater on the occasion of the centenary of his birth. See also Vicente Ramos, Vida y teatro de Carlos Arniches (Madrid: Alfaguara, 1966); and Pedro Salinas, "Del género chico a la tragedia grotesca: Carlos Arniches," Literatura Española. Siglo XX (Madrid: Alianza, 1970), 126-

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131.

643. Ríos Carratalá is referring to directors of the 1950s, like Juan Antonio Bardem, Luis García Berlanga or Fernando Fernán Gómez, who wed the *costumbrismo* of the *sainete* to the stylistic codes of Neorealism, fashioning films of acid black humor that exposed the misery and inadequacies of Franco's Spain.

644. "El cine que a mí me gusta es el *sainete* . . . Creo que cada país tiene una forma de expresión cinematográfica que la va mejor que otras. . . . Uno de los géneros que fluye naturalmente en nuestro país es el *sainete*. . . . El *sainete* español es con mucho lo mejor que se ha hecho en el mundo en su género. . . . Es, pues, una forma natural de expresión española . . . y donde culmina el *sainete* es en Madrid, y por eso, cuando se tiene una raíz madrileña y profunda como la mía, cuando se es, ante todo y sobre todo, madrileño como yo, se siente el *sainete* mejor que otros géneros". E. Neville, "Defensa del *sainete*," Primer Plano, no. 216, 3 December 1944, reprinted in Pérez Perucha, 123-125.

645. Neville also railed against what he perceived as the didactic and manichaean rhetorics of Franco's official cinema. Film characters should resemble the man on the street, and not merely function as mouthpieces of a given ideology. Neville wrote: "A mí me fastidian esos personajes pedantes, retóricos, falsos, porque en vez de servir a la tesis de la película, son ellos mismos la tesis . . . Creo que hay que abandonar la tesis y hacer que los personajes de la pantalla se parezcan a los de la calle. Esto es lo yo siempre procuro que suceda en mis películas". Interview with Edgar Neville, Triunfo, 1 November, 1947.

646. "Perdón Sr. Neville, si no opinamos como usted y nos gusta el cine histórico. . . . ¿O es que la desembocadura de la crisis tremenda de los tres años de batalla iba ser volver al *sainete* —esa mugre radical socialista— y aquí no ha pasado nada? Aquí han pasado muchas cosas y no hay *sainete* que valga. . . . Hay historia como ejemplaridad. . . . Pero con todo lo que ese director ha dicho algo muy sustancial queda patente, al menos la oposición de dos conceptos que un día se enfrentaron con la única dialéctica posible en el area de las verdades definitivas. . . . Unos están por el *sainete* y otros por la historia". Luciano de Madrid, "Sobre la historia, el *sainete* y otras cosa importantes," Primer Plano, no. 198, 30 July 1944.

647. Ríos Carratalá notes how the *sainete*'s popular roots

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and style alienated its practitioners from the official circles of cultural power at different stages of Spain's history. The progressive *ilustrados* of Goya's era, Falangists, and the Socialist film bureaucrats of the 1980s become unlikely bedfellows in their dislike of the *sainete*. For instance, critic and film commissioner García Escudero dismissed Neville's trilogy as *madrileñadas*, stereotypical representations of Madrid on a par with the *españolada*'s distorted vision of Spain. See Ríos Carratalá, 162-163.

648. A similar argument was being made in the visual arts. Sánchez Mazas, for instance, extolled historical subjects above genre painting and still life. See Rafael Sánchez Mazas, "Textos sobre una política de arte," Escorial, vol. 9 (October 1942): 3-24.

649. "Porque me ha tentado siempre describir a la gente como es y crear vidas que se han vivido o que tal vez se estén viviendo.... El argumento de todo ello era para mí lo que tenía menos importancia; lo que era preciso fotografiar y conseguir era el ambiente, el espeso ambiente de cada época, los ademanes, las costumbres y las frases de los personajes, el darle el valor necesario a los muebles. . . y sobre todo, a las reacciones de los personajes, que también tienen época". Edgar Neville, "Defensa de mi cine," Primer Plano, no. 315, 27 October 1946, reprinted in Pérez Perucha, 127-128.

650. "Mucho me temo que voy a persistir en esto del *costumbrismo* y, a veces, darme una vuelta por el folklore; pero. . . siempre habrá *costumbrismo* y sello nacional en lo que haga, pues no en vano pertenence uno al mundo que pulula en un lugar geográfico y espiritual determinado y en una época determinada de la historia". Ibid.

651. "Los argumentos que saben a español, no solo son los que pudiéramos llamar folklóricos con sus danzas, trajes y toros, sino los que presentan a unos personajes cuya reacción no puede ocurrir más que en nuestro país". Ibid.

652. See Neville's declarations to the film monthly Imágenes (July 1948), on the occasion of a new film project based on L'auça del senyor Esteve by Catalan writer/painter Santiago Rusiñol.

653. An advertising campaign in the newspaper ABC (21 October 1945) marketed *Domingo de carnaval* as "a detective film with the humor of *castizo* Madrid." (Un film policiáco con el humor del Madrid castizo). This slogan exemplifies Neville's goal of blending the cosmopolitan (Hollywood,

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detective fiction) and the regional into an apparent oxymoron: a mystery film and a comedy suffused with Madrilenian gusto. On the subject of giving a *castizo* twist to an imported genre like crime fiction, and for a qualified praise of Neville's detective films, see Antonio Abad Ojuel, "Asesinos y policías en el cine. ¿Cómo se nacionaliza este género?" in Primer Plano, no. 268, 2 December 1945. Antonio Gramsci touched upon a similar topic in his writings on detective fiction and national-popular culture. See A. Gramsci, "The Detective Novel" in Gramsci: Selection from Cultural Writings, ed. David Forgacs and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 369-374.

654. "Una imagen literaria, una frase retórica". (Soundtrack.)

655. *Domingo de carnaval* is set during the Belle Epoque years of World War One, when Spain's neutrality translated into an economic boom. The influx of foreign refugees also opened the country up to innovative cultural trends from abroad. For a diverting, anecdotal account of the political, social and cultural life of Madrid between 1900-1920 see Federico Bravo Morata's La Historia de Madrid, vol. 3 and vol. 4 (Madrid: Fenicia, 1973), specifically.

656. José Gutiérrez Solana, arguably the most disquieting Spanish painter of the 20th century, was born in Madrid on February 28, 1886 (Shrove Sunday) and died there on June 24, 1945. After living for extended periods in the Northern city of Santander, Solana returned to Madrid in 1917 and quickly became a prominent figure in the local art and literary scene. Solana's first solo show was held in Santander in 1921, yet his debut exhibition in Madrid took place belatedly in 1927 at the Museo de Arte Moderno. He also exhibited in London, Venice, Oslo, Buenos Aires, St. Louis, Philadelphia, New York, and San Francisco throughout the 1920s and '30s. One-man shows held in Paris in 1936 and 1938 respectively enjoyed considerable success. In addition to his painting, Gutiérrez Solana was a writer of distinction, publishing three notable books: Madrid, Escenas y Costumbres (1913), La España Negra (1920), and Madrid Callejero (1923).

During the Civil War Solana moved to Valencia along with other intellectuals and artists aligned with the Republic and then exiled himself to Paris in 1938. After Franco's victory, he returned to Spain at the urging of renowned art critic Eugenio D'Ors. Although he participated in the National Exhibitions of 1942, 1943 and 1945 and received several awards and honors, he apparently found it difficult during the last years of his life to reintegrate himself into the

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post-Civil War art scene.

The only monograph in English on Gutiérrez Solana is José-Luis Barrio-Garay, José Gutiérrez Solana, Paintings and Writings (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1978). Classic studies in Spanish include José Francés, Gutiérrez Solana y su obra (Gerona: Dalmau Carles, 1947); Manuel Sánchez Camargo, Solana (Madrid: Alches, 1945); and Ramón Gómez de la Serna, José Gutiérrez Solana (Buenos Aires: Ed. Poseidon, 1944). Two recent exhibition catalogues have been published: José Gutiérrez Solana (1886-1945) (Fundación Cultural Mapfre-Vida, Madrid, 1992); and Sorolla, Solana, exhibition Salle St. Georges, Liege(Belgium) (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1985). See also Francisco Calvo Serraller, "Ensayo deambulatorio entorno a José Gutiérrez Solana" in Paisajes de luz y muerte. La pintura española del 98 (Barcelona: Tusquets, 1998), 129-194.

657. Solana himself acknowledged this heritage: "When I have walked out onto the streets I have seen it. It is a magnificent art, grasped not as a reflection of nature, but through realism. The Spanish school is the best in the world. It has created bone and flesh. . . . Zurbarán painted rosaries that you can remove. Today everything is bland." (*Cuando he salido a la calle lo he visto. Es un arte magnífico éste, pero no tomado así, como un reflejo del natural, sino llegando al realismo. La escuela española es la mejor del mundo. Ha llegado a hacer el hueso y la piel ... Zurbarán pinta rosarios que se pueden quitar. En lo actual todo es blando.*) Quoted in Sánchez Camargo, 230.

658. See Barrio-Garay, 152, 231.

659. According to Benito Madariaga, Gutiérrez Solana lived in such fear of death and madness that the act of painting took on a therapeutic mission. From a tender age his life was haunted by death in ways that left a lasting impression. When his sister Gloria died during Christmas, Solana, age five, slipped into the room where her open casket was kept and spent an entire night by her side. Sometime later, a bereaving aunt stole the corpse of his seven-year old cousin from a morgue and brought it home. Finally his father died when he was twelve. In addition, Solana's mother later went insane, and one of his brothers had bouts of mental illness. The painter manifested a lifelong morbid interest in accidents, hospitals and morgues. Solana was also an insomniac who detested the sun and lived by night. The deployment of masks, the uncanny obsession with mannequins and automatons, the hyperbolic cult of laughter and

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sensuality, and even the recourse to the grotesque has been construed as psychic release from his fears.

660. Sánchez Camargo, 123; Gómez de la Serna, 132. Bernardino de Pantorba called Solana the "painter of ugliness and filth" (quoted in Barrio-Garay, 147). Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño denounced him on similar grounds: "Porque selecciona fealdades, porque delata todos los aspectos grotescos y lamentables del vivir". See Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño, El arte en su intimidad, 1957, quoted in Benito Madariaga, Cara y Máscara de José Gutiérrez Solana (Santander: Institución Cultural de Cantabria, 1976, 107). For his part, José Francés noted that Solana's painting "oozes the lugubrious essence of our race . . . it stinks of misery, of sour leftovers and tainted blood." (*La pintura de José Gutiérrez Solana rezuma la esencia lúgubre de nuestra raza . . . Huele a miseria, a bazofia agria, a sangre corrompida.*) Francés, 39.

661. The title paid tribute to the 1899 homonymous book by Belgian Symbolist writer Emile Verhaeren and Spanish painter Darío de Regoyos, written after they undertook a similar trip across the villages of Castille and the Basque region. Like Solana's book, Regoyos and Verhaeren's travelogue unfolds against a desolate backdrop of arid landscapes, ancient monuments in ruins, and forlorn hamlets inhabited by aging widows and illiterate peasants. For an analysis of Regoyos and Verhaeren's differing reactions to their journey through Spain see "Seeing the Light in Black Spain: Darío de Regoyos" in Estelle Irrizarry, Writers-Painters of Spain (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1984), 1-14.

662. The most important study of Gutiérrez Solana's literature remains Weston Flint, Solana, escritor (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1967). See also "José Gutiérrez Solana's Visions of Life and Self," in Estelle Irrizarry, 42-54.

663. On Gutiérrez Solana's pessimism see Francisco Umbral, "Sorolla et Solana" in Sorolla, Solana, 14-25. For various perspectives on the artists of the generation of 1898, see the collected essays in Paisaje y Figura del 98, Madrid: Fundación Central Hispano, 1997.

Some critics reproached Solana for an excessive attention to the sad, negative aspects of life. Escrivá de Román demurred: "Solana's admirers have called him the painter of Madrid. . . but we cannot see in those somber pictures the local light that makes us, his fellowmen, so proud ... nor the joy of life which has always characterized the capital of Spain." (*Los admiradores de Solana han llegado*

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a llamarle el pintor de Madrid. . . pero no no vemos en esos cuadros sombríos la luz local que tanto nos orgullece a los paisanos del pintor. . . ni la alegría de vivir que ha caracterizado siempre a la capital de España.) Manuel Escrivá de Romaní, Evocación del arte español en la primera mitad del siglo XX (Madrid: Instituto de España) 1949.

It is undeniable that La España Negra trades in unflattering images of Spain, yet Solana's visceral approach contains a dose of black humor that occasionally verges on parody. For a positive reaffirmation of Neville's Madrilenian roots see Chispero's obituary "Ha muerto un pintor madrileño," Informaciones, 25 June 1945.

664. "Importa insistir en . . . el caracter español de su obra. Españolismo acre, pero veraz . . . que se asoma a los cosos y a las plazas del pueblo sin el prurito literaturesco de los exportadores acomodaticios al gusto extranjero." Francés added, "A century, two centuries from now, those who wish to probe into the harsh and ardent soul of our race will resort to Gutiérrez Solana before any other painter. Because he has managed to see the reason of our inner being, within a secure trajectory marked by the deep imprint of four other masters of the Spanish school: El Greco, Velázquez, Goya, Rosales." (*Y pasada una centuria, dos centurias, los que quieran investigar el alma áspera y ardiente de nuestra raza acudirán, antes que a ninguno de los pintores contemporaneos, a Gutiérrez Solana. Porque él ha sabido ver la razón de cómo somos dentro de la trayectoria segura de las huellas profundas de otros cuatro maestros de la pintura española: el Greco, Velázquez, Goya, Rosales.*) José Francés, "Solana y su gran verdad," Arriba, 22 August 1943.

The Marquis of Lozoya related Solana's bitter pessimism to the literature of the Golden Age, particularly the sombre writings of Francisco de Quevedo. See Sánchez Camargo, 238. Enrique Azcoaga called him a *pintor de raza* (an ethnic painter) and linked him to an ancient undercurrent of Spain's visual culture which he termed *lo patético*. See Enrique Azcoaga, "El patetismo de José Gutiérrez Solana," Cartel de las artes, 15 July 1945. Likewise, Sánchez Cantón drew attention to his Spanish artistic lineage: certainly the Black paintings of Goya and his followers, Leonardo Alenza (1807-1845) and Eugenio Lucas (1824-1879), but also the realist painters of the Baroque (Ribera, Zurbarán, and Valdés Leal), even medieval art. Sánchez Camargo, 239.

665. For a survey of the subject of carnival in Spanish painting see Julián Gállego, "El carnaval en la pintura española" in Formas carnavalescas en el arte y la literatura,

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ed. Javier Huerta Calvo (Barcelona: Ediciones del Serbal, 1989), 33-59. For antecedents to Goya's depiction of the carnivalesque see Teresa Lozano Márquez, "Tradiciones carnavalescas en el lenguaje icónico de Goya," Goya y el espíritu de la Ilustración, exhibition catalogue (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1988), 99-111. Posters of masked balls and other events were ubiquitous during carnival season. In addition, the popular press carried drawings and engravings of the subject by illustrators such as Sancha, de Ortego, de Mestres, and de Vierge. On Gutiérrez Solana's paintings of carnaval see Barrio-Garay, 66-67, 92-93, 115-116, 128-129.

666. See Janis A. Tomlinson, Goya in the Twilight of Enlightenment (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 180-187.

667. Ibid; José Ortega y Gasset, Velazquez, Goya and the Dehumanization of Art, trans. Alexis Brown (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1972), 120; Umbral, 19. Solana's description of the Burial of the sardine features mummers dancing intoxicated around bonfires, imitating animal noises, and performing obscene gestures. See J. Gutérrez Solana, Madrid, Escenas y Costumbres, (Madrid: Trieste, 1984), 109-114.

668. For the painting's sources, see Barrio-Garay, 62-64.

669. Neville, for instance, advised and encouraged Solana to hold an impromptu exhibit in Paris in January of 1928. See Sánchez Camargo, 171. Neville wrote a loving obituary, "El pintor Solana. Su primera y última intervención en el cine" in Primer Plano, no. 247, 8 July 1945. See also "Solana, personaje de film y recuerdos del viejo Pombo" in Primer Plano, no. 288, 21 April 1946.

670. Solana, who was independently wealthy, amassed a sizable collection of nineteenth-century books and prints: the works of Mesonero Romanos (1803-1882); issues of the nineteenth-century periodicals El Semanario Pintoresco, El Museo Universal and La Ilustración de Madrid; drawings and etchings by Leonardo Alenza (1807-1845) and Valeriano Domínguez Bécquer (1834-1870). See Barrio-Garay, 103.

671. Scenes were shot in the Pradera de San Isidro, the Ribera de Curtidores, and the Plaza del Cordón.

672. According to Camporesi, this current in post-Civil War Spanishcinema identified *españolidad* (Spanishness) with *costumbrismo*, specifically with regional folklore, be it urban or rural. See Camporesi, 51-55. The influence of Jean Renoir and René Clair undoubtedly played a formative role in

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Neville's cinema as well.

673. In his obituary on Solana Neville mentions some of the painter's visual motifs he sought to translate into film: the infamous *destrozonas* (men disguised as women), mummers sporting dog faces and skull masks, the retinue bearing a drunkard on a bed to the Burial of the Sardine. He writes: "Se nos fué Solana cuando le acababa yo de meter en el cine, cuando había traído a la pantalla a sus destrozonas inolvidables, a la máscara con carra de perro, a la mujeruca con careta de calavera, a los niños con el sombrero de señora, a esa otra máscara que va subida encima de una vieja y esas otras que se han llevado una cama de hierro con un borracho dentro al entierro de la Sardina. Todo eso mundo alucinante y fabuloso de Solana tenía que venir al cine". See E. Neville, "El pintor Solana."

674. The play, Rosita la quapa, which was never staged, the short film Verbena (1941), and the essay "Las verbenas," published in Las terceras de ABC, reveal Neville's optimistic view of the carnivalesque. Reminiscing about carnival during his childhood in turn-of-the-century Madrid, Neville wrote: "Madrid tenía muchas ganas de fiesta y los carnavales eran soberbios. Los niños salíamos vestidos de payaso, de pierrot, de la manos de nuestras amas, y nos cruzabamos con otros vestidos de gallega o de albañil". Quoted in Burguera Nadal, 20.

675. See M. Bakhtin, 255-56.

676. Bakhtin himself appears to center the carnivalesque on a notion of femininity as a positive debasing entity: women "bring down to earth" and lend materiality to things. See Bakhtin, 240.

677. Neville's film benefits from the warmth and exuberance of the wonderful comedienne Julia Lajos, a great unsung actress of Spain's theater and cinema. She worked often with Neville to the extent that Llinás calls her the director's "fetish-actress."

678. Mary Russo, The Female Grotesque. Identity-formation, Risk, Excess and Modernity (New York: Routledge, 1994), 62. If Russo speaks of a "female grotesque," in Solana's painting one finds instead "grotesque females." His ambivalent depiction of women, especially prostitutes, has led Benito Madariaga to read these images in terms of castration anxiety. For the purposes of my argument, the heavy, thick impasto of these anti-classical female bodies certainly evokes an aesthetic of the grotesque that traverses Neville's

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movie and is equally present in Arniches' later works (the "grotesque tragedies"). See B. Madariaga, 79-83.

679. Fascism regarded femininity as inferior and on ocassion downright abhorrent: the materiality of the female body is seen as a threat to "the empire of the spiritual" (el imperio de lo espiritual). Clair Wills states that the unconscious of Fascist ideology is a historically repressed femaleness. See C. Wills, "Upsetting the Public: carnival, hysteria and woman's texts" in Bakhtin and Cultural Theory, ed. Ken Hirschkop and David Shepherd (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), 138.

680. Russo, 61. For examples of the reversal of gender roles during carnival in Spain see Caro Baroja, El carnaval. Ancient rural practices dating to the Middle Ages allotted women one day a year, generally the festivity of Saint Agathe on February 6, to act as mayors and run local affairs. In some communities women were also granted a measure of power and autonomous decision-making during Carnival season. See Manuel Gutiérrez Estévez, "Una visión antropológica del carnaval" in Huerta Calvo.????

681. See José Luis Pinillos, "Cultura feminina," Arbor, no. 39 (March 1949): 445.

Also, Carmen Martín Gaite, Usos amorosos de la postguerra española (Barcelona: Anagrama, 1987); and Rosario Sánchez López, Mujer española, una sombra de destino en lo universal. Trayectoria histórica de Sección Feminina de Falange (1934-1977) (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1990).

682. I am borrowing the term "disorderly women" from Natalie Zemon Davis, Society and Culture in Early Modern France (Stanford, Ca: Stanford University Press, 1975), 124-151.

683. One perhaps should reflect on whether the proletarian status of Neville's female protagonists enables them to operate with a freedom denied to their middle and upper-class counterparts. In this sense the liberatory possibilities of the female grotesque are clearly defined and delimited by class.

684. Joan Riviere based her theory of womanliness as masquerade on a case study of a female intellectual who would appear assertive and "masculine" during her lectures yet would afterwards revert to extreme flirtatiousness in her intercourse with her male colleagues. See Joan Riviere, "Womanliness as Masquerade" in Formations of Fantasy, ed. Victor Burgin et al. (London: Methuen, 1986), 35-44.

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685. Soundtrack.

686. Stephen Heath, "Joan Riviere and the Masquerade," Formations of Fantasy, 51.

687. See Julia Kristeva, Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), especially 1-5.

688. Barrio-Garay, 32.

689. I am borrowing this notion of psychic shattering from Leo Bersani, The Freudian Body (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 60.

690. As a child Solana was fascinated by his father's magic lantern and a variety of mechanical toys and puppets. See Barrio-Garay, 31-2. Automatons and mummers alternately attracted and frightened him. Madariaga writes, "Solana ve a sus personajes como muñecos, como algo muerto, inerte, inspirado en un museo de figuras de cera". B. Madariaga, 106.

691. "Ante sus lienzos . . . se detiene uno ante un suceso de la realidad en que hay diversión y crimen". Gómez de la Serna, Solana, 11. In Madrid, Escenas y Costumbres Solana describes for instance how people would visit the morgue on Ash Wednesday in search of missing relatives: "When tomorrow dawns, a clear and beautiful day, many curious will look through the iron bars of the morgue. Some, anxious, will ask to come in, with hats removed, looking with depressed hearts on the tables exhibiting the corpses for the one they seek. There he is, with rags for clothes, covered with wine and blood, his black mouth opened, hands contracted, hair stiff and thick and stuck to his temples with dry blood, dressed as a fool." Gutiérrez Solana, Madrid. Escenas y costumbres, 114, quoted by and trans. Barrio-Garay, 64, footnote 31.

692. "Bajo esas caretas, todos, aún los más pacíficos, sentiríamos esas ansias homicidas . . . . El carnaval español que nos hace sentir la película es negro como las sombras". Antonio Abad Ojuel, "Aventura y tragedia del carnaval en el cine," Cámara, 15 November 1945. Abad Ojuel suggests that had Dr. Jekyll been Spanish he would have had no need of chemicals to let go of his bestial side; he would have just waited for carnival and hidden his destructive lust under a hideous mask.

Five years later, Juan de Orduña would conjure in *Pequeñeces* (1950) another nightmarish carnival in old Madrid, full of Expressionistic shadows and uncanny masks, as a site

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of murder.

693. Madrid's south-western perimeter, where carnival rituals like the Burial of the sardine traditionally took place, suffered some of the worst attacks by Franco's forces.

694. Gómez de la Serna described the painter's Spanish realism as "a reality veiled and half-seen through a daydream, perhaps the most dreamy of daydreams, the premature daydream of death." (*Porque el realismo español es eso . . . la realidad velada y entrevista através de un ensueño, quizás através del ensueño más ensoñador, el ensueño adelantado de la muerte.*) Gómez de la Serna, 11.

695. Timothy Mitchell discusses how aggression in Spain is channeled into rituals, such as popular fiestas, bullfights, and religious ceremonies, with a social and psychological function. See T. Mitchell, Violence and Piety in Spanish Folklore (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988).

696. "Y si el gesto no basta, está la careta, esa grotesca y repulsiva careta de las mascaradas españolas. Aquí la careta caricaturiza y resalta nuestro genio vernáculo, ese género de caracter excesivo y violento, crudo, socarrón y nada sentimental. Solana no hacía en sus cuadros carnavalescos sino *plastificar el envés del espíritu español* en soberbio gesto de resistencia y rebeldía que nuestra raza tiene que apropiarse para sobrevivir en un ambiente hostil. . . . *Domingo de carnaval* es la expresión cinematográfica de la caricatura socarrona del carnaval español en el que se explayan muchos rasgos de nuestro temperamento". Augusto Ortiz, "El temperamento español que recoge *Domingo de carnaval*," Primer Plano, no. 263, 28 October 1945.

697. *Domingo de carnaval*'s exaltation of Madrilenian culture did nothing to improve its fortunes in Barcelona, where the film ran for only a week, or in other large urban areas.

698. Ríos Carratalá, 158-160.

699. "Porque él como hombre de gran clase, se acercaba al pueblo, amaba al pueblo". C. Montes, Introduction to Pérez Perucha, 17. Neville said in "Defensa del sainete": "In Spain, moreover, until the ill-fated times we have lived through, there was an authentic cordiality between the upper classes and the people. The nobility and the workers have always fraternized in our country of duchesses who were bullfighters and dukes who behaved like *manolos* [typical Madrilenians]. Those who snubbed the people were not

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aristocrats but the shopkeepers of Mayor Street." (*En España, además, hasta los tiempos nefastos que hemos atravesado, había una auténtica cordialidad entre las clases elevadas y el pueblo. La nobleza y la menestralía han fraternizado siempre en nuestro país de duquesas toreras y duques manolos. Los que 'esnobizan' al pueblo no eran los aristócratas sino los tenderos de la calle Mayor.*) E. Neville, "Defensa del sainete," reprinted in Pérez Perucha, 124.

700. In one short story Neville portrays the people of wartime Republican Madrid as the vulgar "Red masses" consumed by a thirst for vengeance and destruction: "La ciudad estaba invadida por gentes de afuera, por pueblerinos . . . una multitud sucia y grosera que había hecho desaparecer al fino madrileño . . . . Se eregían en dueños de la ciudad . . . los madrileños se escondían, o por lo menos, se apartaban de aqulla masa viscosa . . . la roña empoznada de aquellos que, en un momento de delirio genealógico, se habían denominado 'hijos de Lenin'". E. Neville, "Las muchachas de Brunete," Frente de Madrid (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1941), 213-215.

In another short story, Neville's ambivalent sentiments towards the working-class recall Solana's own mixture of fascination and revulsion: "La calle de Alcalá tenía aspecto de Domingo de carnaval. Una masa densa bullía en las aceras, una masa sucia que se esforzaba por parecerlo más, y con un tono de voz soez, a veces buscada". E. Neville, "F.A.I.," Frente de Madrid, 30.

701. See Antonio Gramsci, "The Concept of 'National-Popular'" in A. Gramsci, 206-212.

702. E. Cowie, Representing the Woman: Cinema and Psychoanalysis (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 1997), 299.

703. "Fantasia" in The Woman in Question (m/f), ed. Parveen Adams and Elizabeth Cowie (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990), 159.

704. See Primer Plano no. 247, 8 July 1945.

705. In his obituary on Solana (Informaciones, 25 June 1945), the journalist Chispero noted how the painter's eyes focused on "those Madrilenian truths that foreign eyes never manage to see," on the life and the inhabitants of slums through images that avoided clichés and picturesque charm.

706. Foreword by Michael Holquist to M. Bakhtin, Rabelais and His World, xxi.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER NINE (pages 322-368)

707. José Luis Téllez writes: "*Embrujo* es el film más inclasificable del cine español y uno de los más singulares jamás realizados en el seno de la industria, doblemente insólito habida cuenta del momento histórico de su nacimiento". J. L. Téllez, "Embrujo," Antología crítica del cine español 1906-1995, ed. Julio Pérez Perucha (Madrid: Cátedra/Filmoteca, 1997), 212.

708. Hal Foster, Compulsive Beauty (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1993).

709. "Este es el secreto. Y concretamente, en cierta faceta del folklore español —¿cante hondo?—, el origen de un nuevo y sorprendente lenguaje cinematográfico". Serrano de Osma, "Posibilidad inédita del folklore" in Julio Pérez Perucha, El cinema de Carlos Serrano de Osma (Valldolid: 28th Semana Internacional de Cine de Valladolid, 1983), 149-150.

710. Serrano's partners in BOGA were Fernando Gómez Méndez, a sound technician, and two production chiefs, Fernando Butragueño and José Antonio Martínez Arévalo. The latter quit the company at the same time as Serrano.

711. Téllez, 212.

712. The sets by José García de Ubieta included a faithful reconstruction of the interior of the popular theater, "El Molino". Juan Magriñá, choreographer of the Ballet of Barcelona's renowned opera house, the Teatro del Liceo, choreographed the dance numbers, which were performed by Vicente Escudero's renowned ballet company. For an account of the making of *Embrujo* see Asier Aranzubia Cob, "Avatares, incidencias y penalidades de un film radical en la España de los 40. *Embrujo* (1947) de Carlos Serrano de Osma," Cine español: situación actual y perspectives (Granada: Grupo Editorial Universitario, 2001), 121-134.

713. The legendary dancer, singer and actress Lola Flores was born in 1925 in the Andalusian town of Jerez de la Frontera, where she made her debut as a dancer in 1939. She teamed up professionally with Manolo Caracol in 1943 and achieved her first big success in Madrid in the musical *Zambra* in 1945. Although she performed in films as early as 1939, *Embrujo* constituted her first leading role. Stardom arrived in the 1950s in a succession of folkloric musicals — *La Niña de la Venta* (1951), *La Estrella de la Venta* (1952),

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Morena Clara (1954), *María de la O* (1957)– that showed off her dancing and singing talent. Although her film appearances became more sporadic after 1960, her popularity remained undiminished until her death in 1996. Terençi Moix thus describes Flores' stage presence: "Sobre el escenario era incandescente, un terremoto, un jaleo, un desborde, un derrame constante." See Terenci Moix, Suspiros de España, second edition (Barcelona: Plaza y Janés, 1993), 114-137. See also the entry on Flores in José Blas Vega and Manuel Ríos Ruiz, Diccionario ilustrado del flamenco, vol. 1 (Madrid: Ed. Cinterco, 1988), 308.

Born in Seville in 1910, Manolo Caracol was the descendant of a line of famous flamenco artists of gypsy origin. At the tender age of twelve he won first prize ex-aequo in the renowned Contest of Cante Jondo organized by Federico García Lorca and Manuel de Falla in 1922 in the city of Granada. That same year witnessed his debut in Seville and Madrid and the beginning of a successful touring career that took him all over Spain. In 1943 he became partners with the young dancer Lola Flores. Their 1945 flamenco spectacle *Zambra* and its follow-up, *La Niña de Fuego*, became enormous hits. Their first film appearance together was a brief performance in *Un Caballero Famoso* (1943). They co-starred in *Embrujo* (1947) and *La Niña de la Venta* (1951). Between his recordings and touring shows, Caracol achieved great fame in Spain and Latin America. If Flores was renowned for her ardent, tempestuous dancing, Caracol was praised for his impassioned, heartrending singing. He died in a car accident in 1973 shortly after retiring from the stage. See Caracol's entry in Blas Vega and Ríos Ruiz, Diccionario ilustrado, vol. 1, 153-157.

714. See the review of *Embrujo* in El Alcázar, 1 May 1948.

715. "Un desdichado híbrido de película comercial y film folklórico . . . con un vanguardismo trasnochado". Juan Francisco de Lasa, "El vanguardismo y los productores. Consideraciones sobre *Embrujo*," Cinema, 15 September 1947. See also the review of *Embrujo* in Pueblo, 1 May 1948.

716. "Las imágenes y los juegos Surrealistas pertenecen al pretérito del cine. Y como no sea para infundirles una nueva orientación no vale la pena actualizarlos. Ello no se ha logrado. . . . Mejor que Serrano hubiera hecho un film simple, sencillo y accesible que algo confuso y pretencioso". Ya, 1 May 1948. See also Cámara, no. 129, 15 May 1948, and El Alcázar, 1 May 1948.

717. Serrano's letter to the press stated, "Esta tarde se ha

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estrenado la película *Embrujo*. Se trata de una copia distinta de la original, montada y arreglada por la productora sin mi consentimiento y en contra de mi voluntad. La copia original no se ha presentado. La copia ofrecida al público está realizada con la inclusión de escenas y secuencias descartadas precisamente por mí, y de ella se han excluido planos necesarios a la inteligencia estética de la película. Este es el motivo por el cual desautorizo, como coautor y director, la proyección de la actual versión de la película *Embrujo*". Quoted in Pérez Perucha, El cinema, 25. This letter was printed in the daily ABC, for instance, alongside the review. José de la Cueva, the film critic of the daily Informaciones, responded to Serrano's letter with a dash of sarcasm: "Se ve claramente que lo que el director lamenta que haya sido suprimido es lo que va en el camino del Surrealismo, lo cerebral, lo que pudiesemos calificar de pedante". José de la Cueva, review of *Embrujo*, by Carlos Serrano de Osma, Informaciones, 30 April 1948.

According to Aranzubia Cob, the final version that premiered in Madrid appears to have followed Serrano de Osma's screenplay very closely, so it seems that few scenes were actually cut. Aranzubia Cob, 126.

718. For details on the quarrel between Flores and Serrano see Aranzubia Cob, 128-129.

719. Téllez, 212.

720. Born in Madrid, Carlos Serrano de Osma was headed for a career in medicine before his love of the cinema led him to found and promote a film society at his local university. Soon after, Serrano turned to writing film criticism for a string of magazines such as Nuestro Cinema, Popular Film, Cinegramas, and Radiocinema. During the Civil War he worked in the Cinema Section of the Communist Party, assisting Antonio del Amo in the filming of documentaries supporting the Second Republic. After the war, Serrano reviewed films for Radio España and directed a number of documentaries on his own between 1941 and 1945. That year he assumed direction of the magazine Cinema Experimental. Between 1946 and 1951 Serrano directed five features: *Abel Sánchez* (1946), *Embrujo* (1947), *La sirena negra* (1947), *La sombra iluminada* (1948), *Rostro al mar* (1951). In 1951 he co-directed *Parsifal* with Daniel Malgrané. At this point Serrano's career as a filmmaker stalled. In 1954 he co-directed a Spanish-Italian historical epic, *Tirma*, and in 1960 produced and directed his final feature, *La rosa roja*. In 1968 he completed several programs for television, including two episodes of the series *Biografía* (one on poet Juan Ramón Jiménez and another on

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politician Cánovas).

Unable to realize his own film projects, Serrano de Osma turned to teaching. In 1947 he was appointed professor of film direction at the newly-founded Instituto de Investigaciones y Experiencias Cinematográficas, which was later renamed Escuela Oficial de Cinematografía, Spain's first film school. He remained in this post for over twenty years, inspiring an entire generation of Spanish filmmakers: Luis García Berlanga, Juan Antonio Bardem, and Carlos Saura among others. In 1962 he was made deputy director of the school, but resigned in 1968 in protest for the government's crackdown on student unrest. During the 1950s and '60s Serrano combined his teaching activity with management positions in various production companies. In the 1970s he opened an art gallery and in 1979 became the chief archivist for Filmoteca Española until his retirement in 1983. That same year he was the subject of a commemorative retrospective at the Valladolid Film Festival. He died in Alicante in 1984.

721. Pérez Perucha describes Serrano de Osma as "un cineasta radical, refractario sin contemplaciones, y con un frenesí tan altanero como suicida, al cinema dominante del momento". See Pérez Perucha, 13-14. In a separate entry, Pérez Perucha calls Serrano "un ejemplo de disidencia cultural en el interior del cinema franquista". See Julio Pérez Perucha, "Embrujo," El bazar de las sorpresas (San Sebastián: 43 Festival de Cine de San Sebastián, 1995), 90.

722. Emilio Sanz de Soto, "1940-1950" in Spanish Cinema 1896-1983, ed. Augusto M. Torres (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1984, 135-137.

723. José Enrique Monterde, "El cine de la autarquía" in Historia del cine español, ed. Román Gubern, Madrid: Cátedra, 1995), 229.

724. Moix states: "No se puede destruir la pureza de un género egregio con la pedantería de un cine clubista empachado de mala literatura". Moix, 121.

725. Domènec Font, Del azul al verde. El cine español bajo el franquismo (Barcelona: Avance, 1976), 128-129. In his lifetime, Serrano responded with disarming candor to similar criticisms: "Tiene razón cierto crítico cuando dice que soy el peor director de España; pero lo que olvida es que en España no hay más que cuatro o cinco directores". Declarations to the newspaper La verdad, 15 February 1950, reprinted in Pérez Perucha, El cinema, 26.

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726. As the producer of *Rostro al mar* acknowledged, Serrano had a reputation as an inspired but noncommercial director (*iluminado pero antieconómico*). See Pérez Perucha, 31.

727. García Berlanga described his teacher as "a director swept away by his own project" (*un director arrollado por su propio projecto*). Luis García Berlanga, "Recordando a Carlos Serrano de Osma" in Pérez Perucha, 9-12.

728. For Serrano de Osma's own critical reminiscences of the cinema of the 1930s see "El cine en la República: monjas, toreros, bandidos, expósitos" in Revista de la Federación Española de Cineclubs, October 1983.

729. Serrano de Osma declared, "En España no hay nada . . . Esta es la gran ventura. El gran momento propicio, la gran ocasión. . . No hay murallas económicas. No hay intereses forjados. Si no hay aliento, tampoco hay freno . . . El único obstáculo es la leve cortina de lo mediocre. La eterna cantinela de lo 'rosa', de lo falsamente patriótico, de lo falsamente romántico. Pero esto es ridículo. Tan frágil, que un leve viento puede derribarlo". See "Concepto platónico del cine español," delivered as a lecture at the Cúpula Coliseum in Barcelona, January 1947, reprinted in Pérez Perucha, 150-59.

730. See Francisco Casares, "El cinema y el folklore," Primer Plano, no. 29, 4 May 1941. Filmmaker Florián Rey was a staunch supporter of films based on Spain's folklore. The reader is referred to his interviews in Primer Plano, no. 71, 22 February 1943; Primer Plano, no. 121, 7 February 1943.

731. Serrano de Osma, "Itinerarios de nuestro cine," Popular Film, no. 436, 27 December 1934, reprinted in Pérez Perucha, 91.

732. Serrano writes, "Y es que no hay espíritu cinematográfico. No tenemos gente de nuestro suelo que esté capacitada para fijar sobre imágenes nuestras reacciones psicológicas, nuestros caracteres específicos, nuestro modo de sentir y vivir". Ibid.

733. However, the direct polemical style of the 1930s grew progressively abstract and esoteric. Serrano de Osma's statements of the 1940s occasionally took on a tone reminiscent of the rhetoric of Falange, foregrounding the notion of *Hispanidad*, especially in regards to the conquest of export markets in Latin America, and yoking the cinema to didactic, moral and patriotic goals in order to enhance unity and national solidarity. See "Proyecto para una Escuela de

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Cinematografía: Preámbulo" (1941), Pérez Perucha, 115-116.

734. Some of these themes surface in "Concepto platónico del cine español," but are displaced by more metaphysical concerns. Here Serrano de Osma requested that Spain's cinema capture a transcendental feeling for life and death; that anguish of being so characteristic of the Spanish temperament. Serrano wrote: "Por eso el cine español debe recoger la vida nuestra en su exacta dimensión dramática . . . Los problemas vitales, físicos y metafísicos del hombre español". Serrano de Osma, "Concepto platónico," Pérez Perucha, 155-158.

735. Serrano explicitly stated his contempt for the folkloric musical in Antonio Castro, ed., El cine español en el banquillo (Valencia: Fernando Torres, 1974), 406.

736. Spain's film industry, he argued, was driven by purely financial considerations. It lacked cineastes possessed of artistic ambition or endowed with a personal poetics. Despite technical advances, Spain's cinema was "incomplete, mutilated, rickety" (*un cine incompleto, mutilado, raquítico*) and thus had nothing to say. See Serrano de Osma, "El cinema español sabe hablar ya," Popular Film no. 487, 19 December 1935, reprinted in Pérez Perucha, 105-106.

In 1945 Serrano ended a lecture with the following statement: "Spain's cinema is not worthy of the protection it receives from the state . . . Spain's cinema is almost nothing" (*El cine español no está a la altura de la protección que le dispensa el Estado ... no es casi nada*). Serrano de Osma, "El cine actual" (1945), a lecture delivered on March 1, 1945 and reprinted in Pérez Perucha, 126-133. He voiced a similar objection the following year in "El cine español, vocación y servicio," Cinema Experimental (March 1946), reprinted in Pérez Perucha, 143-144.

According to Serrano, only an infusion of young talent could halt the slow disintegration of Spain's film industry. His remedy entailed the creation of a state-sponsored film school that would train a new generation of film professionals not only in cinematic technique but also in aesthetics and visual literacy. See "Proyecto para una Escuela de Cinematografía: Preámbulo" (1941). Serrano's terse critiques of the evolution of Spain's cinema over the decades may be sampled in essays like "Itinerario de nuestro cine" (1934), "Sobre la cultura cinematográfica española" (1944), "Técnica dramática" (1963), and "Hacer Cine" (1981). All four are included in Pérez Perucha's study. Perucha summarizes Serrano's views on this matter on page 58.

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737. See, for instance, the essays "Música-Imágenes" (1933), Popular Film no. 379, 16 November 1933, reprinted in Pérez Perucha, 78-79; and "Posibilidad inédita del folklore" (1946), reprinted in Pérez Perucha, 149-150.

738. Pérez Perucha, 149-150.

739. "Debemos abordar como tarea primordial la recreación cinematográfica de la españolada. Es decir, debemos realizar en nuestros estudios, con valentía, la contraespañolada. Elegir el tópico más desacreditado, y ennoblecerlo haciéndolo arte . . . Todo lo que apesta, de puro desacreditado, pero que en su esencia es más español que la propia España". Antonio del Amo, "Origen de la españolada y aplicación cinematográfica," Imágenes, January 1947.

740. Serrano had already rerouted his business partners when it came to shooting his first feature, *Abel Sánchez*. They had originally wanted to render Unamuno's novella into a white telephone comedy in the line of Juan de Orduña's recent hits. Serrano had it his way and turned out a dark psychological drama. The film flopped.

741. "Una película folklórica no tiene ni puede tener otro estilo que el franco y leal de presentarlos como son y hacerlos cantar y bailar por las buenas sin tratar de atribuirle una altura distinta de la que les conviene. La inclinación de la cámara para conseguir ángulos anti-naturales, las sobreimpresiones constantes y fatigosas, todo eso, que ya es vulgar, puede admitirse en otro tipo de películas . . . pero no en un tema y con intérpretes de esta clase y con una realización de estilo muy visto y ya pasado... Sus discípulos pueden aprender en esa película qué es lo que no se debe hacer". José de la Cueva, review of *Embrujo*, by Carlos Serrano de Osma, Informaciones, 30 April 1948.

742. Review of *Embrujo*, by Carlos Serrano de Osma, El Alcázar, 1 May 1948. André Bazin's essay, "The Ontology of the Photographic Image," was published in 1945. "The Aesthetics of Reality" and "Cinematic Realism and the Italian School of Liberation" appeared in 1948. His landmark article, "The Evolution of Film Language," wherein he praised Renoir, Welles, and Wyler's construction of narrative space through long takes and deep focus, did not see the light, however, until 1950. Furthermore, Spanish film critics may not have had access to Bazin's articles in the 1940s. This begs the question of whether certain Spanish film critics may have arrived earlier at similar conclusions independent of Bazin. *The Little Foxes* was first shown in Spain in 1945. Serrano

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appreciated Wyler's use of deep space, but he personally felt that deep focus dehumanized vision, since, he claimed, our eyes cannot achieve a similar sharpness throughout the entire visual field if they are focused on the foreground. See Serrano de Osma, "El cine actual," Pérez Perucha, 131.

743. André Bazin, What Is Cinema?, vol. 1, trans. Hugh Gray (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 46, 50.

744. For a succint overview of theories about editing see the chapter "Montage" in Jacques Aumont et al., Aesthetics of Film, translated and revised by Richard Neupart (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), 37-67.

745. Serrano de Osma proclaimed: "Tenemos la gran misión . . . hacer un cine con raíces sociales. Un cine que cause pasmo y asombro por su cruda verdad, por su hondo sentido humano y popular." Such a cinema would render "el latido de las multitudes españolas . . . los problemas colectivos . . . que fluctúan entre lo heroico y lo revolucionario." He concluded, "Todo el cine español ha de ser necesariamente el producto de esta circunstancia determinante: lo social. . . . Poesía de la verdad. Poesía de lo social". Serrano de Osma, "Concepto platonico," Pérez Perucha, 150-59.

746. "No creo en el cine lógico . . . Creo en el cine mágico. Por eso quiero tanto al venerable Georges Meliés. El creó el cine mágico. Por lo mismo quiero tanto a Walt Disney. El cine español será mágico . . . ese cine mágico que España necesita. Ese cine mágico que no conoce la preceptiva, que supera la gramática . . . Estamos un tanto hartos de tanto film imperfecto, académico y pulido. Queremos un cine imperfecto . . . pero con ímpetu genésico, con exaltación, con libertad creadora". Ibid., 157-158.

747. "Hacer cine es vivir mundos nuevos, inéditos, sin circunstancia coercitiva, sin norma y traba . . . Creo que el cine nuevo tiene que venir a caballo de la locura". Ibid., 150, 158.

748. Cine Experimental was conceived as magazine for film professionals, but it went largely unnoticed among industry types. Only eleven issues saw the light. Serrano de Osma became editor-in-chief on the fifth issue and director as of the seventh. The magazine's title was misleading, for its editorial policy was not as radical as its name would imply. In fact, most of the articles appeared to target a readership more interested in the latest photographic equipment and technological advances than aesthetic concerns. See Joaquim Romaguera i Ramio, "La revista *Cine Experimental* 1944-1946"

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in Las vanguardias artísticas en la historia del cine español (Barcelona: III Congreso de la Asociación Española de Historiadores de Cine, 1991). Domènec Font somewhat dismissively compared the content of Cinema Experimental to the rhetorical style of the Italian film magazine Bianco e Nero during its Fascist period. See Font, 128. Be this as it may, several articles were published about avant-garde aesthetics in the cinema, including one by Carlos Fernández Cuenca that appeared in the second issue.

749. Font, 128. Serrano de Osma defined his liberated, imperfect cinema as "el cine de las tres CCC . . . que quieren decir Cerebro, Corazón, Coraje." In this regards, Serrano said, "I have the personal satisfaction of having assembled a magical or telluric team, as we would have it." (*Tengo la dicha personal de haber acoplado en Barcelona un equipo mágico. O telúrico, en nuestro lenguaje familiar.*) Serrano de Osma, "Concepto Platónico," Pérez Perucha, 159.

750. Like García Berlanga, Fernando Fernán Gómez too opined that the strong attraction exerted by neorealism over the most talented and progressive directors of the younger generation put a premature end to the experimental direction proposed by the *telúricos*. See Fernando Fernán Gómez, "Interview: El viaje del comediante," Contracampo, no. 35 (Spring 1984): 51-74. Fernán Gómez also discusses this period in passing in his autobiography, El tiempo amarillo. Memorias 1921-1987 (Madrid: Ed. Debate, 1995).

Serrano explicitly mentioned the influence of *The Magnificent Ambersons* on his third feature, *La sirena negra* (1947) in Castro, 403-409, excerpted in Pérez Perucha, 28. A review of Welles' film, not entirely favorable and oddly reminiscent in tone of the attacks *Embrujo* would later endure, appeared in the third issue of Cine Experimental. See José Manuel Dorell, "*El Cuarto Mandamiento* o un ensayo para resucitar viejos estilos de expresionismo cinematográfico," Cine Experimental, no.3 (3 February 1945).

751. Antonio del Amo, "Cine telúrico y cine boluda," Imágenes, April 1947.

752. For instance, Gil Fillol, "Pasado y futuro del arte. Responso al vanguardismo," Gaceta de Bellas Artes 459, no. 1 (1944).

753. See Angel Llorente, Arte e ideología bajo el franquismo (1936-1951) (Madrid: Visor, 1995, 219-222); María Isabel Cabrera García, Tradición y vanguardia en el pensamiento artístico español (1939-1959) (Granada: Universidad de

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Granada, 1998), 210-233; and Manuel Pérez Lizano, Focos del Surrealismo español. Artistas aragoneses 1929-1991 (Zaragoza: Mira Editores, 1992).

754. Derek Harris, "Squared Horizons: The Hybridisation of the avant-garde in Spain" in The Spanish Avant-garde, ed. Derek Harris (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 4.

755. See Jaime Brihuega, "El Surrealismo bajó de los cielos y habitó entre nosotros," Surrealismo. El ojo soluble (Málaga: Litoral, 1987), 41-53. Surrealism's impact upon Spain's literary and artistic scene has been a topic of some controversy. A few scholars have denied the existence of a local Surrealist movement on a par with Breton's group; others point to the Surrealist pronouncements and activities of Oscar Domínguez and his comrades in the island of Tenerife, which hosted the 1935 International Exhibition of Surrealism, and the example of Salvador Dalí, Luis Buñuel and Joan Miró as proofs of the existence of a genuine Spanish Surrealism. On Surrealism's reception in Spain see J. García Gallego, La recepción del Surrealismo en España (Granada: Ubago, 1984).

Spanish artists and writers were certainly aware of the main ideas of the Surrealist movement, since Breton's First Surrealist Manifesto (1924) was published in the prestigious Revista de Occidente two months after its appearance in France, giving rise to heated polemics. Several leading Surrealists, such as Louis Aragon, René Crevel, Paul Eluard, Benjamin Péret and Breton himself, visited and lectured in Spain. Although Surrealism's impact was first felt in literature, most notably among poets like Rafael Alberti, Vicente Aleixandre, Luis Cernuda and Emilio Prados, the visual arts soon followed suite. Lastly, when it comes to evaluating the existence of a Surrealist cinema, one name is repeatedly invoked as the only veritable Surrealist filmmaker: Luis Buñuel.

For a validation of an autochtonous Spanish Surrealism see the pioneering studies by Paul Ilie, The Surrealist Mode in Spanish literature (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1969); and C.B. Morris, Surrealism and Spain (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972). See also C.B. Morris, ed., The Surrealist Adventure in Spain (Ottawa Hispanic Studies, Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions, 1991). Studies on Spain's Surrealist art scene are far less numerous and more recent than related studies in literature. See Lucía García de Carpi, La pintura Surrealista española (Madrid: Istmo, 1986); and the exhibition catalog, Surrealismo en

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España (Madrid: Centro Reina Sofía, 1994). There are two unpublished dissertations in English on Surrealism in Spain. See Robin Greeley, Surrealism and the Spanish Civil War. Politics and the Surrealist Imagination, (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1997); and Jordana Mendelson, From Documents to Monuments. The Representation of Spain and the avant-garde in the 1930s (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1999).

756. The first artistic group to contest *franquismo's* cultural hegemony was *Postismo*, primarily a literary movement that affirmed the creative power of the unconscious. Despite their timid manifesto, the *Postistas* drew heavy fire from the establishment. See Andrés Flores, "Manifiesto antipostista" in La estafeta literaria, no. 21, 15 February 1945. Among Flores' reproaches, directed beyond Postismo to all other "isms" of the twentieth century, were its subjective and elitist bent, its dehumanization, its rejection of traditional ethics and the art of the past, and its reliance on the subconscious for artistic inspiration. Other critics welcomed *Postismo*, albeit with reservations, as a fresh breath of air in the stagnant panorama of Spain's post-Civil War art scene. See Julio Trenas, "¿Un ismo en plástica?," Revista del postismo, no. 1 (1945). For more information on this debate see Cabrera García, 197-204.

The next avant-garde groups, Dau el Set in Barcelona and the School of Altamira in Santander, founded ca. 1948, also traced their lineage to Surrealism. In 1948 the art review Cobalto dedicated an issue entirely to Surrealism. The first post-Civil War scholarly study in Spanish on Surrealism, written by Aleixandre Cirici Pellicer, was published in 1949. Indeed, for many Spanish artists of the late 1940s Surrealism was the only viable alternative. Antonio Saura, who was to become a leading abstract expressionist painter, said at the time, "Creemos que el Surrealismo no ha muerto y que su semilla . . . continuará dirigiendo el arte joven por senderos cada vez más prometedores. Estamos plenamente convencidos de que el nuevo Surrealismo, resurgido con todo su poder poético por encima del turbio existencialismo, ha de recobrar su puesto prominente como la más potente escuela artística y literaria". Excerpted from a book review in La Hora (1950) and reprinted in Gabriel Ureña, Las vanguardias artísticas en la postguerra española. 1940-1959, (Madrid: Istmo, 1982), 215.

757. See Juan María Bonet, "De una vanguardia bajo el franquismo," in Ureña, 214. Nonetheless, several artists with Francoist sympathies were drawn to Surrealism. In addition to Salvador Dalí, a number of artists working under the spell of

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Surrealism (Alfonso Buñuel, José Caballero, Angel Ferrant, Adriano del Valle, Domingo Viladomat) either sided with Franco's *Nacionales* and continued to practice a pseudo-Surrealism from within Falange's ranks, or simply remained in Franco's Spain, quietly pursuing their interest in formal experimentation. This leads Brihuega to conjecture about the possibility of a Falangist Surrealist group. Brihuega, 50.

758. Luis María Saumells reported on the 1947 Surrealist exhibition in Paris for Arbor, no. 27 (March 1948): 436-444. Illustrations of works by Miró, Tanguy and Ernst accompanied his article, which stressed Surrealism's interest in mythology, magical-religious experiences, and the otherworldly. Reviewing the publication in France of Maurice Nadeau's History of Surrealism for the popular magazine, Destino, José Luis Cano interpreted its appearance as a confirmation of the movement's demise. At the same time, he took the opportunity to wax positive on the importance of Surrealism to the culture of the twentieth century and acknowledge its momentous defense of the right to dream and imagine. See José Luis Cano, Destino (February 1947).

759. For instance, he praised Buñuel's *Land without Bread* (1934) for its graphic realism, but waxed less eloquently on *Un Chien Andalou* or *L'Age d'Or*. See C. Serrano de Osma, "Luis Buñuel" (1934), reprinted in Pérez Perucha, 100-101.

760. Serrano de Osma used the phrase "las tinieblas del subsconsciente" and declared: "Nuestro cine tiene planos Surrealistas." Carlos Serrano de Osma, "Interview," Cinema, no.13, 15 October, 1946, quoted in Pérez Perucha, 25. A later article describes *Embrujo* as a journey "al desván del subconsciente por la gaya senda del folklore" (through the joyful path of folklore to the attic of the subconscious.) See Carlos Serrano de Osma, "Embrujo. Film Surrealista de Carlos Errano de Osma," Cámara, no. 97, 15 January 1947.

761. Antonin Artaud, "Sorcery and the Cinema" in The Avant - Garde Film. A Reader of Theory and Criticism, ed. Adams Sitney (New York: Anthology Film Archives, 1987), 49-50.

762. Given its geographical proximity to and historical ties with France, Catalunya has traditionally been in close contact with European culture and thus at the forefront of Spain's avant-garde activities. At the turn of the century there was an important circle of Symbolist painters and Art Nouveau architects and designers. During World War One Francis Picabia resided in Barcelona, where he founded an early Dadaist group around the magazine 391. Having lived in Barcelona in his youth, Picasso's prestige led to the

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appearance of several offshoots of cubism, while Catalan artists like Dalí and Miró provided a link to Surrealism.

763. Breton speaks of the cinema as a site for the experience of the marvelous in La Clé des Champs and describes filmgoing as a celebration of "le seul mystère absolutement moderne," an event through which one may access the sublime point where oppositions cease to exist. See "Comme dans un bois" in L'Age du Cinéma (August-September 1951), reprinted in André Breton, La Clé des Champs, Paris: Jean Jacques Paurent, 1967, 290-296 and translated into English, "As in a Wood" in The Shadow and its Shadow. Surrealist Writings on the Cinema, ed. and trans. Paul Hammond, third edition (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2000), 72-77. See also Rudolf Kuenzli, introduction to Dada and Surrealist Film (New York: Willis, Locker & Owens, 1987).

764. See R. Kuenzli; Linda Williams, Figures of Desire. A Theory and Analysis of Surrealist Film (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1981); Dudley Andrew, Mists of Regret: Culture and Sensibility in Classic French Film (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); M. Lucien Logette, "El Surrealismo y el cine o la pequeña historia de un encuentro fallido," Surrealismo. El Ojo Soluble, 414-424.

765. Of course, in the 1960s Buñuel would become a paradigmatic figure for the new generation of Spanish filmmakers. For a study of Surrealist cinema in Spain see Agustín Sánchez Vidal, "Cine Surrealista Español: La búsqueda de una concrección," Surrealismo. El ojo soluble, 89-97.

766. *Embrujo*'s producers genuinely hoped to reach a mass audience. As for Serrano, he rejected a elitist cinema: "El cine no puede quedar en un arte de minorías. . . . Hay que hacer un cine para todos". Serrano de Osma, "Concepto platónico," repritned in Pérez Perucha, 159.

767. For a positive reading of the discontinuities in perception generated by montage, see Noel Burch, "Editing as a Plastic Art" in Theory of Film Practice (New York: Praeger, 1973), 32-48.

768. In her writings Dulac championed a filmmaking practice that privileged the image over the plot; a film's dramatic impact would arise from harmonies of shadow and light and from visual rhythms rather than from its story. See Germaine Dulac, "The Essence of the Cinema: The Visual Idea" and "The Avant-Garde Cinema" in Adams Sitney, 36-48. Dulac's call for a "pure cinema" centered on the plastics of the image was echoed in a few essays published in Cinema Experimental. For

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instance, see Miguel Peyreyra, "El lenguaje de las formas: una teoría sobre el poder creador de la cámara," Cinema Experimental, no. 2 (January 1945).

769. Serrano declared in an interview: "Mi vocación nació en las postrimerías del cine mudo. Me parecio que las imágenes eran un medio de comunicación universal. . . .Encontré que investigar el lenguaje de las imágenes se convertía en tarea apasionante". Pascual Cebolleda, Interview with Carlos Serrano de Osma, Cine y Más, no. 28-29 (March-April 1983): 12, reprinted in Pérez Perucha, 177-180.

770. See Williams, passim.

771. An article in Cámara (note 755) underlined the oneiric aspects of *Embrujo*: "una película que plasma estados de ánimos, vivencias psíquicas, el mundo irreal de los sueños".

772. Breton wrote, "What is most specific of all the means of the camera is obviously the power to make concrete the forces of love." André Breton, "As in a wood" in Hammond, 74. Adonis Kyrou devotes a chapter to films that celebrate erotic passion, citing especially Henry Hathaway's *Peter Ibbetson* (1935) as the supreme filmic example of a type of *amour fou* that draws a couple together, as life conspires to keep them apart, and continues to bind them beyond death. See Adonis Kyrou, "L'Amour" in Le Surréalisme au Cinéma (Paris: Édition Le Terrain Vague, 1963), expanded version, 109-132.

773. I am borrowing this term from Kaja Silverman. See K. Silvrman, Male Subjectivity at the Margins (New York/London: Routledge, 1992).

774. A pre-release publicity item in Cámara (note 755) described the dynamics of Lola and Manolo's relationship in these terms: "El alma sencilla del cantaor sufre la separación y lanza su alma a lo desconocido con la potencia que la bailaora sólo puede trazar sus pasos íntegramente cuando la voz del hombre le resuena en la profundidad de su subconsciente. De tal modo que cesa el baile cuando la voz, que canta lejos, muy lejos, cesa también". An earlier piece in similarly linked Lola's success to the magic of Manolo's voice, so that "cuando la muerte inmoviliza la voz del cantaor, también se inmovilizan los pies de la bailarina". "Embrujo," Cinema, no. 13, 16 October 1946.

775. "Vida y muerte te encadena en pos de mi cantar./Será grande tu pena que estás rompiendo a bailar". (Soundtrack.)

776. "[*Embrujo* es] el hechizo que liga ambas vidas en un

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mismo destino. Por encima del tiempo y las distancias el poderoso inconsciente irrumpe con fuerza". "Embrujo," Cámara no. 97, 15 January 1947.

777. Georges Bataille, Erotism. Death and Sensuality, trans. Mary Dalwood (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1986).

778. Leo Bersani, The Freudian Body (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 39. In Beyond the Pleasure Principle (1919) and Civilization and its Discontents (1930) Freud settled on an understanding of the death drive as a move towards stasis and the extinction of excitement. Bersani wishes to return to Freud's earlier thoughts on the subject.

779. Foster, 111.

780. Soundtrack.

781. Mary Ann Caws, The Surrealist Look (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998), 20. Caws follows here Breton's assertion, "Everything leads us to believe that there is a certain point in the spirit where life and death, the real and the imaginary, the past and the future, the communicable and the incommunicable, high and low, cease to be perceived as being in opposition to each other. It is futile to seek in the activities of Surrealism any other motive than the hope of determining this point." André Breton, "Second Surrealist Manifesto (1929)," reprinted in Surrealists on Art, ed. Lucy Lippard (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1970), 28.

782. Indeed, Lorca's poetry drew heavily from the corpus of traditional Andalusian lyrics –ballads, romances and coplas– as well as medieval Arab-Andalusian literature. One of Lorca's most famous books of poetry, Poemas del cante jondo (Poems of the deep song), explicitly referred in its title to a style of flamenco singing. For a discussion of these poems' rapport to *cante jondo* see C.B. Morris, Son of Andalusia. The Lyrical Landscapes of Federico García Lorca (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1997), 182-195. Félix Grande commented that Lorca's poems "do not narrate flamenco poetry; they record its palpitations." Quoted in Morris, 184.

783. Flamenco's origins are shrouded in mystery and controversy. Over the past century scholars have affirmed or refuted its roots in Andalusia's gypsy population. For an English-language survey of the field of flamenco scholarship and a radical deconstruction of its subject see Timothy Mitchell, Flamenco Deep Song (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994). Musicologist Félix Grande has dated the first manifestations of flamenco back to the end of the eighteenth

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century and traced its development from gypsy caves and dwellings through taverns, country fairs, and brothels to the *cortijos* (the estates of Andalusian landed aristocrats), the salons of the wealthy and, finally, to the urban audiences of the *café cantante*, a performance space that made its first appearance in Seville in 1842 and attained enormous popularity in the nineteenth-century. See Félix Grande, García Lorca y el flamenco (Madrid: Ed. Mondadori, 1992).

784. On the subject of *flamenquismo* see Carlos Clavería, Estudios sobre los gitanismos del español, Madrid: CSIC, 1951. No writer was as vocal in his denunciation of *flamenquismo* as Eugenio Noel (1885-1916), who vented his anti-flamenquismo in books like Señoritos, chulos, fenómenos gitanos y flamencos and Escenas y andanzas de la campaña antiflamenca. Before Noel many other important nineteenth-century intellectuals —José Zorilla, Emilia Pardo Bazán, Clarín, and Juan Valera, among others— had decried the pervasive influence of *flamenquismo*. See Manuel Ríos Ruiz, "Causas y efectos del antiflamenquismo" in Los intelectuales ante el flamenco, a special issue of Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos (May 1992): 57-68.

785. See José Luis Buendía López, "Las generaciónes del 98 y 27 ante el flamenco" in Los intelectuales ante el flamenco, 95-108.

786. For an overview of flamenco in the first decade after the Civil War see José Luis Navarro García and Miguel Ropero Nuñez, Historia del flamenco, vol. 3 (Seville: Edic. Tartessos, 1996), 305-329; and Angel Alvarez Caballero, "Del Nacionalflamenquismo al renacimiento" in Los intelectuales ante el flamenco, 110.

787. Francisco Almazán wrote: "La España de Franco, aislada y bloqueada internacionalmente, necesitaba una afirmación nacional orgullosa de sus valores frente al mundo y reducir, definitivamente, la diversidad interior a unidad firme y claramente manejable. Nada para ello como la poderosa estética popular castellano-andaluza y toda la bella imaginería del Sur". Francisco Almazán, Flamenco y sociedad 1887-1997 (Madrid: 1987), 27.

788. Accordingly, Pérez Perucha notes how few Andalusian folkloric films appeared during the 1940s compared to the 1930s or the avalanche of musicals unleashed in the 1950s. There were numerous attacks in Primer Plano and other film publications against the perpetuation of clichés of Andalusian life in these musicals. For a sample of these arguments see Pío García, "Películas de ambientación

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folklórica," Primer Plano, no. 10, 22 December 1940; J. Goyanes de Osés, "Belleza y falsedad del regionalismo en el cinematógrafo," Primer Plano, no. 18, 16 February 1941; José Luis Vázquez Dodero, "Pensamiento y cine español," Primer Plano, no. 28, 4 April 1941; Martín Abizanda, "Lo típico, lo castizo, y lo español en el cine," Primer Plano, no. 40, 20 July 1941; "Mas allá del folklorismo o Don Quijote no era flamenco," Imágenes, May 1945.

789. Fernando Méndez Leite, Historia del cine español, vol. 2 (Madrid: Rialp, 1965), 14. The author was wrong, for both Caracol and especially Flores enjoyed a short, but successful film career.

790. For a definition of *cante jondo* see José Martínez Hernández, "La cultura de la sangre. Apuntes para una poética del cante jondo," Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos, no. 512 (February 1993): 43-54.

791. According to Grande, critics like *Demófilo* (a pseudonym for Manuel Machado y Álvarez), missing the intimacy and "purity" of flamenco's original setting, bemoaned its evolution from an underclass musical form into a more sophisticated and flamboyant genre. Other thinkers criticized flamenco's progressive commodification into a lucrative mass spectacle, the *opera flamenca,* and called for a return to a purer, less accessible style of flamenco, closer to its original subaltern expression. The popularization of flamenco among urban dwellers led to its dismissal as mass culture, a bias that Lorca and Falla intended to counter. Among the stellar guests at the 1922 contest of *cante jondo* were composer Joaquín Turina, guitarrist Andrés Segovia, painters Ignacio Zuloaga and Santiago Rusiñol, writers Ramón Gómez de la Serna and Ramón Pérez de Ayala, and poet Juan Ramón Jiménez. For the polemical reception of their contest in the press see Suzanne Byrd, "La *Fiesta del Cante Jondo* de Granada: ¿una españolada?" in Estelas, Laberintos, Nuevas Sendas, ed. Angel G. Loureiro (Barcelona: Anthropos, 1988), 345-352.

792. See Edward Stanton, The Tragic Myth. Lorca and Cante Jondo (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1978). Félix Grande observes how Lorca built his defense of *cante jondo* on several misconceptions about its origins, which suggests he was more of an amateur than a real connoisseur. See Félix Grande, "García Lorca y el flamenco," in Loureiro, 321-343.

793. In this regard, Lorca said: "El cantaor, cuando canta, celebra solemne rito, saca las viejas esencias dormidas y las lanza al viento envueltas en su voz. Tiene un profundo

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sentimiento religioso del canto. Se canta en los momentos más dramáticos, y nunca para divertirse, como en las grandes faenas de los toros, sino para volar, para evadirse, para sufrir, para traer a lo cotidiano una atmósfera estética suprema. La raza se vale de estas gentes para dejar escapar su dolor y su histórica verdad. Cantar alucinados por un punto brillante que tiembla en el horizonte. . . Los cantaores son siempre mediums". Federico García Lorca, "Arquitectura del cante jondo," Obras completas, vol. 3, Madrid: Aguilar, 1986, 222. This lecture was delivered in a variety of cities and locales, including La Coruña (1931) and Seville (1932), and selected fragments were published in various newspapers.

794. There is no record of García Lorca having delivered his "duende" lecture to a Spanish audience. It was first reprinted in Federico García Lorca, Obras completas, vol. 7, ed. Guillermo de Torre (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1942). A more complete version can be found in Federico García Lorca, Obras completas, vol. 3, Madrid: Aguilar, 1986 (306-318). See also Félix Grande, "La teoría del duende" in Los intelectuales ante el flamenco. For a study of Lorca's speeches in Latin America see José Enrique Serrano Asenjo, "Las conferencias de García Lorca en América," Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos, no. 538 (April 1995): 69-80.

795. "El duende es un poder y no un obrar, es un luchar y no un pensar . . . sube por dentro desde la planta de los pies". García Lorca, "Teoría del duende," Obras completas, vol. 3 (1986), 307.

796. García Lorca took the example of the *cantaora*, La Niña de los Peines: "Se tuvo que empobrecer de facultades y seguridades; es decir, tuvo que alejar a su musa y quedarse desamparada, que su duende viniera a luchara a brazo partido". Ibid., 310.

797. Ibid., 315.

798. Lorca insisted on the primacy of memory over invention: "el cantaor no inventa: recuerda". Ibid.

799. See Stanton, 10-13. In his theory of the *duende* García Lorca seemed to invoke a form of psychic automatism as a means of attaining a purer artistic expression. A practice fundamental to the poetics of Breton, psychic automatism was never widely accepted by the majority of Spanish Surrealists.

800. García Lorca was undoubtedly acquainted with the main ideas of Surrealism and kept abreast of its succesive

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evolutions thanks to his correspondence with Dalí and Buñuel. The latter, though, considered Lorca's Surrealism spurious, in spite of the irrational images and metaphors sprinkled throughout his poems. Their friendship became increasingly strained in the wake of the publication of Romancero gitano and Poemas del cante jondo in 1928. Buñuel and Dalí both denounced Lorca's *casticismo*, his fondness for Andalusian folklore, and criticized his tradition-bound poetry as inimical to the spirit of the times. See Agustín Sánchez Vidal, Buñuel, Lorca, Dali. Un enigma sin fin (Madrid: Planeta, 1988), 177 and 198 respectively.

In a letter to his friend Sebastian Gasch, Lorca acknowledged his new poetry benefitted from a lessening of rational control, but cautioned against any attempt to interpret this as Surrealism. See Antonia Rodrigo, Lorca-Dalí. Una amistad traicionada (Barcelona: Ed. Planeta, 1980), 205. Art historian Lucía García de Carpi believes Lorca's anxiety over Breton's equation of Surrealism with automatism underlay his defensive attitude. In her mind, it is undeniable that after 1929 Lorca fell under the spell of Surrealism. See Lucía García de Carpi, "La respuesta española" in Surrealismo en España, 21-44. C.B. Morris is more cautious. See Surrealism and Spain, 48-52.

801. Antonia Rodrigo already drew a connection between Surrealism and Lorca's notion of the *duende*. She notes how Louis Aragon, during a lecture in Madrid in 1925, which Lorca attended, posed this question to the audience: "Have you ever descended to the black well? What have you found?" To her mind, the *duende* constituted Lorca's answer to this challenge. See Rodrigo, 204.

802. See Mitchell, 70.

803. Sample lyrics include: "Dentro de mi pulso te llevo metida/Eres la caldera de mi pensamiento/Me va por tus labios la muerte y la vida" or "Que grande es la pena mía . . . Mi calvario es mis amores/tu desdeño mi pasión" (soundtrack).

804. Paraphrasing Lacan, Elizabeth Cowie understands fantasy as a mise-en-scène that supports the representation of desire. The pleasure of fantasy lies not in achieving the object of desire, but in the setting out of a stage for the subject to live out this unfulfilled desire, that is, for the representation of a lack. See The Woman in Question: M/f/, ed. Parveen Adams and Elizabeth Cowie (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990).

805. Bersani argues that "the work of art itself exists not

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in order to hinder desires but in order to make them visible." Bersani, 111.

806. In a striking parallel to the characters in Serrano's film, Lola Flores once said that during her performances she often lost herself in a trance, galvanized and enthralled by Caracol's voice:"Cuando me canta Caracol, me electriza, y ya no soy dueña de mi voluntad; bailo y bailo cón todos mis nervios y con todo mi ser, sin darme cuenta hasta terminar en que las ovaciones del público me despiertan". Interview with Lola Flores, Dígame, 17 April 1945, quoted in Historia del flamenco, vol. 3, 311.

807. Speaking of *Embrujo*, Serrano de Osma said: "The story does not pause for the music or the song; it traverses them in a straight line in search of their emotional core." (*La temática no hace alto para dejar paso a la música y a la canción; los atraviesa, rectilíneo, en busca de su diana emocional.*) "Embrujo," Cámara, no. 129, 15 May 1948.

808. Serrano de Osma wrote: "Instead of accompanying words, [music] must aid the image. It must concur with the image in order to increase its emotional impact." (*En lugar de acompañar a las palabras, [la música] debe ayudar a la imagen. Debe ir con ésta para hacerla más emocional y penetrante.*) The secret to a successful musical film lay in "the alteration of the image to the beat of the music" (*la variación de la imagen a cada compás de la música*). Serrano de Osma, "Música-Imágenes" (1933), reprinted in Pérez Perucha, 78-79.

809. Havelock Ellis observed in his book, The Dance of Life (1923), how both the religious and erotic functions of dance had flourished and survived much longer in Spain than elsewhere in Europe. Here dance achieved a peak of sensuous beauty and, by contrast, plunged further into the depths spirtual fervor. See the excerpts from The Dance of Life in What is Dance? Readings in Theory and Criticism, ed. Roger Copland and Marshall Cohen, (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1983) 482, 485.

810. Most of Spain's leading avant-garde artists were familiar with Freudian psychoanalysis. Freud's major writings were translated into Spanish and published by the Biblioteca Nueva between 1922 and 1934. Advance publicity of *Embrujo* in the specialized film press emphasized its engagement with psychoanalysis and the film's novelty in employing folklore for an exploration of the unconscious: "Y en *Embrujo* se hace lo que nunca hemos creído posible: llegar al desván del subsconsciente por la gaya senda del folklore. . . . (Freud,

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Jung, Adler) trazan las ideales líneas de perspectiva de esta película . . . que se lanza recta a la búsqueda de una sólida experiencia psicoanalista". "Embrujo," Cámara, no. 97, 15 January 1947.

811. For a study on the evolution of García Lorca's reputation after the Civil War see Luis Fernández Cifuentes, "García Lorca: historia de una evaluación, evaluación de una historia" in Loureiro, 233-262.

812. He writes: "[el Surrealismo] se hibrida con nuestros viejos fantasmas". Brihuega, 46. Antonia Rodrigo asserts that Spain's Surrealists were generally more attracted to the exploration of the unconscious, the abstract, and dream states than to the ethical and sexual issues that fascinated their French counterparts. Rodrigo, 205.

813. González Climent contrasts Lorca's vision of Andalusia to that of the Álvarez Quintero Brothers. Whereas Lorca indulges in a baroque and dionysiac pageantry, wherein tragedy is never far removed from the sensual, the Quinteros' theater stands out for its delicacy, simplicity, and serenity. See Anselmo González Climent, La Andalucía de los Quintero (Madrid: Escelicer, 1956), 209.

814. "Supone una aventura trascendental en la historia del cine español por incorporar experimentación de vanguardia . . . algo nuevo, muy distinto a todo". "Embrujo," Cámara, no. 97, 15 January 1947.

815. Eugeni J. Bonet, "Entre el cine Ex-perimental y el cine Ex-cepcional. Hipótesis, episodios y reconsideraciones acerca del cine y las vanguardias artísticas en España" in Las vanguardias artísticas en la historia del cine español, 107-131.

816. André Breton, "What is Surrealism?," reprinted in Theories of Modern Art, ed. Herschel B. Chipp (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1968), 417.

817. This telluric Surrealism, best exemplified in certain works by painters Benjamín Palencia and Maruja Mallo and sculptor Alberto Sánchez, manifested an attraction towards the landscape of Castile, viewed as a source of primeval feelings and forces, and an interest in the atavistic character of popular culture. For instance, Breton greatly admired Mallo's series of paintings known as *Cloacas y campanarios*. See García de Carpi, 165-171, 186-188. Interestingly enough, Stanton points out how Lorca compared

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the *duende* to a sort of telluric power that springs from the depths of the earth. Stanton, 11.

818. Escudero had moved to Paris in 1909, befriended Picasso, and become a regular presence in avant-garde circles. He choreographed and performed dances that fused flamenco with stylisms borrowed first from cubism and then from Surrealism. See the entry on Vicente Escudero in Historia del flamenco, vol. 3, 105-109. Escudero especially admired the work of Joan Miró, himself a life-long fan of ballet who painted several pictures inspired by the subject of Spanish dance. See Vicente Escudero, Mi baile (Barcelona: Montaner y Simón, 1947), especially 110-115.

819. "El cine español debe experimentar siempre. . . . Es preferible el riesgo del fracaso, con todas sus consecuencias, a la seguridad del triunfo mediocre". "Serrano de Osma, otro ofendido en el caso Lola Flores, dice que es el peor director de España, pero . . .," La Verdad (Murcia), February 15 1950, quoted in Pérez Perucha, 26.

820. "Tal vez yo me adelanté a mi tiempo". Serrano de Osma, quoted in Cebolleda, 14.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TEN (pages 369-386)

821. Censorship bureaus were actually far more active and severe during the aperture of the 1950s. Excesses were undoubtedly committed and the moral code imposed by the Church's overwhelming influence was stifling and extreme in its prudery. The history of censorship in Spanish cinema abounds in risible anecdotes. See Gubern, Un cine para el cadalso.

822. Matthew Affron and Mark Antliff, "Art and Fascist Ideology in France and Italy. An Introduction," Fascist Visions, ed. M. Affron and Mark Antliff (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 17.

823. Román Gubern, "Claves de la atipicidad del cine español," Archivos de la Filmoteca(Valencia), no. 1 (March-May 1989): 19.

824. Historians today tend to consider the number of weeks that a given motion picture remained in first-run theaters as a means to gauge the public's acceptance and the profitability of Spanish cinema. This information can be determined in newspaper ads and reviews. See Camporesi, 71-78. A word of caution, however, is necessary. These figures would reflect the taste of specific social groups that could

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afford the higher admission prices charged at these establishments, a point not often taken into account in the few studies done on reception. They are therefore non-representative of the overall population, especially the popular classes that frequented third-run movie houses. Nor do they measure attendance in rural communities.

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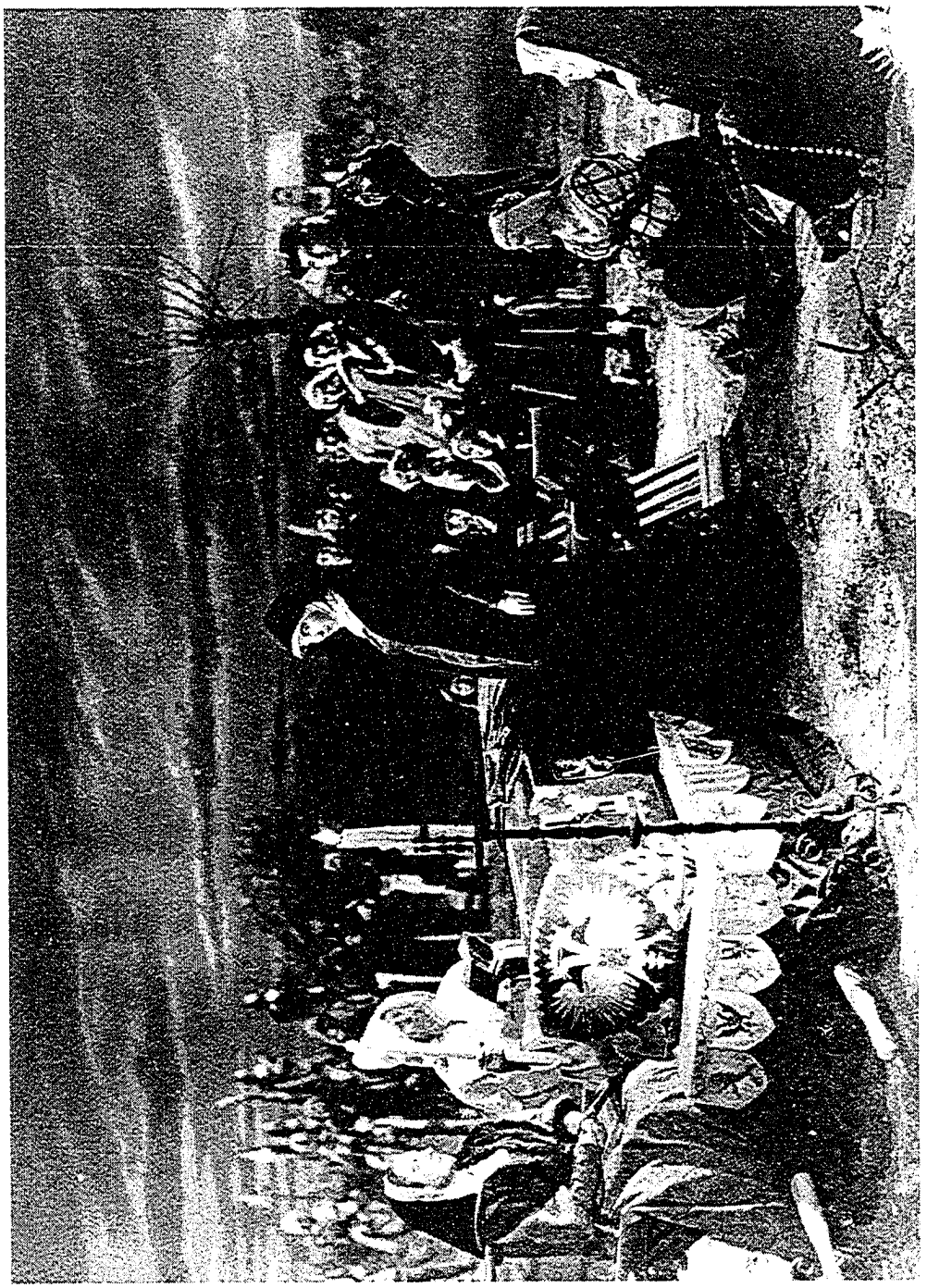


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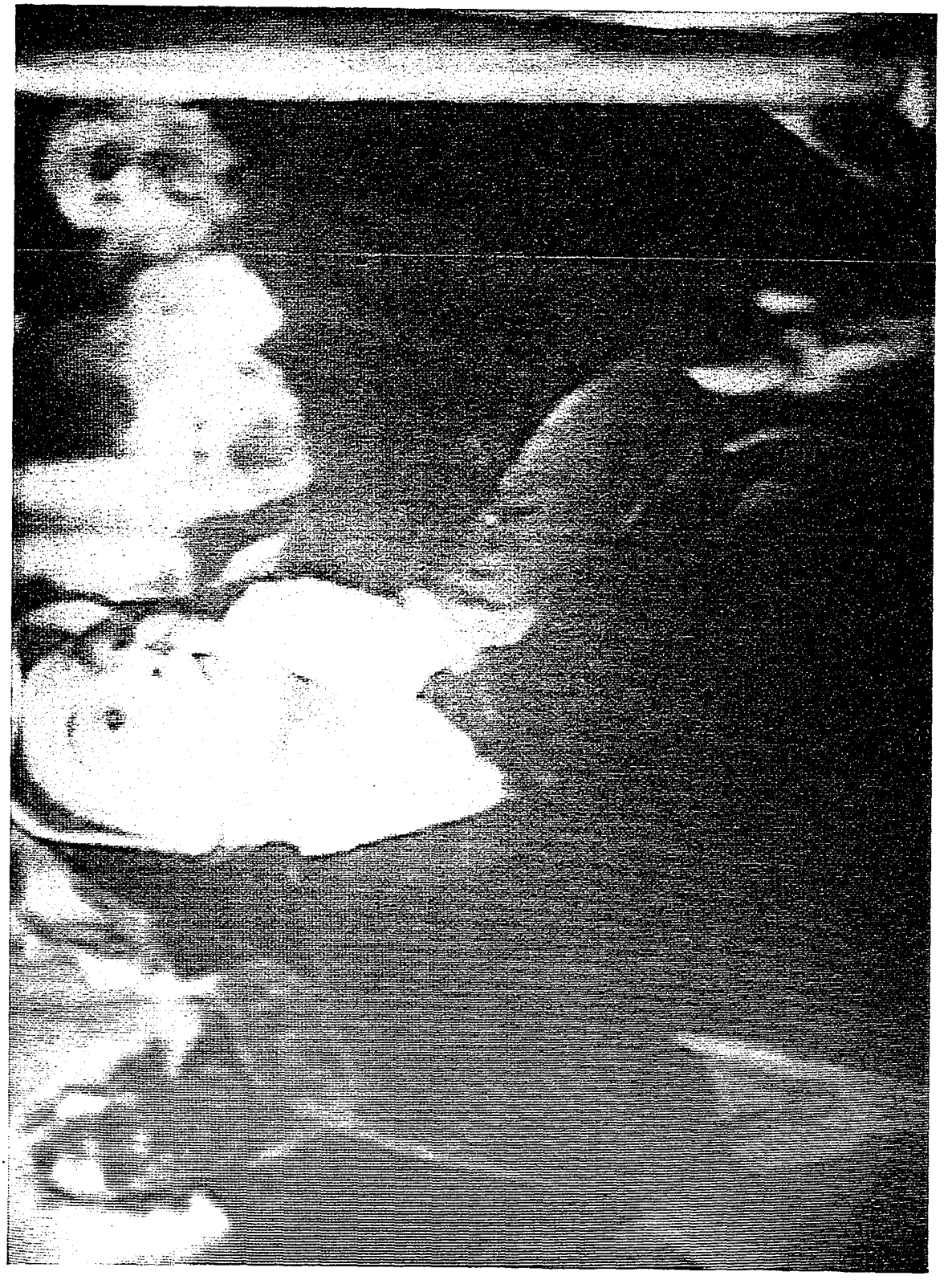


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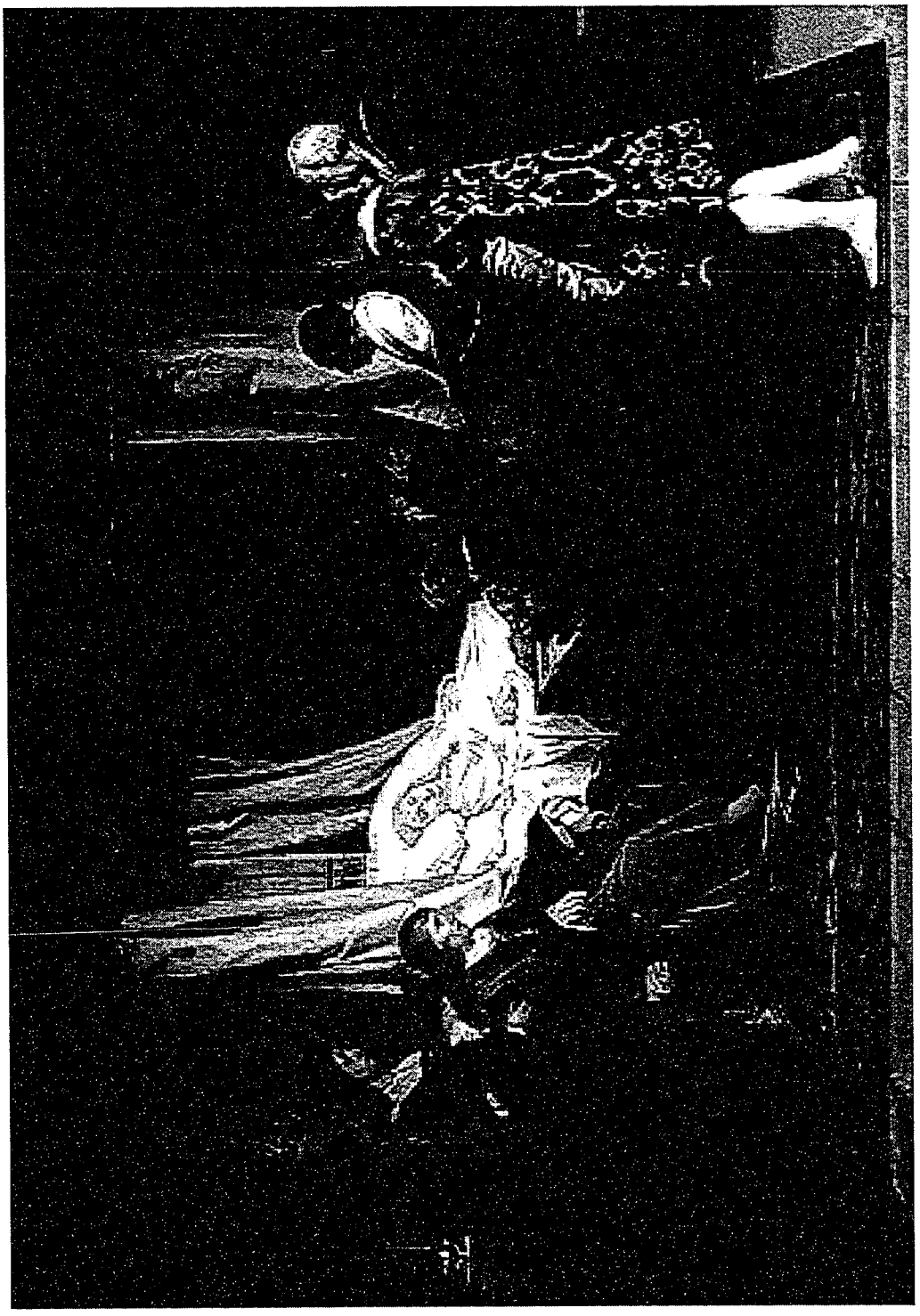


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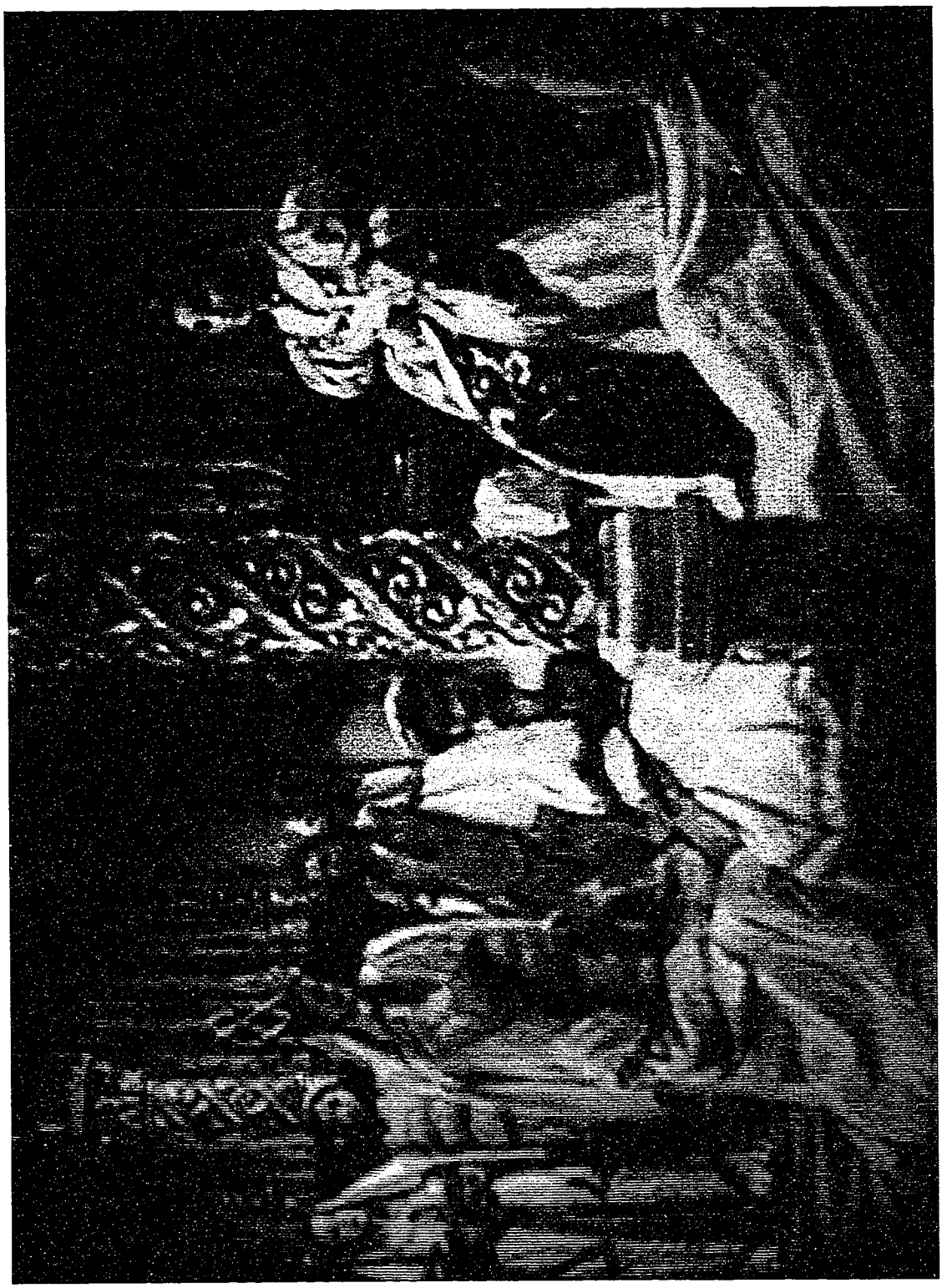


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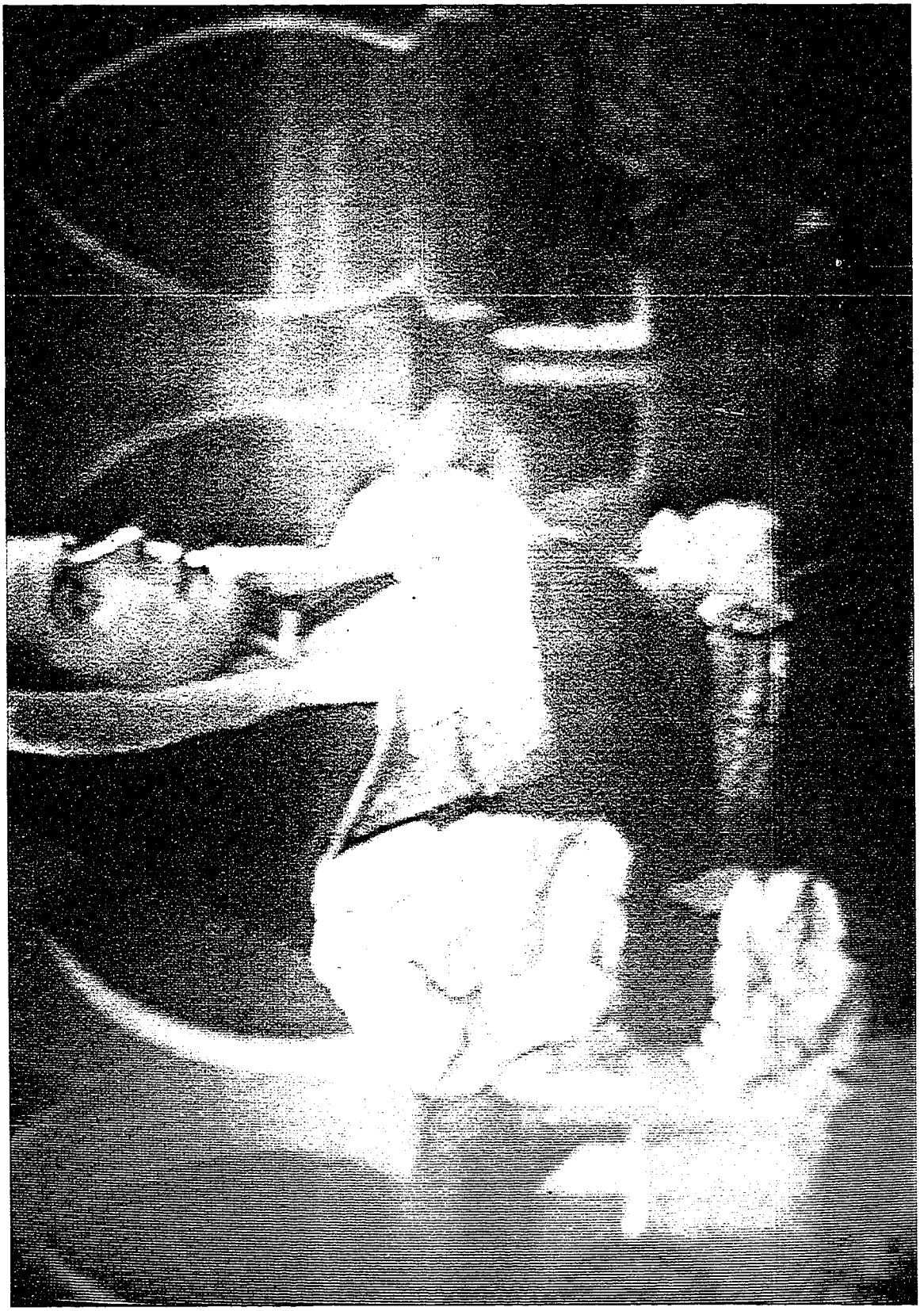


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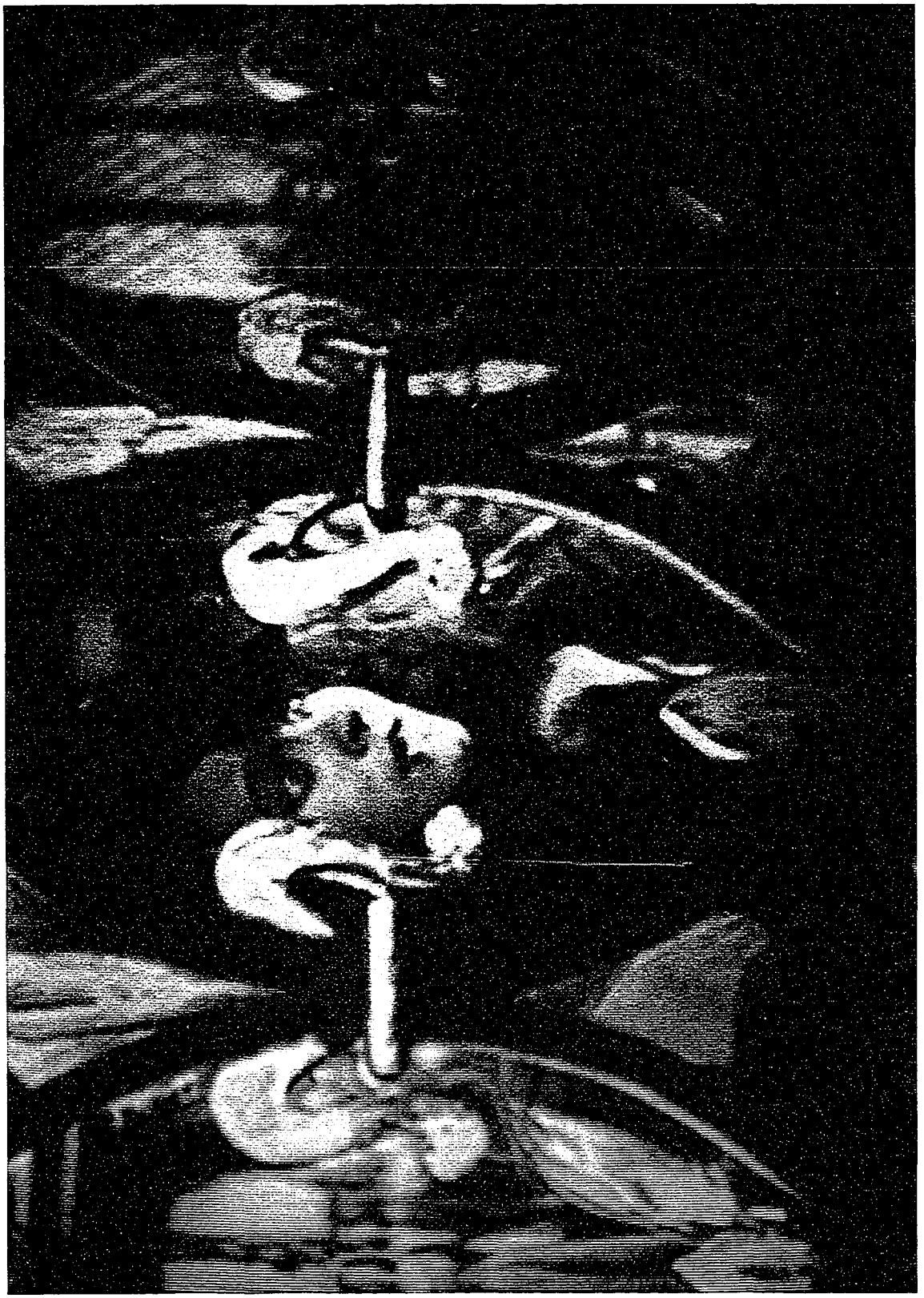


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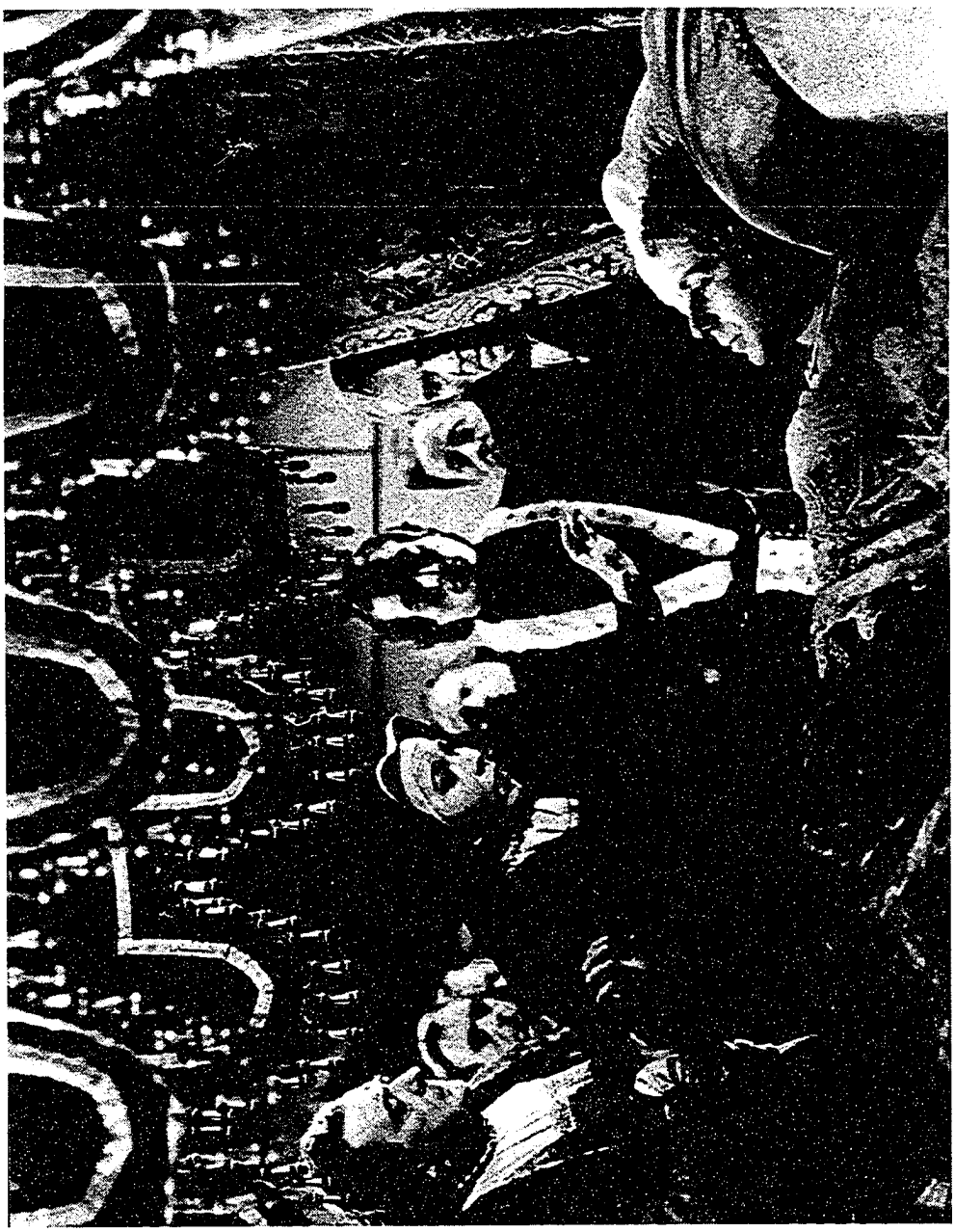


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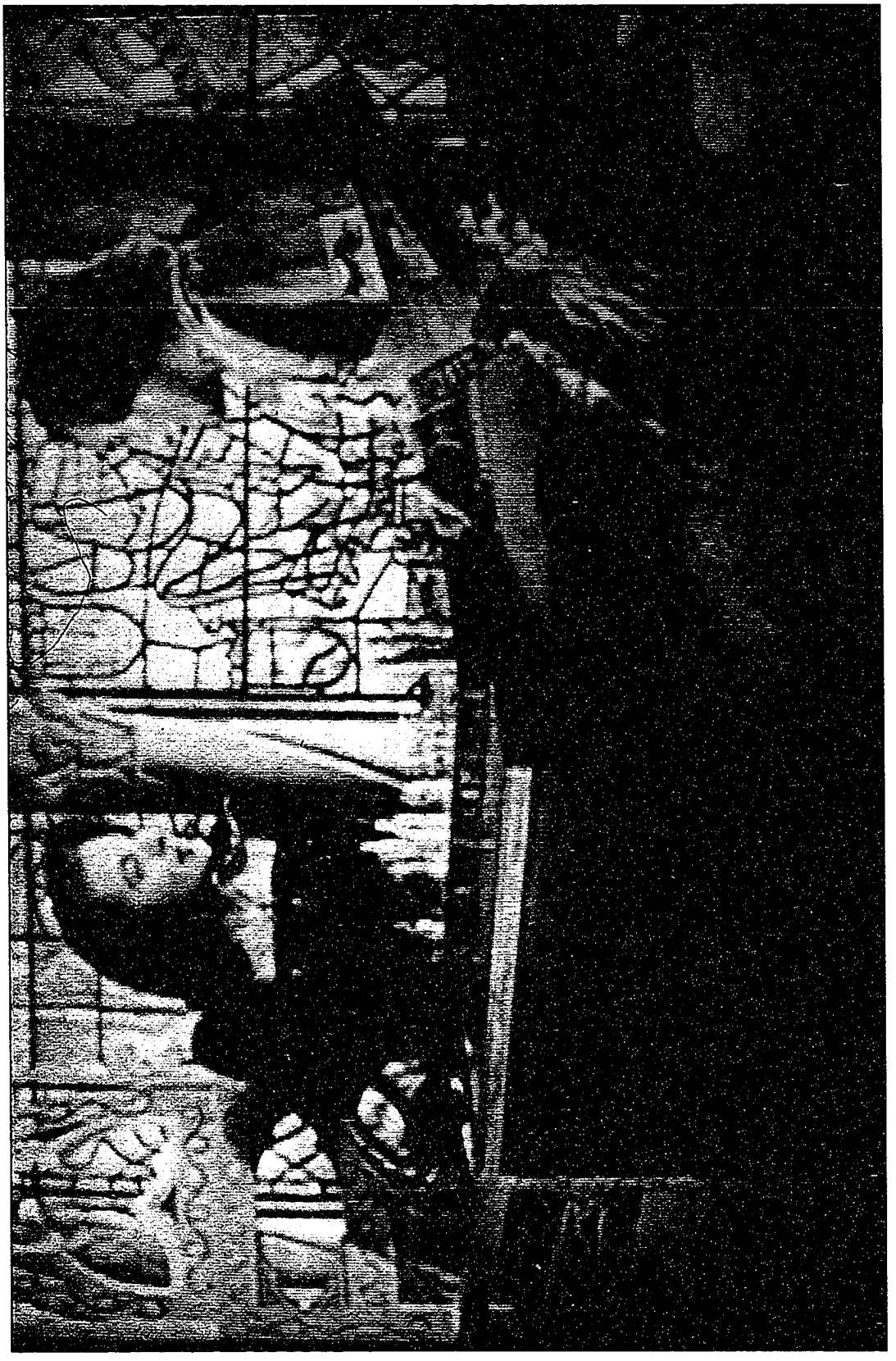


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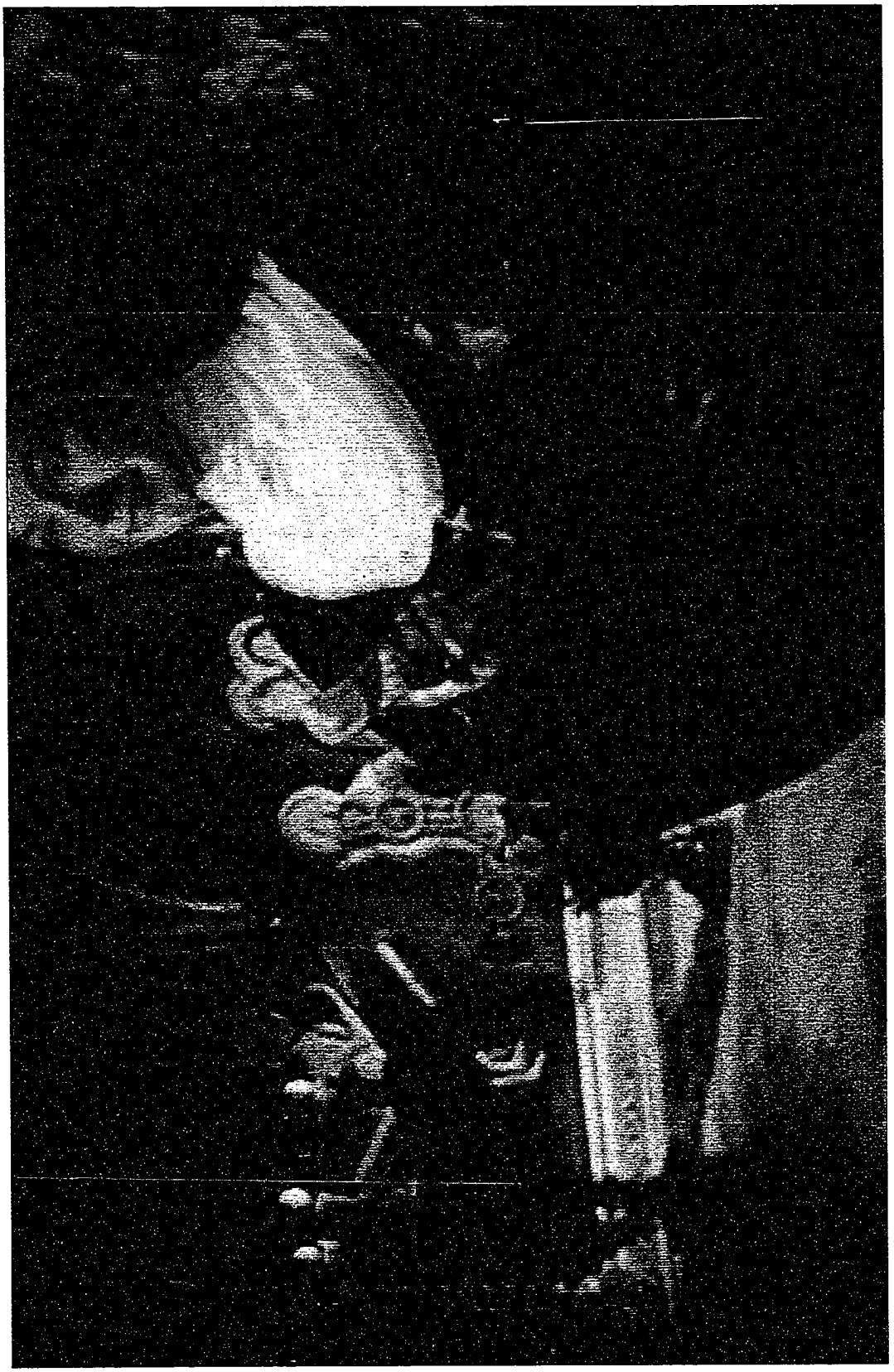


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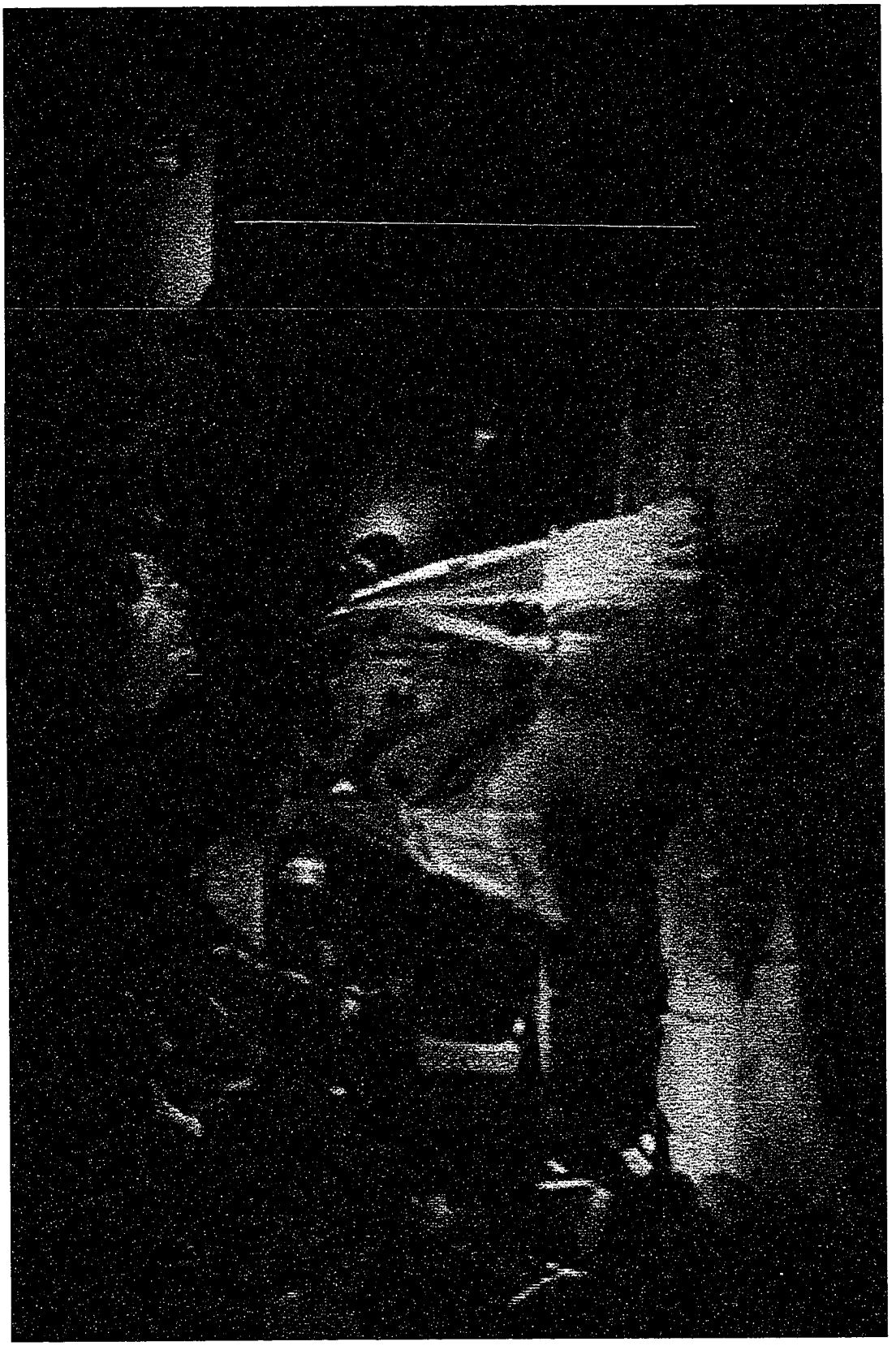


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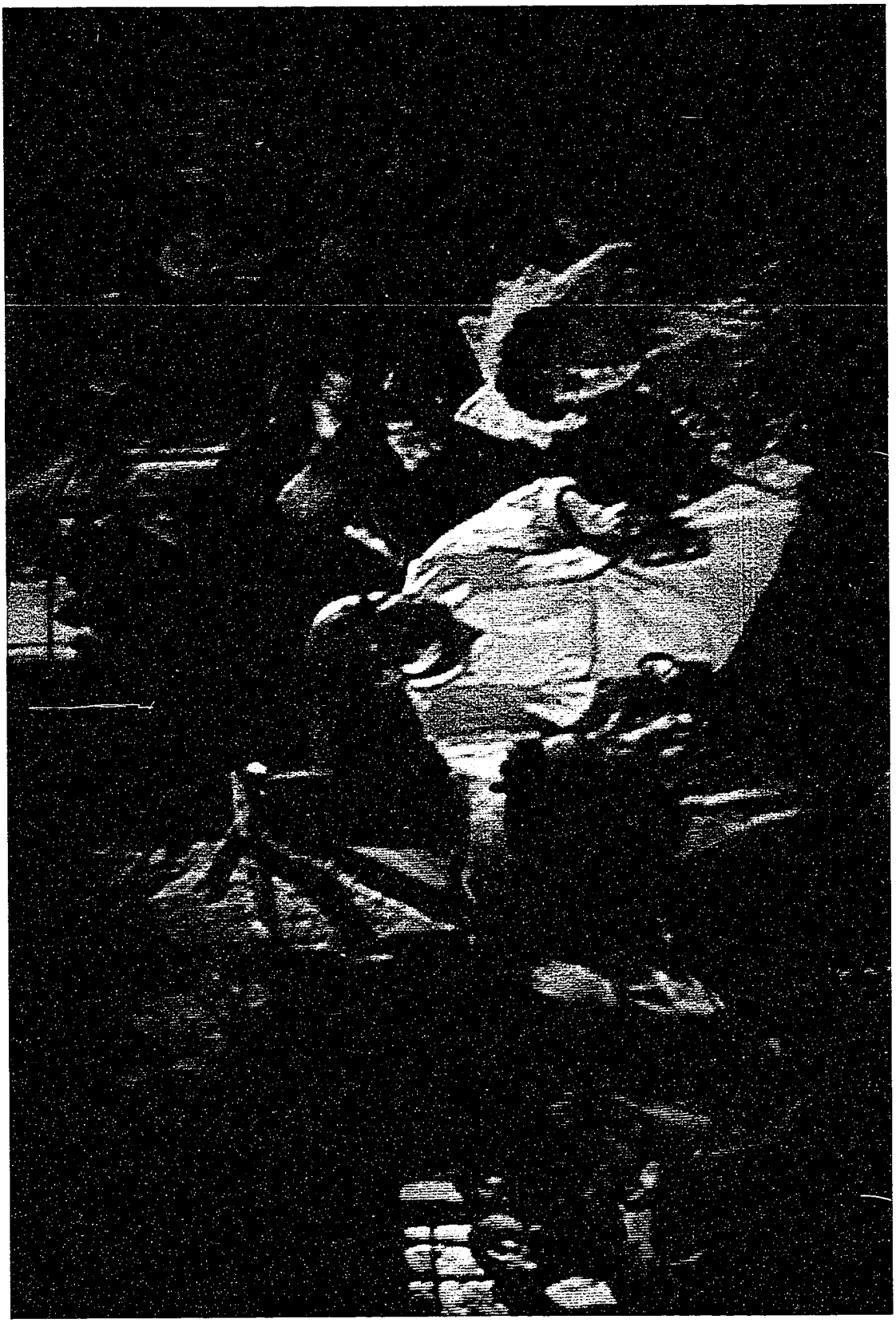


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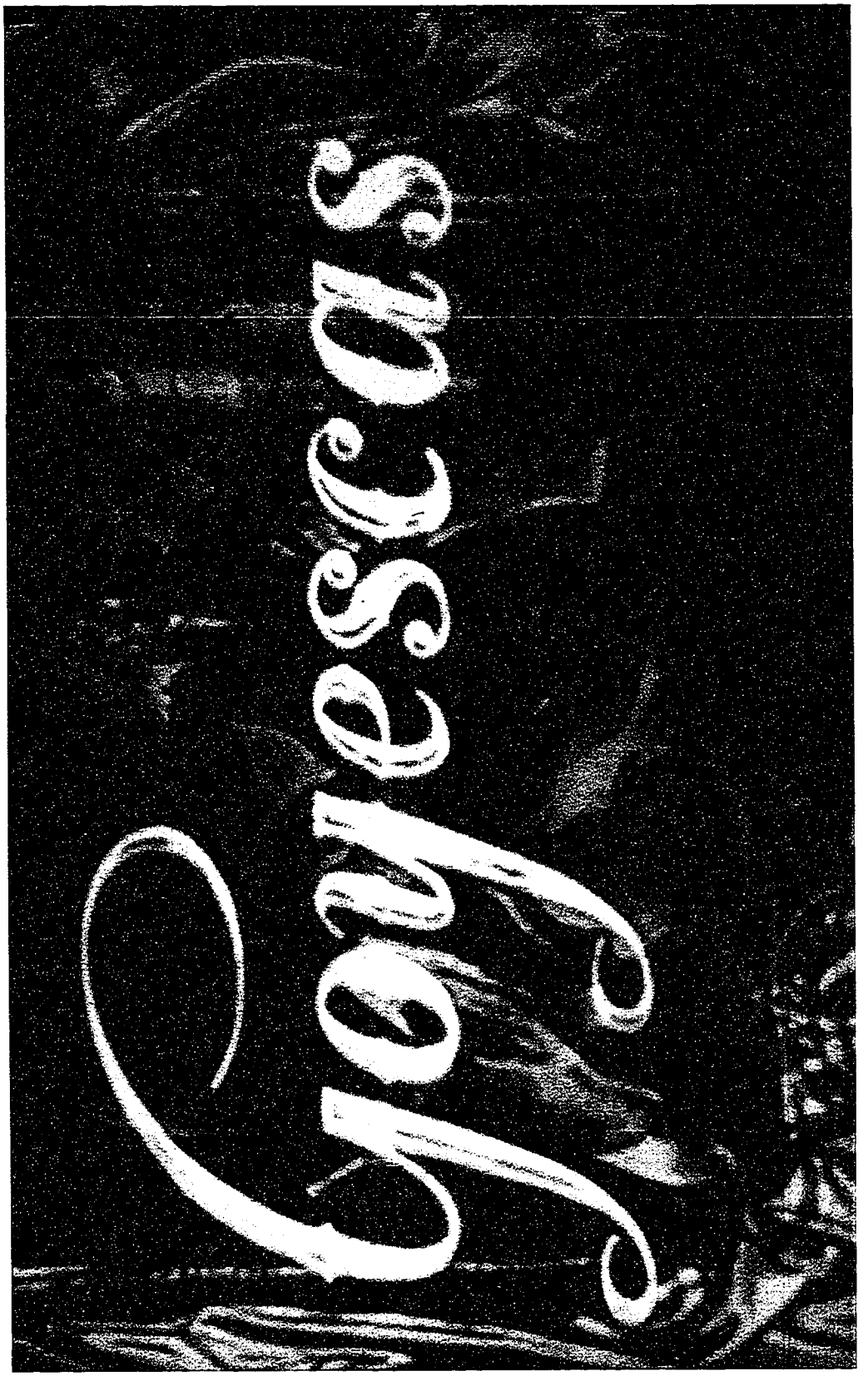


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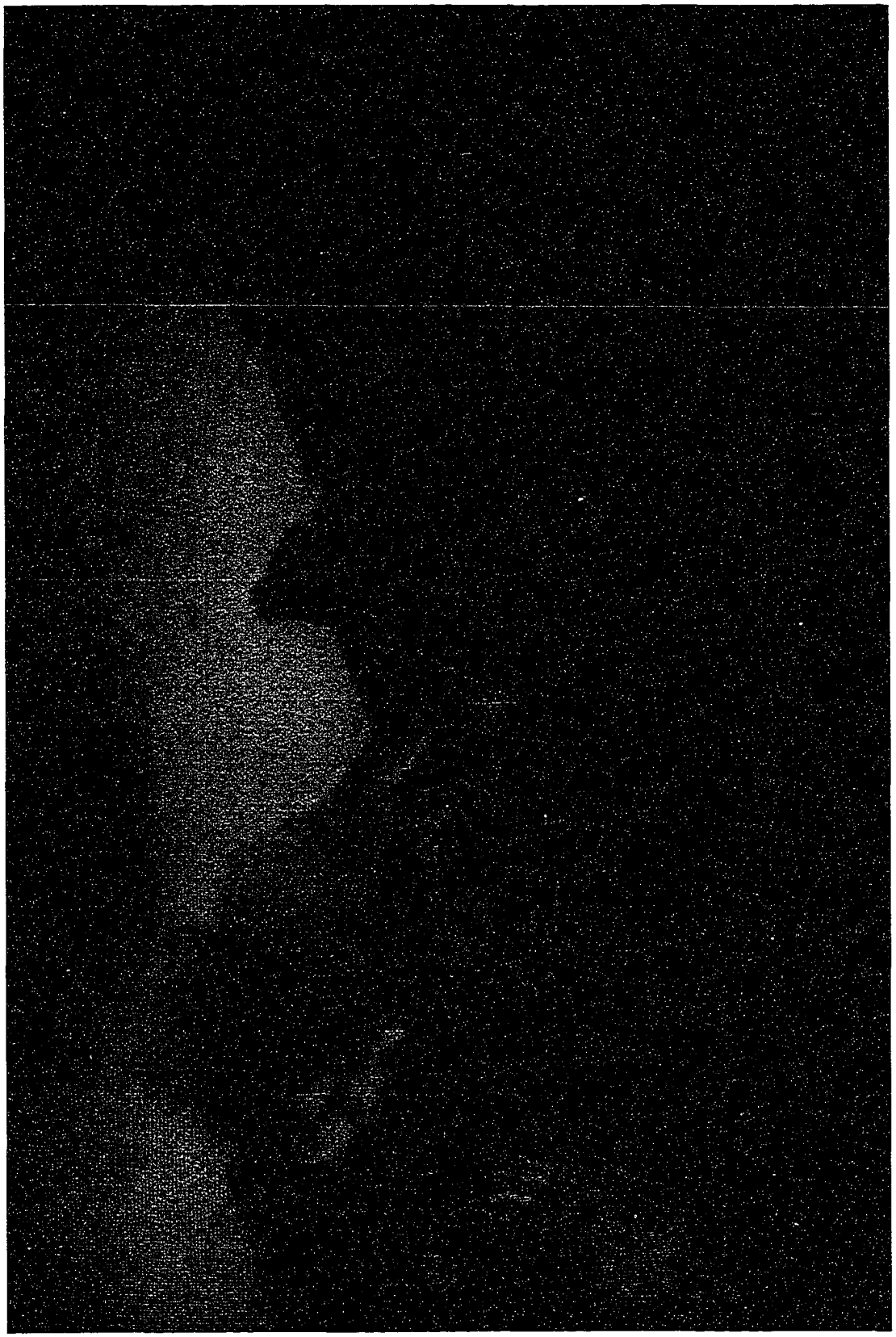


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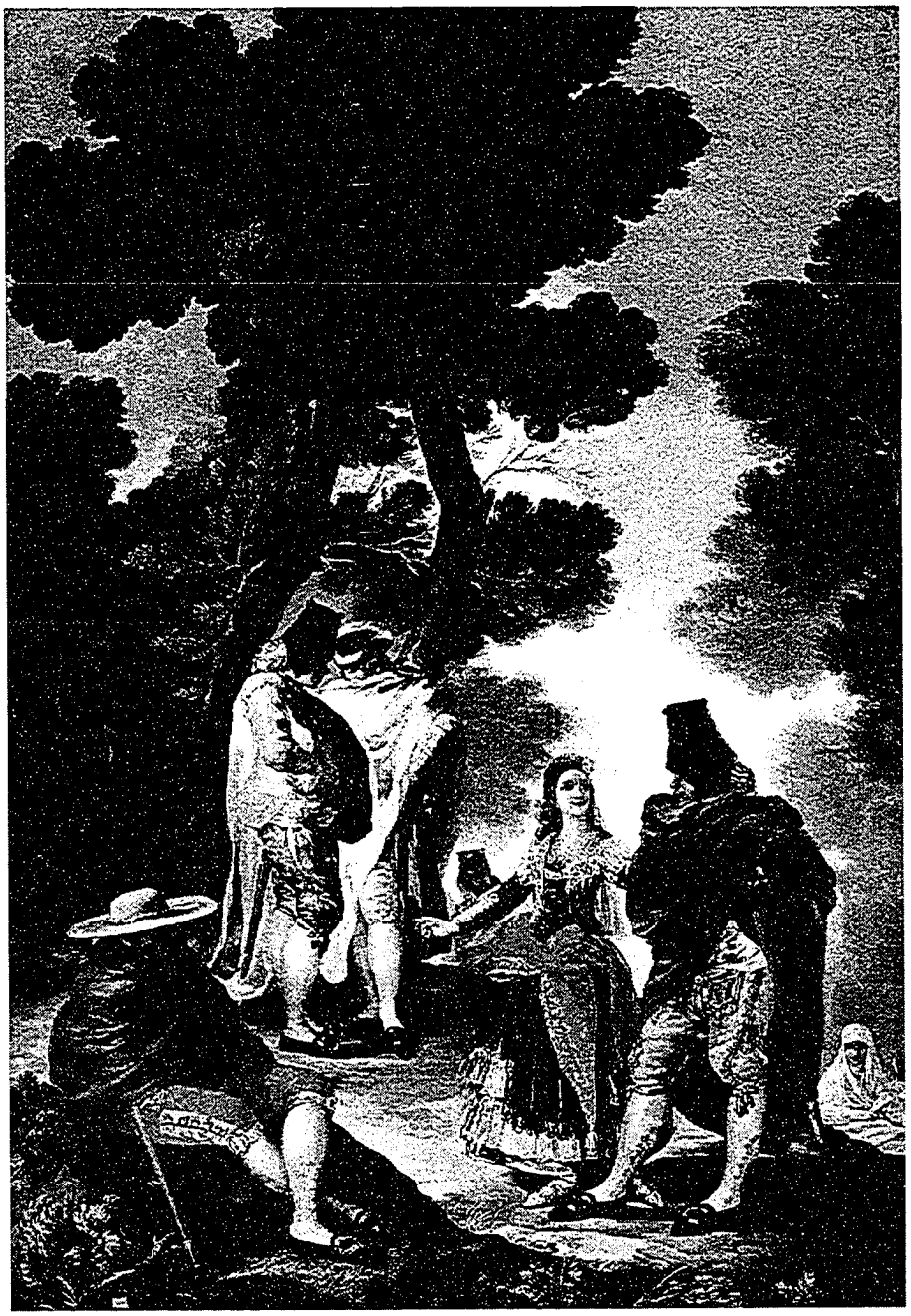


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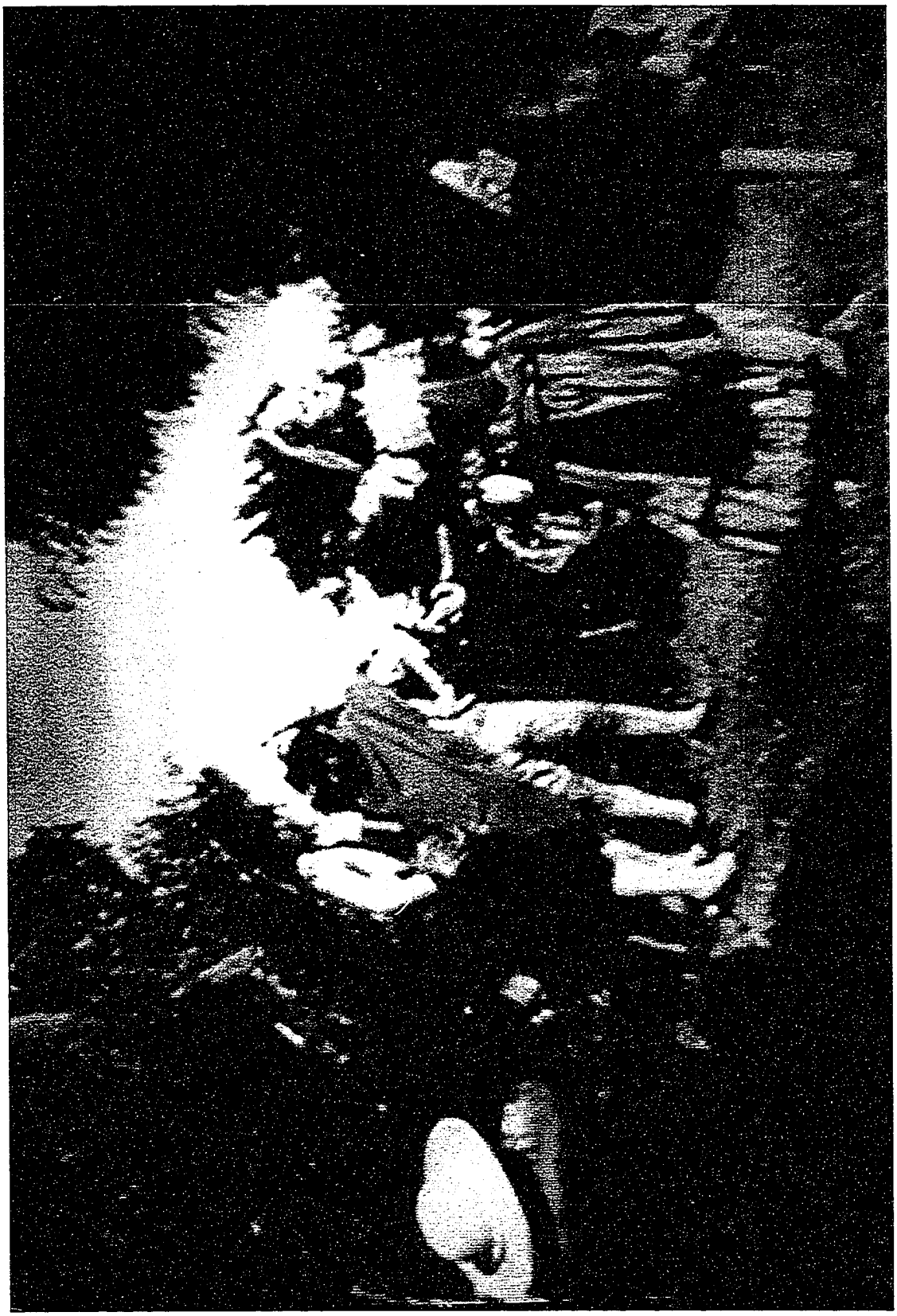


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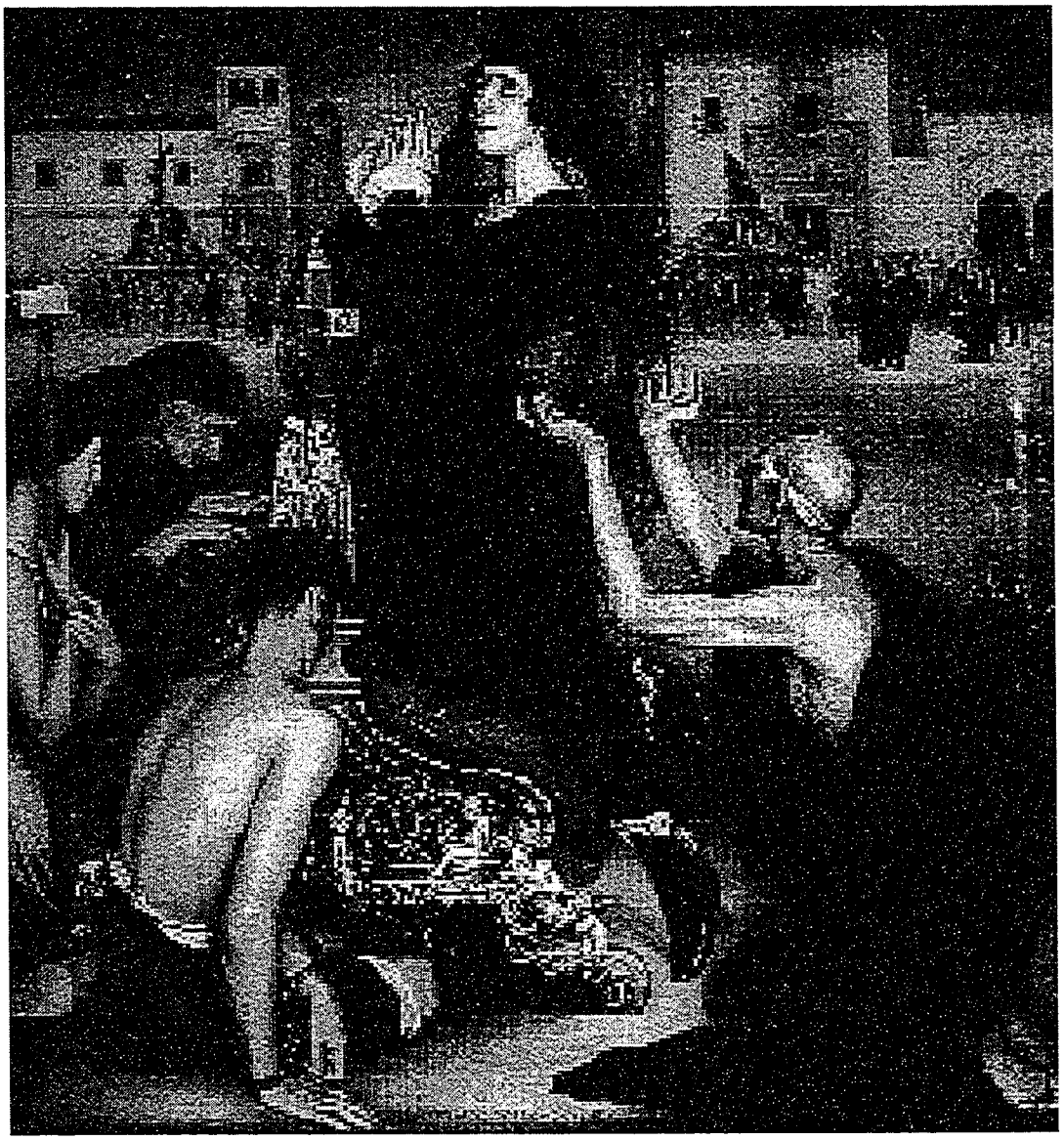


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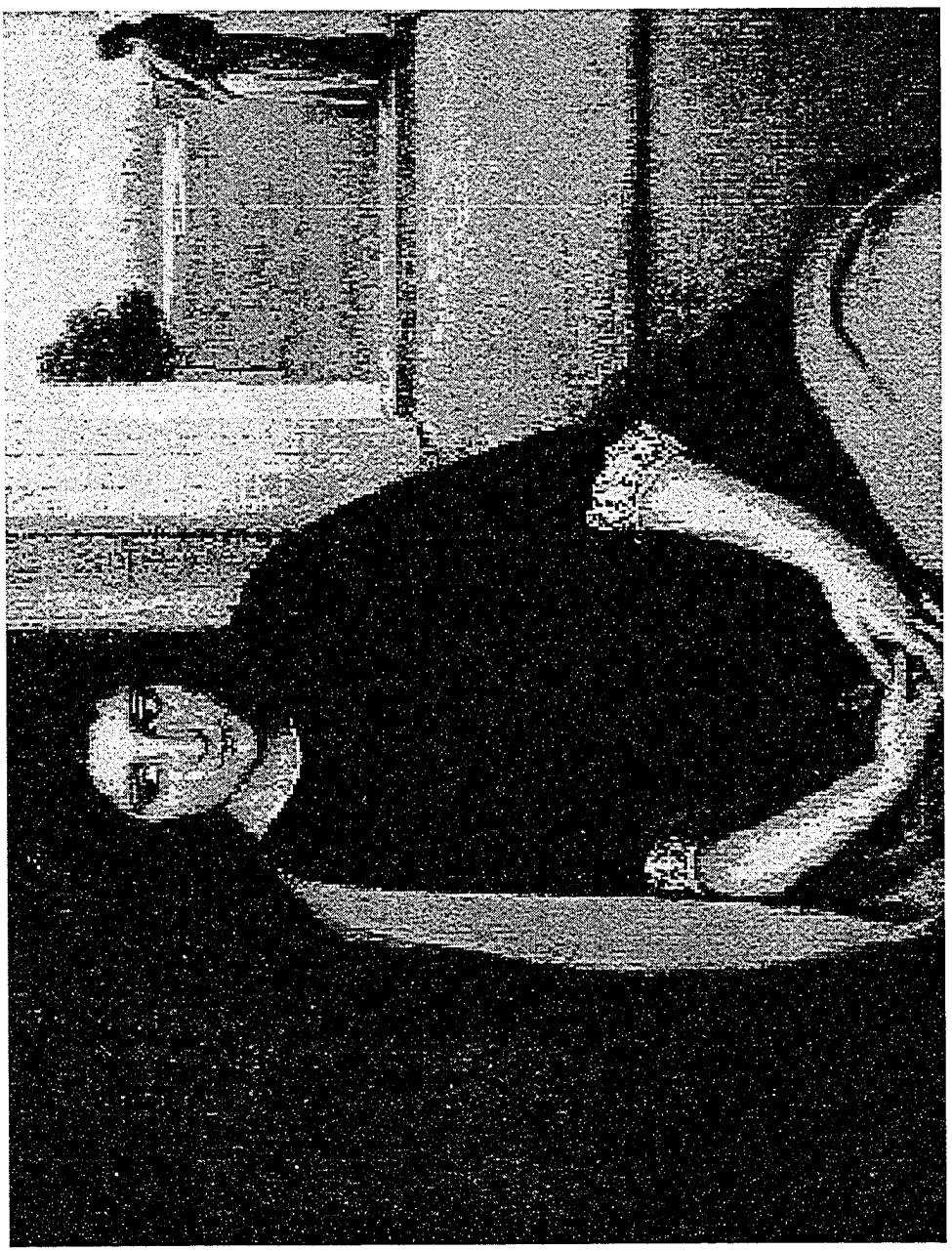


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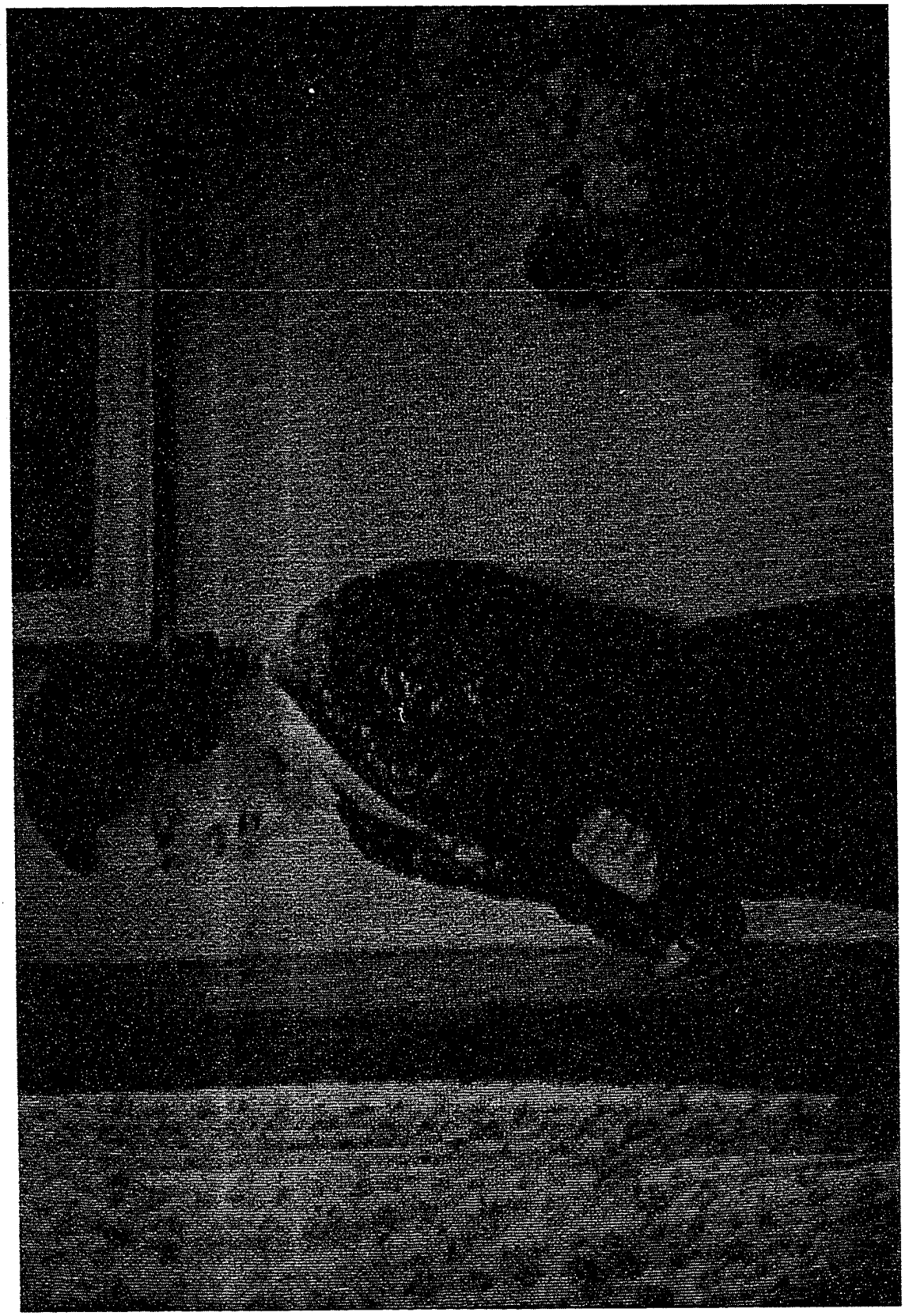


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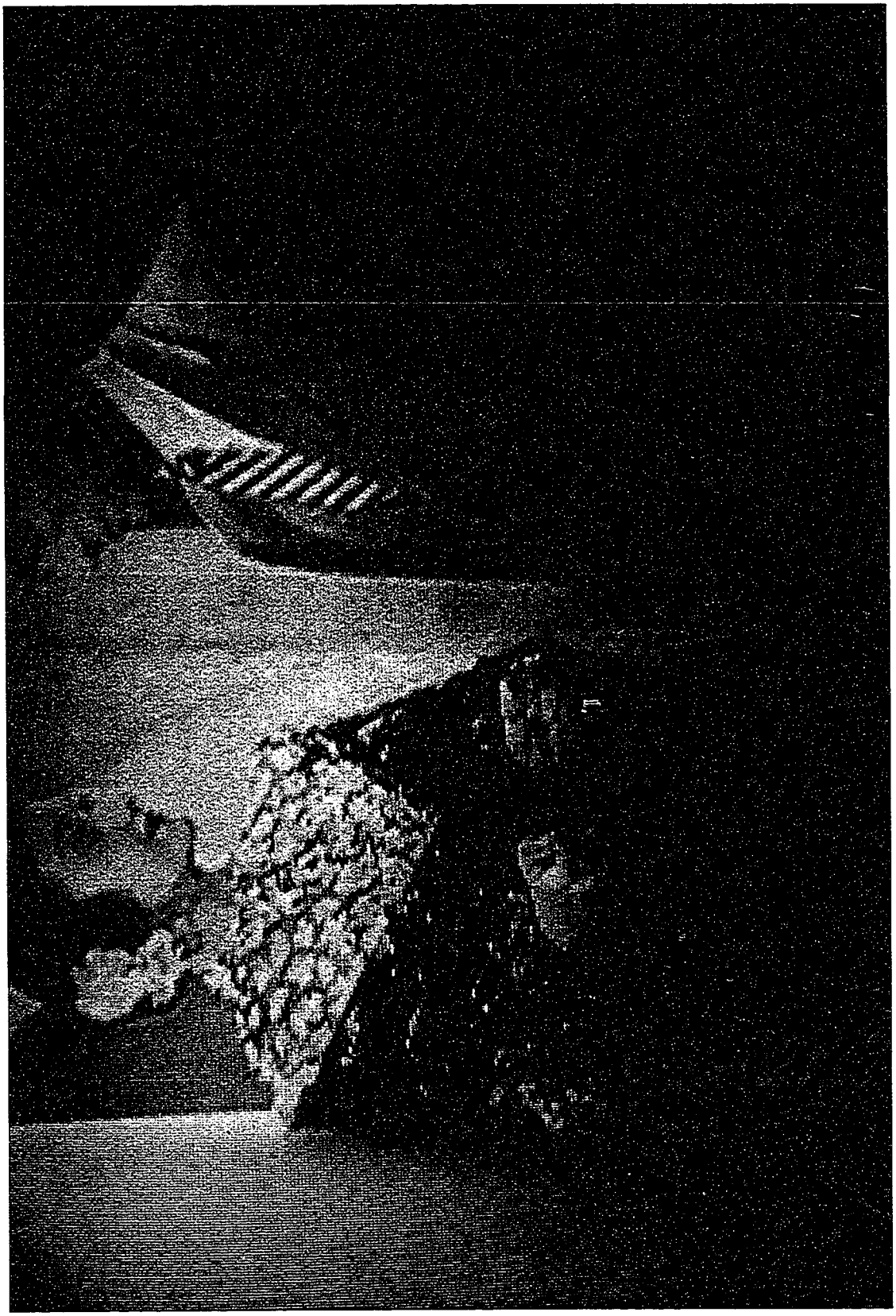


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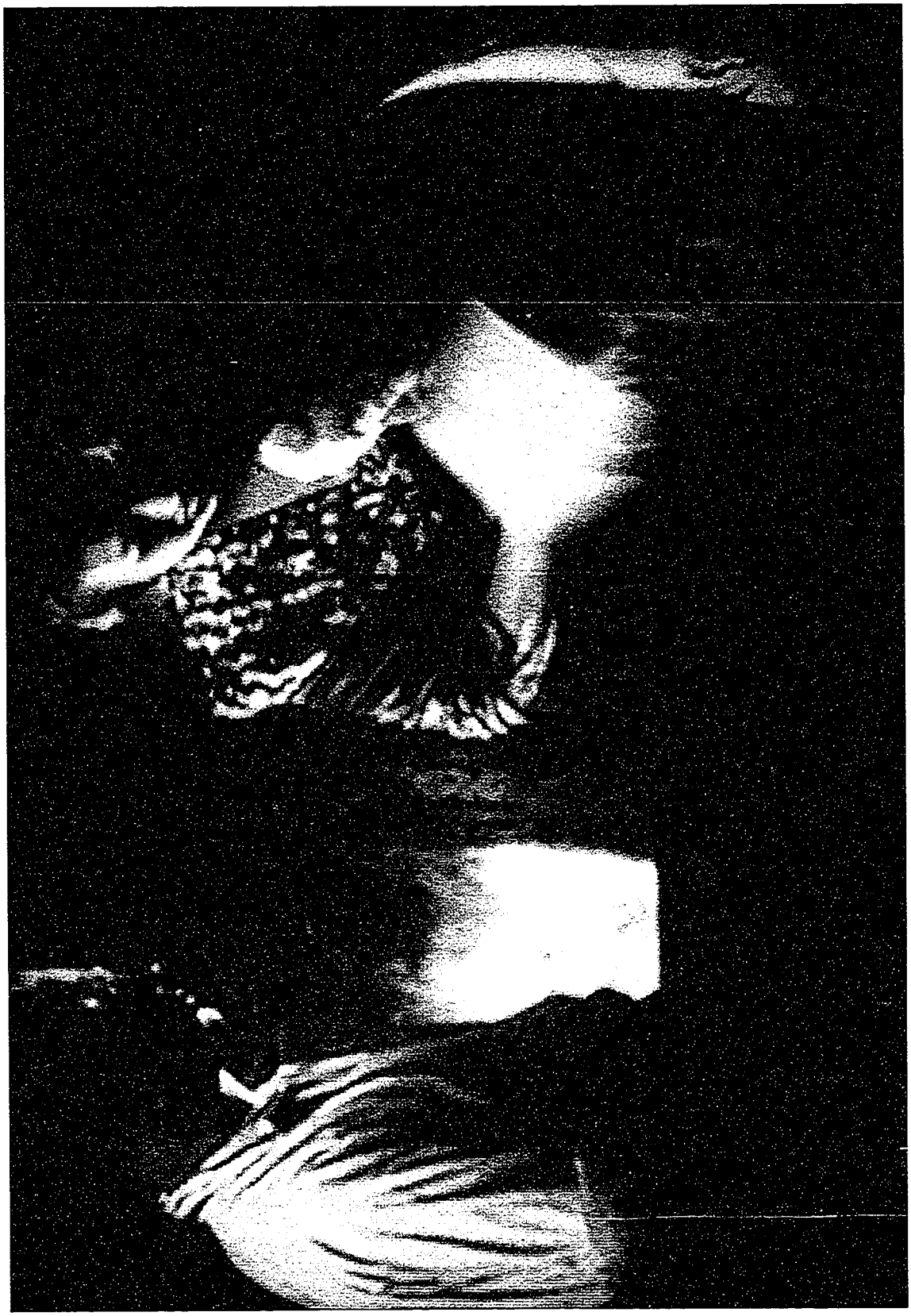


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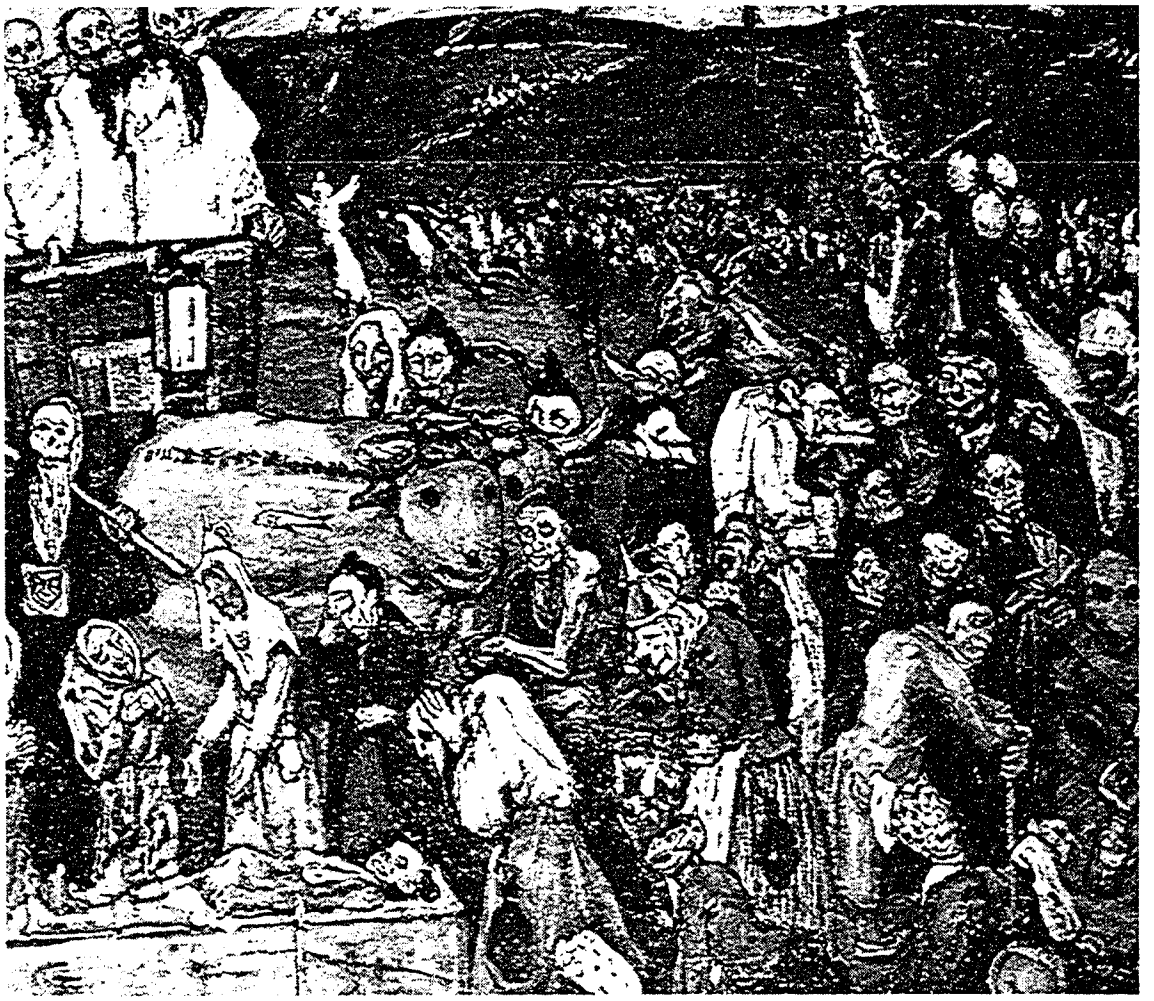


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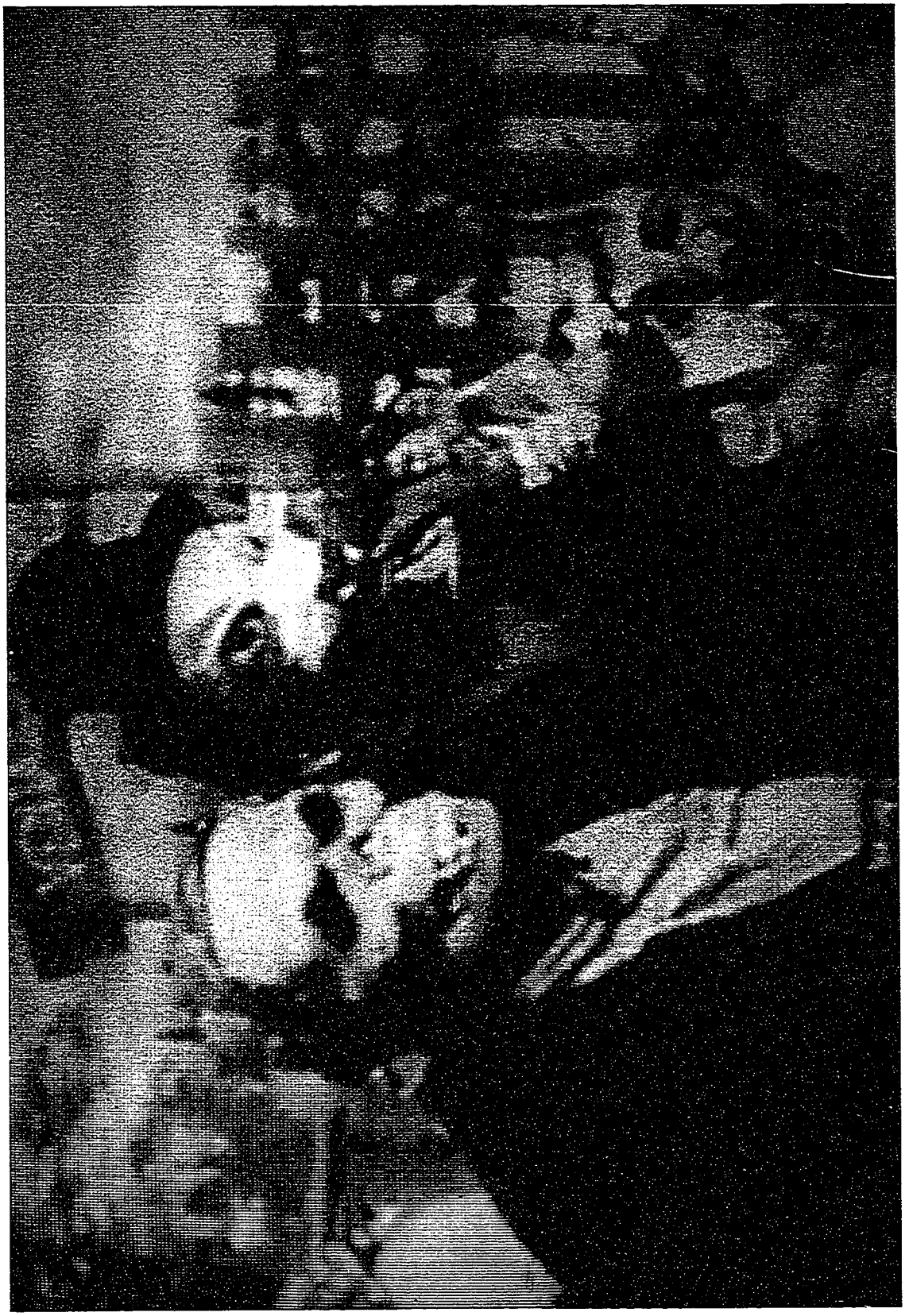


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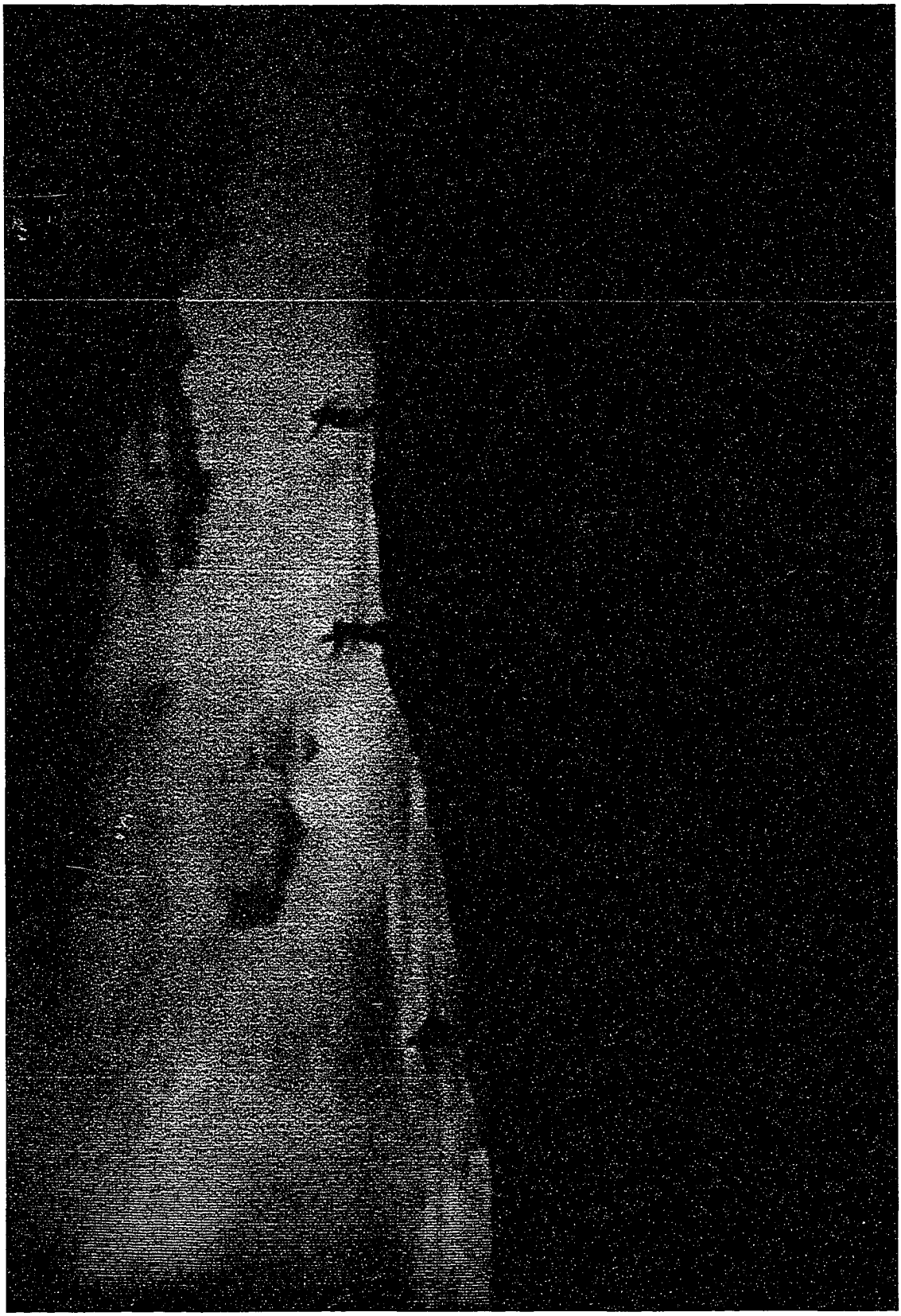


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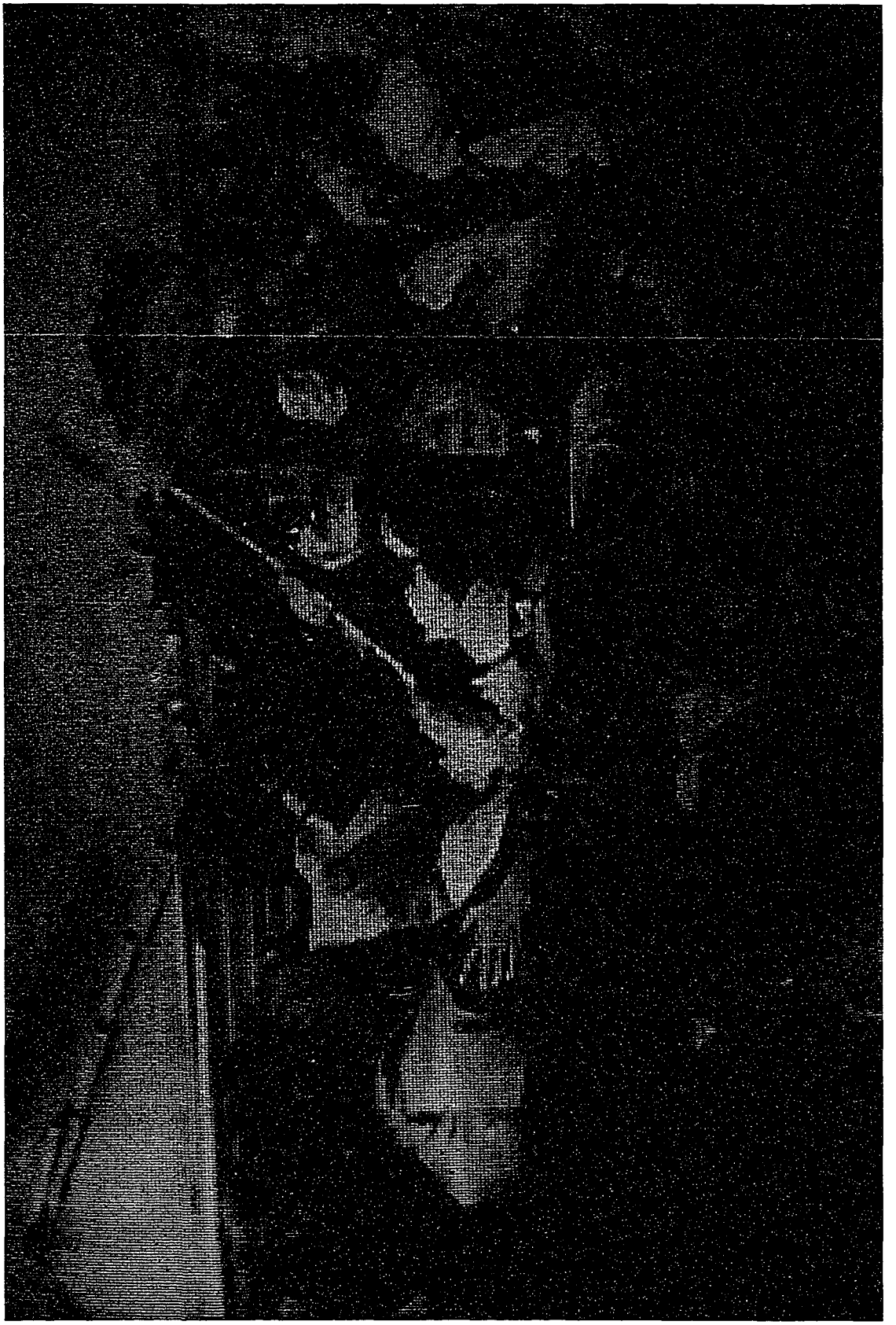


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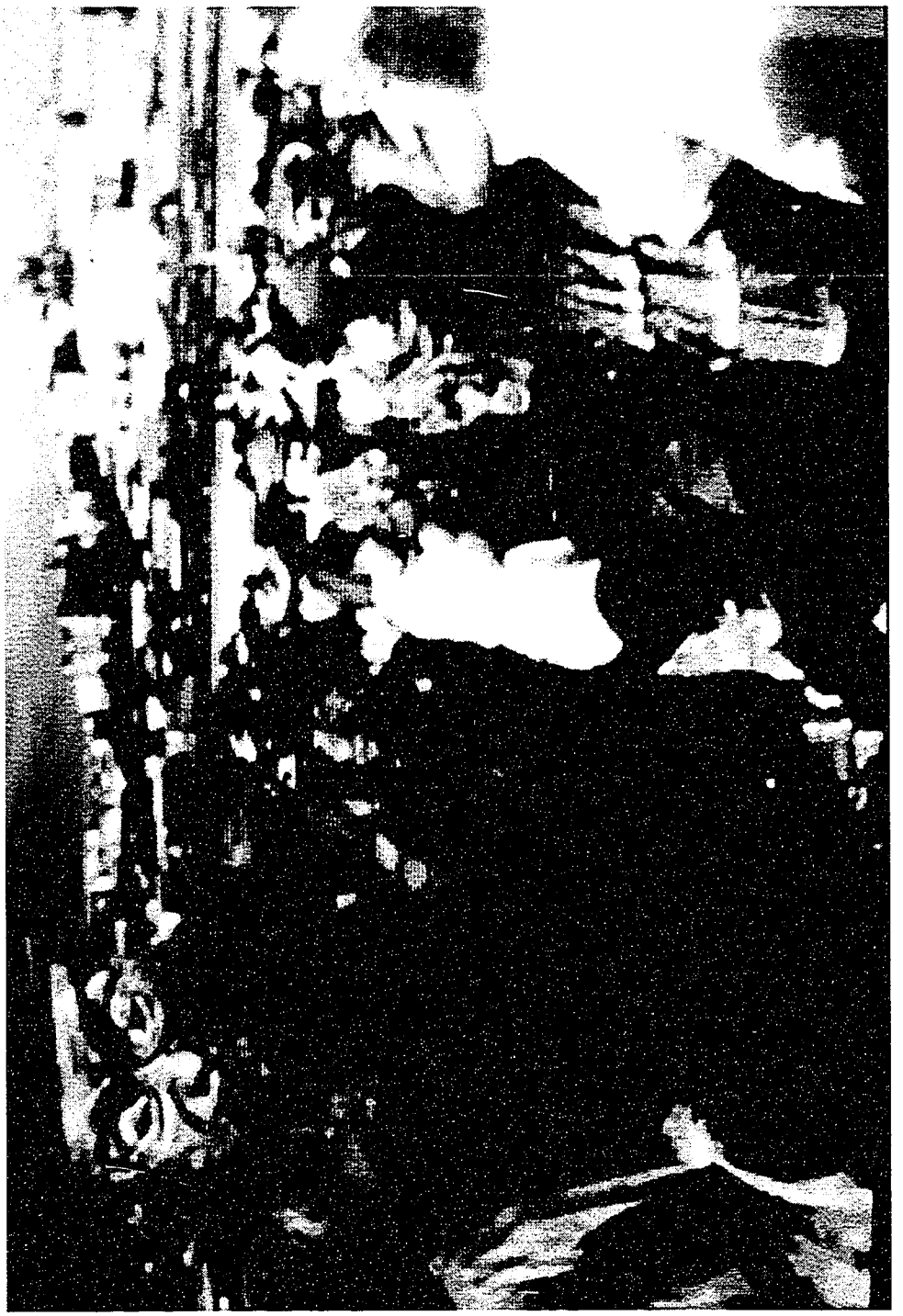


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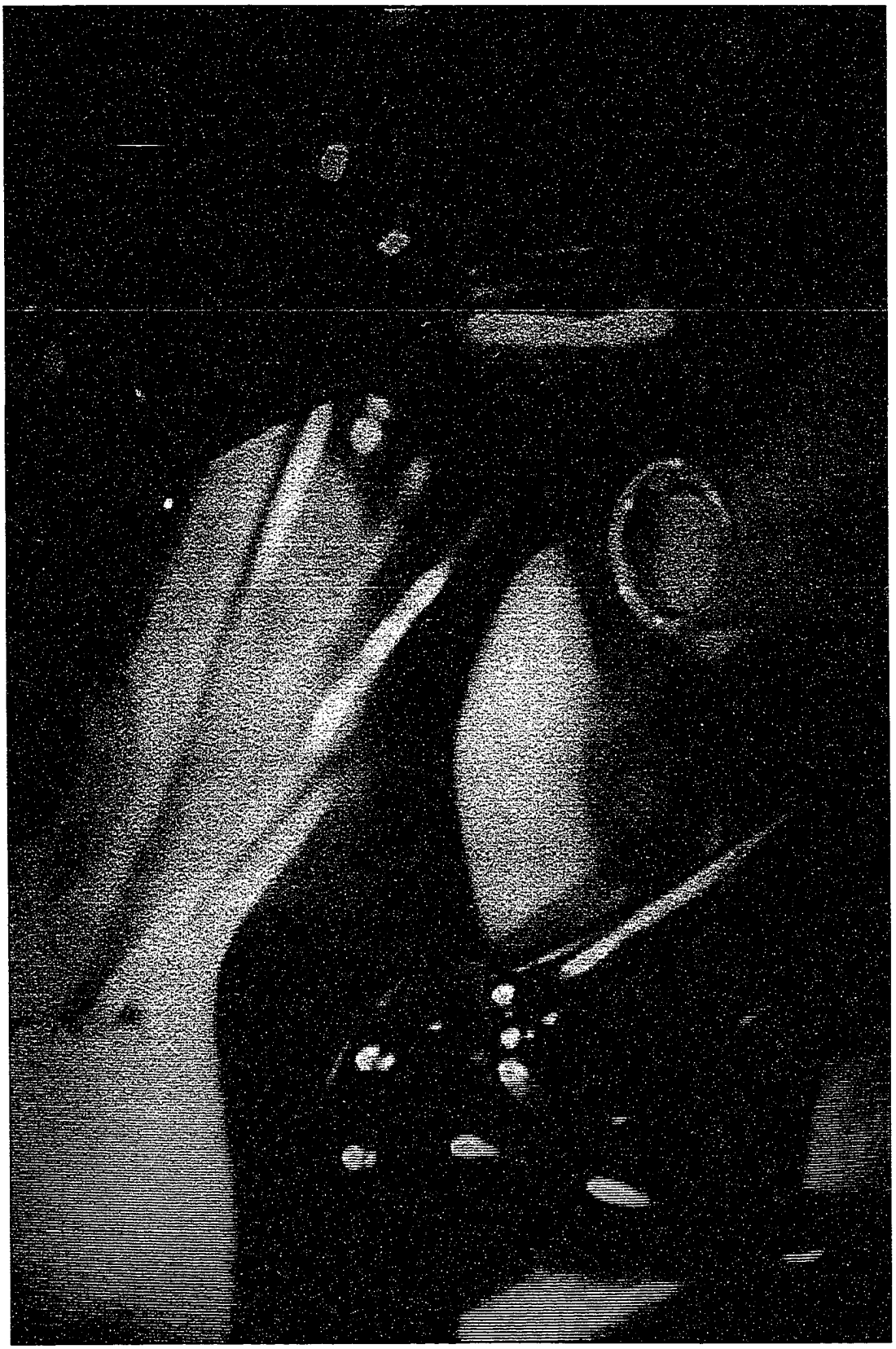


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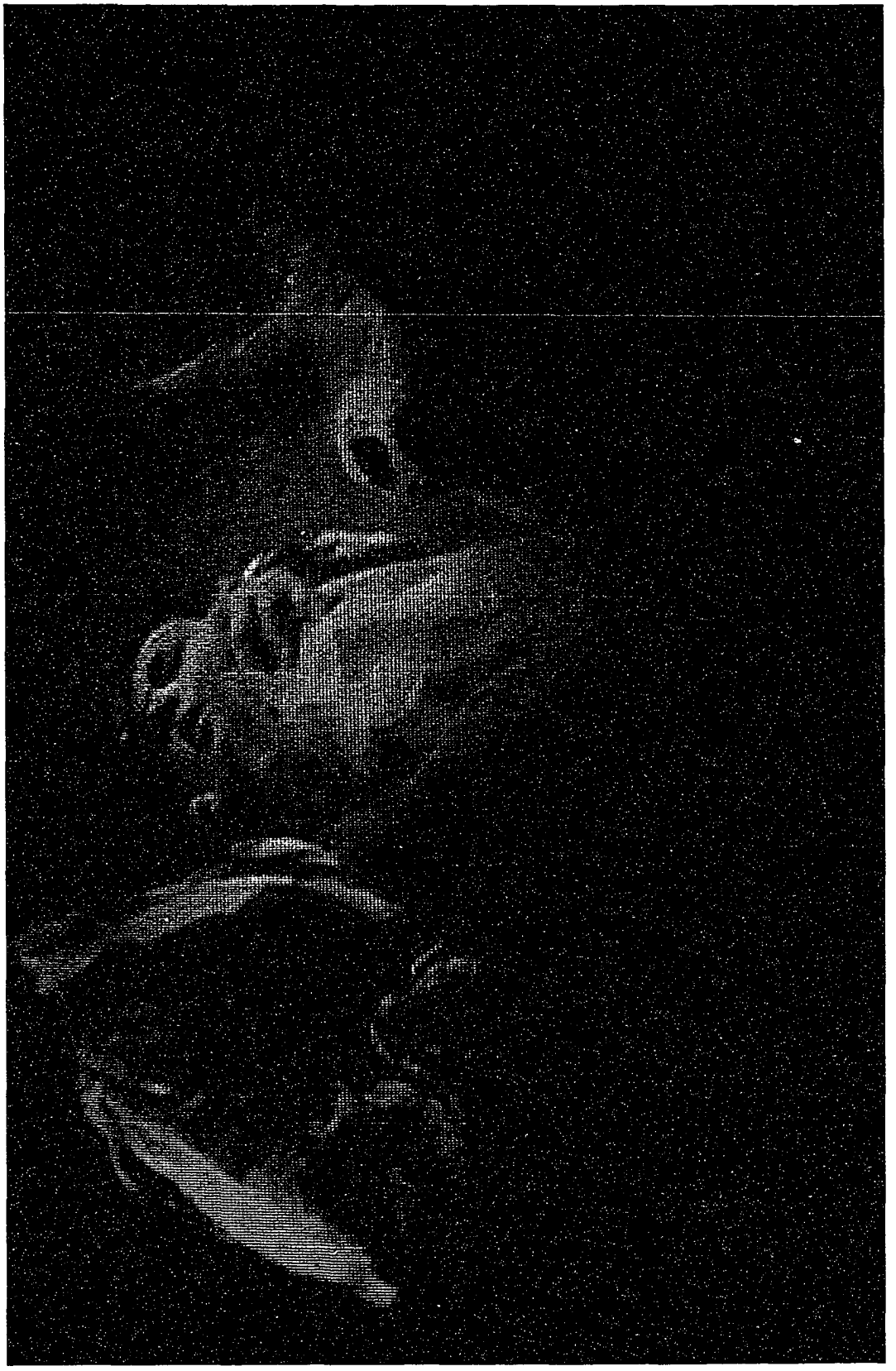


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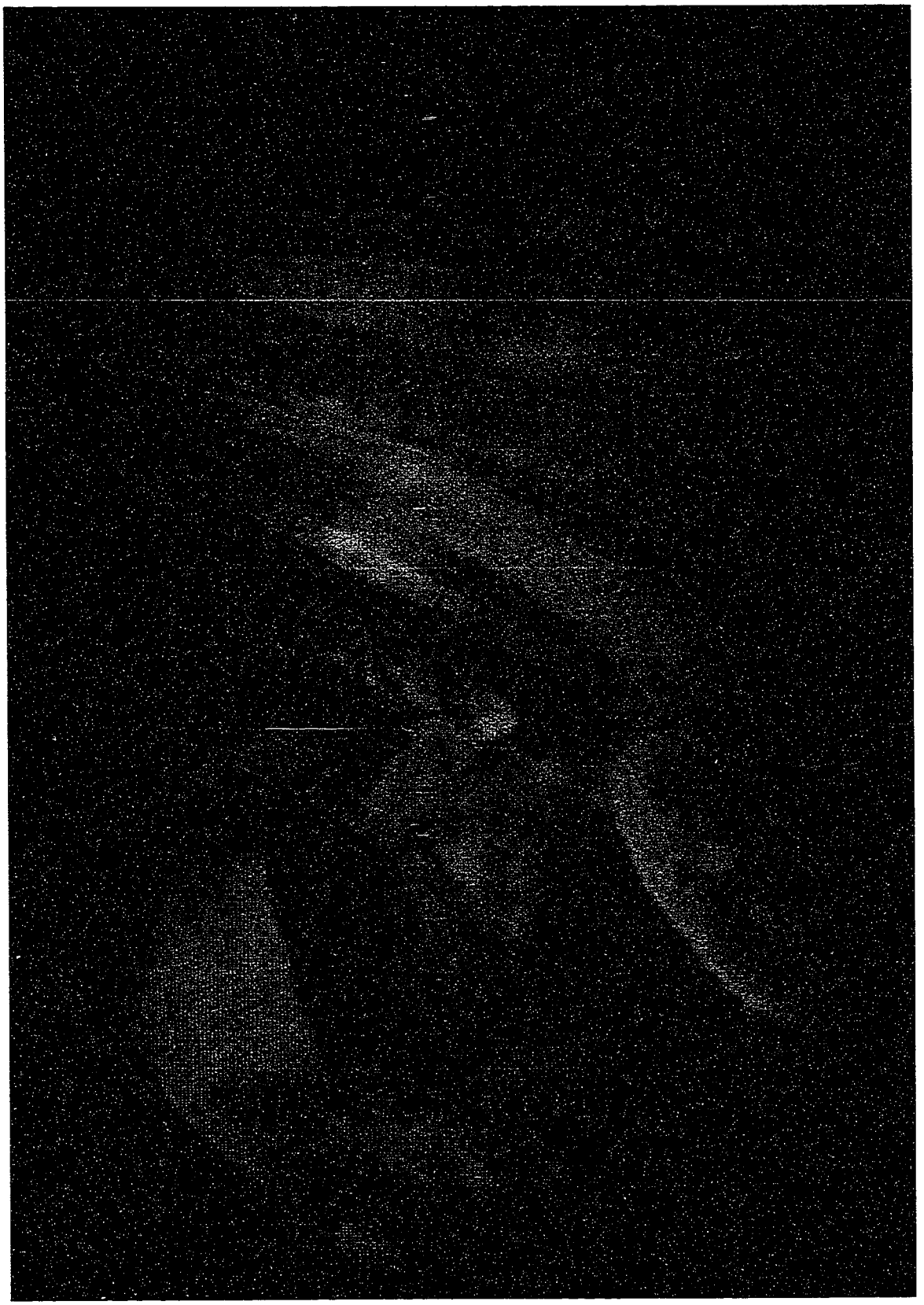


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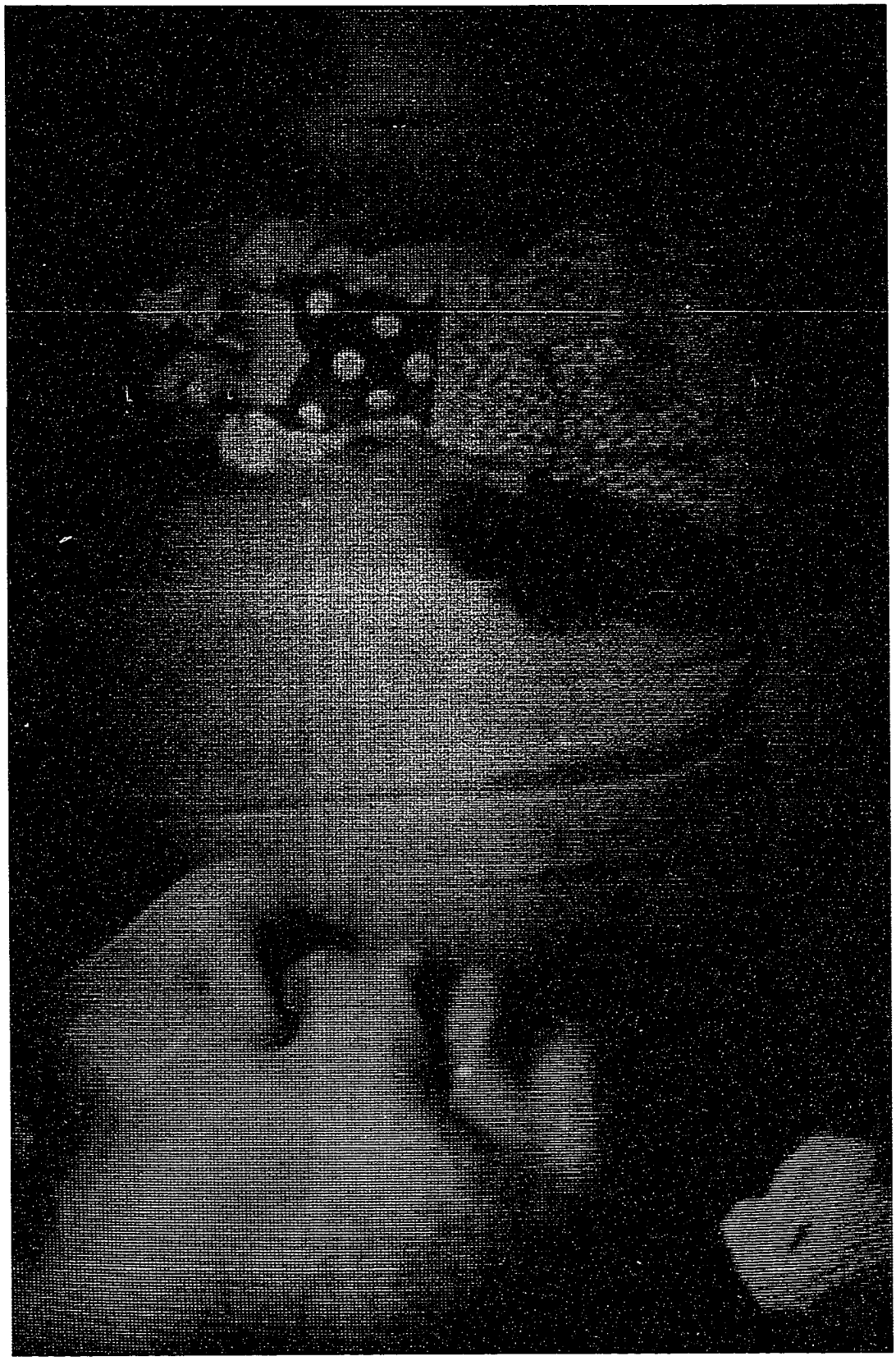


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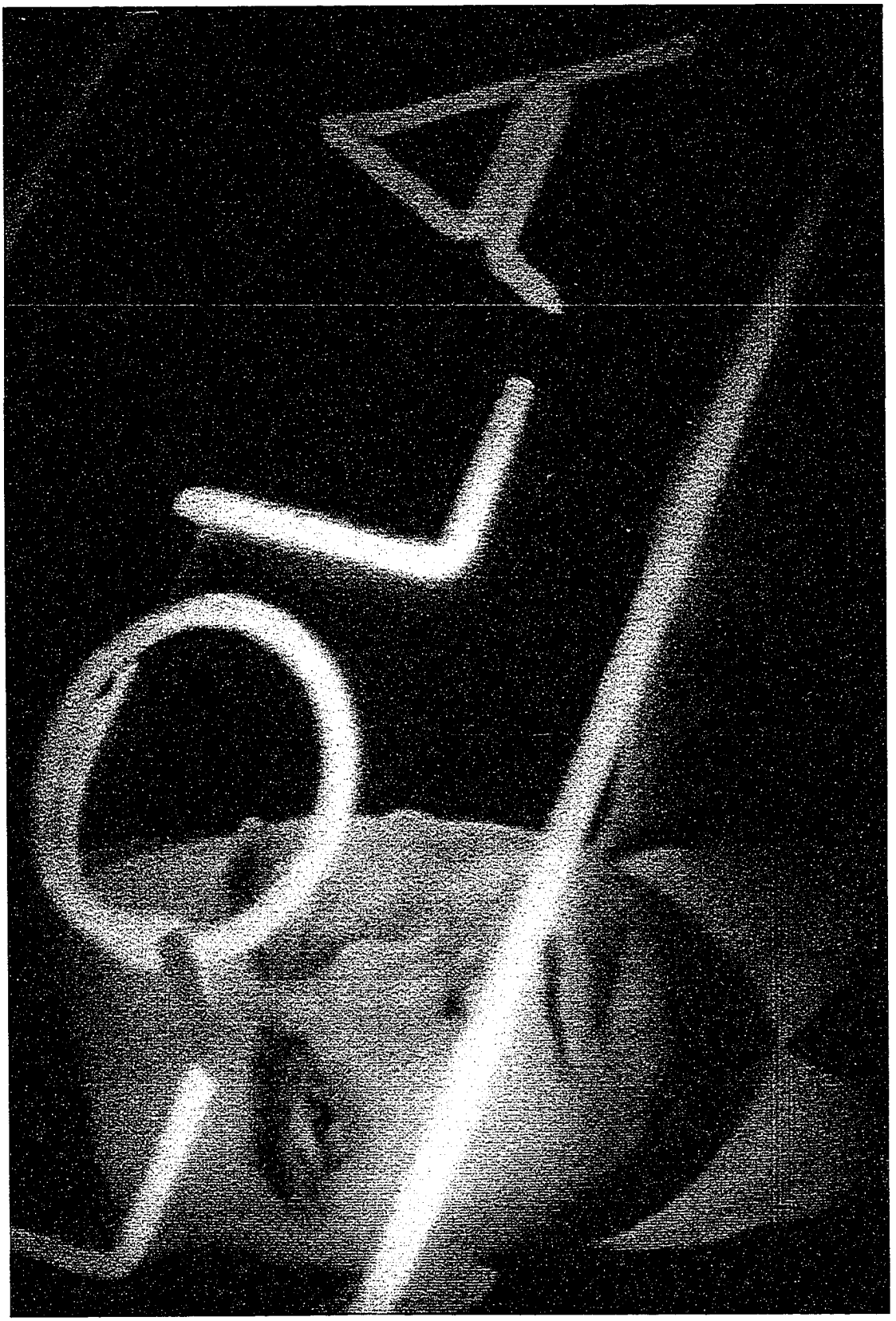


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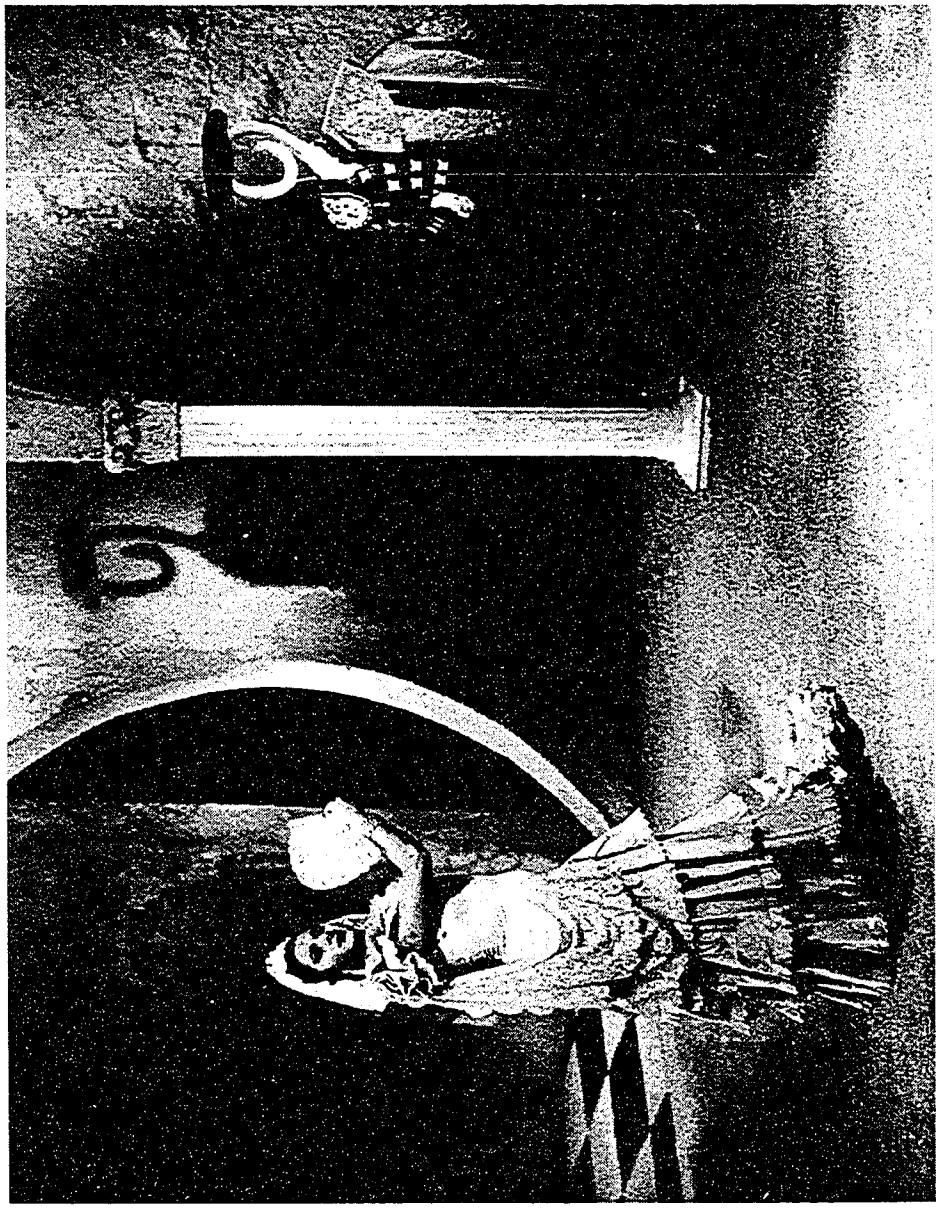


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