Memories That Won't Desert. Transnational Legacies of Francoism and the Spanish Civil War in 21st Century Novel, Comic and Film.

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This dissertation examines contemporary representations of Francoism and the Spanish Civil War and emphasizes the Republican legacy in three different media: novel, comics, and film. Its main focus is Spain, but my corpus also includes the experience of French and Mexican exiles. These works, produced for the most part by descendants of Republicans in diverse sociocultural and sociopolitical contexts, establish a memorial network that goes beyond national boundaries, and that travels from generation to generation. I define the production of second and third generations who recuperate individual stories that have been repressed politically as “legacy narratives.” I argue that because these texts reveal individual legacies of the vanquished and indicate how memories are passed on, they actively participate to collective processes of remembrance.

In Peninsular Studies, texts that deal with historical memory have often been read as “ghost stories,” highlighting trauma and repressed memories. Theoretically, these readings draw on the Derridean concept of hauntology, which sheds light on the remnant presence of what used to be in the past. By focusing mostly on trauma, and therefore adopting an individual perspective to memory, such readings do not show the links between individual stories and the broad collective, and they sometimes fail to embrace the diversity of Republican memories. Yet many “legacy narratives” tell us that not all memories have
been repressed by individuals (they have not “deserted,” as the title of my dissertation suggests). While previous readings allow excavating the contents of Republican memory, they do not necessarily reveal how memory has been transmitted between generations. To understand how this transmission has taken place in different sociopolitical contexts, I examine the intersections of individual and collective memories. In order to consider the different levels of interaction between singular stories and history, I draw on Paul Ricœur's conceptualization of memory as a trajectory that moves from individuals to broader collective groups.

This project contributes to Peninsular, Memory and Cultural Studies. Its aim is to provide a broad enough understanding of legacy narratives in visual and written productions. My corpus includes novels, a graphic novel and two films to highlight the active dialogue that takes place around questions of transmission regardless of the media involved. The novels -Lydie Salvayre’s *Pas pleurer* (2014) and Jordi Soler’s *Los rojos de ultramar* (2004)- and graphic novel –Antonio Altarriba and Kim’s *El arte de volar* (2009)- are autobiographies that show how narratives produced in Spain, France or Mexico dialogue with one another. In addition, I analyze how cinema allows expanding my definition of legacy narratives beyond autobiography, with films such as *Els nens perduts del Franquisme* (2002), a documentary by Montserrat Armengou and Ricard Belis and *Insensibles* (2012), a horror film by Juan-Carlos Medina. Despite their formal differences, I show that legacy narratives rely on collective approaches to memory and transgenerational transmission as a way to give voice to the vanquished, substitute and subvert “institutionalized” practices of collective memory.
DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to Benoît Mauchamp. Merci de m’avoir aidée à tourner cette page et bien d’autres : je vais enfin pouvoir faire mémoire neuve.
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

| LIST OF FIGURES | vi |
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| CHAPTER 1. READING COMICS, READING TIME: MEMORY AND ITS TRAJECTORY WITHIN PANELS | 57 |
| Part 1. What’s that Comic Book Saying? Become Literate in Sequential Art | 59 |
| Part 2. Drawing the Family Circle: Memory and Legacy in *El arte de volar* | 87 |
| Part 3. Memories from the Two Spains | 117 |
| Part 4. From War to *Desencanto*: Constituting the Legacy of Memory from the Margins | 144 |
| CHAPTER 2. RECUPERATING UNKNOWN VOICES: TRANSGENERATIONAL LEGACY IN EXILIC NARRATIVE | 169 |
| Part 1. Blending Legacies: Memory Integration in Lydie Salvayre’s *Pas Pleurer* | 179 |
| Part 2. Historical Legacy and the Challenges of Ideology | 202 |
| Part 3. Mexico and the Experience of Exile between Destierro and Transtierro | 235 |
| CHAPTER 3. THE LOST GENERATION OF FRANCOISM. RETRACING THE GENEALOGY OF SECOND GENERATIONS | 268 |
| Part 1. Documenting a Lost Generation in *Els nens perduts del Franquisme* | 275 |
| Part 2. Trauma Embodied in Juan Carlos Medina’s *Insensibles* | 308 |
| CONCLUSION | 342 |
| WORKS CITED | 351 |
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td><em>Tío Vivo</em>, #1 cover, 1957</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Altarriba, Antonio and Kim. <em>El arte de volar</em> (64), 2009</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


32. “Maria Villanueva,” Film Screenshot, *Els nens perduts del Franquisme*, 2002


34. “Girl in Forest,” Film Screenshot, *Insensibles*, 2012


47. “Reflection of Berkano,” Film Screenshot, *Insensibles*, 2012

48. Transgenerational Transmission under Francoism

49. Transgenerational Transmission in Legacy Narratives
Introduction

“Lo que puede hacerse contra el olvido es muy poco, pero es imperativo hacerlo, de otra forma nos quedaremos sin cimientos y sin perspectiva”: with these words, the protagonist of Jordi Soler's novel *La fiesta del Oso* (2009) presents memory as an imperative, as something from which we can build and that gives us perspective. Memory and the struggle against oblivion are at the core of *La fiesta del oso*. The novel, which is the last part of a trilogy titled *La guerra perdida*, follows the quest of its protagonist, a Mexican novelist of Spanish descent as he attempts to reconstruct the story of his great-uncle, Oriol, a Republican soldier whose family lost all track of him in the last weeks of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). As the protagonist embarks on a journey toward a past that does not directly “belong” to him, since he is not the one who has experienced it, he uncovers a story that differs from the “official” story adopted and transmitted by his family. As the novel leads to the dehumanization of Oriol's character, the protagonist is invited to question the many ways in which memory is exercised and transmitted. The novel approaches the notion of memory from a transgenerational perspective, elucidating the processes in which it operates. What is particularly striking about *La fiesta del oso* is that it raises the question of transmission in two simultaneous ways. Not only does it show what is transmitted from one generation to another, revealing the content of individual memory; it also focuses on how memory is passed on between individuals, evidencing the sociocultural processes of transmission.

1 The second chapter offers an analysis of the first novel of Soler’s trilogy, *Los rojos de ultramar*. 
Soler’s novel is compelling because it gathers elements that are crucial to my research. First, it approaches the questions relating to the exercise of memory through the angle of legacy and transmission within the familial space, and it does so in the context of Mexican exile, one of the contexts I examine in my dissertation. Second, it frames the approach to Oriol's story from three distinct standpoints: an individual, almost existential perspective, that has the reader follow the protagonist's subjective thoughts as he uncovers the facts; an intermediary, collective perspective that shows how Oriol's memory is perpetuated within the familiar circle; and a broader, also collective approach that invites us to reflect on social practices of memory and their possible utility for dealing with a common, complex past.

As I was reading *La fiesta del oso*, along with the many other texts I read to create my corpus, I came to the realization that many stories that deal with the memory of the Republicans, the vanquished of the Spanish Civil War, not only explore how memory is constructed and passed on, but also reveal the heterogeneous characteristics of memory either by emphasizing its collective aspects or by challenging ideological discourses that tend to erase the diverse narratives that form collective memory. Ultimately, texts such as *La fiesta del oso* offer spaces of expression to the victims of Francoism. They give voice to the many stories that have been silenced under Franco's regime, and which have been expunged from the political debate after the Franco's death in 1975. In Peninsular Studies, the references to theses “silenced” stories have been quite commonly read within the
theoretical framework provided by Jacques Derrida, *hauntology*, as a way to examine the resurgent elements of the past that surface in the present.²

With these remarks in mind, this dissertation proposes to provide a broad map of Republican memory. As such, my corpus includes tales of exiles, as recuperated in Soler’s novels, since exiles are a crucial part of what could constitute an “imagined Republican network” —following Benedict Anderson’s definition of imagined communities— that ties them to their land of origin. But rather than looking at the texts I have chosen through the lens of *hauntology*, I adopt a somewhat different perspective in order to highlight the specificities of *transgenerational memory as a legacy*. Instead of focusing on the relationship that binds the “specters” of the past and the witnesses of their apparitions, I look at the relationship that unites the actors of said legacy, which I believe allows focusing both on the contents of the legacy and its processes of transmission. From a literary perspective, this approach allows highlighting aspects of memory writing: as will be developed throughout this work, transgenerational elements are key to understanding how memory is recuperated within very distinct types of texts. The term that I propose to name the texts that offer spaces of expression to the vanquished is “legacy narratives,” because I argue that such works constitute verbal and/or visual legacies that expand the network of Republican memory.

² *Hauntology* is a notion developed by Jacques Derrida in his work *Specters of Marx, the state of the debt, the Work of Mourning, & the New International* (1993). As I will further explain in the sections titled “Working through ghost stories: Approaches to memory in Peninsular studies” (p 29) and “Leaving specters behind: El arte de volar and Derrida’s hauntology” (p 36), *hauntology* is an ontology of what remains: while ontology deals with the nature of being, *hauntology* focuses on what is invisible to the eye, what is both present and absent at the same time.
My interest in transgenerational memory is based on the argument that not only have these stories not necessarily been silenced at an intermediary level, they have often been maintained through processes of transmission and legacy within particular groups (such as families, but not merely) that form an intermediary level between individuals and society. For this purpose, I have chosen to frame my analysis theoretically by exploring the aspects of collective memory as Maurice Halbwachs started to elaborate in 1925 and specifically, by looking at Paul Ricœur's notion of relational memory. I argue that these notions, along with a conceptualization of memory as a trajectory that I borrow from Paul Ricœur, allow envisioning memory as a network. Although I adopt a sociocultural perspective to memory, I still closely examine what is at stake at the individual level. For that matter, several of the texts included in my corpus, such as Soler’s *Los rojos de ultramar* (2004), or Lydie Salvayre’s *Pas pleurer* (2014), share autofictional aspects. I argue that this genre, amongst others, enables following the trajectory of memory, moving from an individual level to two distinct collective levels: family, friendships, unions and political parties understood as intermediate groups on the one hand, and society on the other hand.

My project echoes the growing interest in memory over the past decades in cultural and literary studies, which has led to the exploration of the interconnections and networks that link stories (literature) and history. Indeed, by situating protagonists in the midst of collective events, literary texts that deal with memory reveal the connections between individuals and collectivity. These connections shed light not only on the way individuals position themselves vis-à-vis society and/or socio-political events, they also reflect on the way individuals deal with such events a posteriori, on how they recall and narrate them. Therefore, when exploring the many connections that link individuals to a given collective
group, it is necessary to consider the gap between the present of the past events that are narrated (time of diegesis) and the present of narration (time of discourse). The more we look at such tales through this particular lens, the more we become aware of such a gap. Protagonists may therefore appear “suspended”; but what is really suspended is their own perception of past events. They seem to be caught up somehow in a back and forth movement between the past and the present of remembrance.

From these preliminary -and quite general- remarks emerge a series of questions that lay the groundwork for my research. Firstly, what is such a “gap” made of? Is it a sort of void left by repressed traumatic events that can never be completely filled? Or rather, should it be considered as a potentially “creative space” originated by a break in the protagonists' lives? And if such a space is creative, what function does it play in surpassing these traumatic breaks? If this void is thought of as a creative space, then it can also be considered as a symbolic and internal place where individuals (re)negotiate their positioning in society, not only with regard to the past, but also the present. Secondly, considering that there is a (re)negotiation of the individual's positioning in the present, it becomes essential to interrogate the multiple implications that such a (re)negotiation entails. Indeed, one may wonder how the individual's positioning affects his or her sense of belonging to a given group or community. In other words, at stake is not only the effects that such a (re)negotiation has on individual identity (and how it is expressed, for instance, through language) but also how personal stories are transmitted to the following generations, and how, as a result, they may shape groups and transform collective identities.
I keep the above questions in mind as I examine the transmission of the memory of the vanquished – the *vencidos* – on the Republican side of the conflict. My dissertation, which includes a diverse corpus of texts belonging to three different media (novel, graphic novel and film), explores the implications that the traumatic breaks experienced by individuals during the Spanish Civil War and the Francoist dictatorship (1939-1975) – in other words, the first generation- may have on the subsequent second and third generations. One may posit that these implications can vary greatly according to the identitarian (re)negotiations enacted by each individual, which poses, in turn, a second series of questions that my project aims to elucidate: how do the second and third generations “deal” with memory that is transmitted to them? Can trauma be “inherited” from one generation to the following? Does it end up being appropriated by the following generations, and if so, what are the social consequences of such an appropriation? How does exile (and displacement) complicate notions of identity and trauma? Indeed, it is essential to examine how the first generation's positioning(s) affect their lines of descent, to spot the possible breaks that derive from an (“original”) traumatic break in order to propose a more accurate mapping of the networks that link the individual to a given collectivity and to better grasp the socio-political implications of the questions of memory and trauma.

My project also aims to explore the connections between individuals and society, and examine how these connections are constructed, deconstructed and/or maintained through time and socio-political events. Since the questions of transmission and legacy are

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3 The choice of three distinct media must be understood as a way to provide a broad map of the Republican transgenerational memory. All three media will be examined closely, in the context of their production and according to their own specificities.
situated at the core of my research, it is necessary to look at the different elements that comprise the network previously mentioned, in other words to interrogate the connections between given individuals and social groups. If the question of what is transmitted, and how traumatic events are transmitted between generations is crucial, it is also important to ponder where such acts of transmission take place. In order to provide possible answers to this last question, I explore physical as well as symbolic spaces in which transmission takes place, such as family, home, unions or political parties.4

Looking at such spaces does not only enable possible answers to the “where” question previously stated. It also permits locating individuals in what could be called their “primary” environment, the one they come from, grow up in or identify with. In turn, considering this question allows opening up another research path that considers the function(s) of legacy and inter-generational transmission in Spain as well as in exile -in this case, France and Mexico-. Indeed, one may also wonder how the notions of “home”, “family” or “unions” as spaces for transmission function and evolve when disruptions such as inner and outer exile occur. Since exile implies a necessary displacement of the home, and in many cases a dismemberment of the family, we may wonder how the necessary evolutions of such spaces due to displacement and dismemberment affect the processes of transmission and the legacy that derives from it. Many texts that deal with such questions explore this process by revealing not only what remains, but also what's been left behind.

4 The terms family and home are considered in a broad sense, since my dissertation also explores the absence of family on the one hand, and exile on the other. I look into the modified perception of home in the case of exiles, and I argue that ideological groups -political parties, unions- function as places of intimate connection that may serve as surrogate homes.
Texts such as *Los rojos de ultramar* and *Pas pleurer* render visible the invisible marks left by the absent and the deceased (family members who stayed in Spain or emigrated to America) by showing the traces that operate as constant reminders of what is *not* there. In some cases, the constant reminders of what is not there reveal a haunting, and a necessity to work through *un passé qui ne passe pas*. But simultaneously, both novels evoke other elements that constitute a bridge between past and present more than a haunting: the reference to specific supplies sent from Spain, and the use of castellano or “fragnol” in the household are not “traces” of the past that haunt the protagonists; on the contrary they compose the many cultural practices experienced every day, prolonged in the present.5

In order to better grasp the sociocultural and political implications of such questions -since my dissertation engages in a sociocultural analysis of generations and examines the link between the individual and the collective- it is important to look at the specificities of democratic Spain in its (failed?) attempts to deal with the questions of institutionalized memory. As historian Julio Aróstegui and Antón Saracíbar, director of the Fundación Largo Caballero, point out in the introduction to their book *España en la memoria de tres generaciones: de la esperanza a la reparación* (2007), Spanish justice has played a major role in past years in helping Argentinian and Chilean governments prosecute the perpetrators of crimes under the Videla and Pinochet regimes (14). In other words, Spanish justice has participated in working towards the institutionalized recuperation of the victims' and their relatives' memory. When dealing with the victims of a dictatorship, it appears

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5 “Fragnol” is a compound word made from the nouns “français” and “español.” Like “Spanglish,” it refers to the interlanguage spoken by bilinguals whose linguistic productions reveal a meshing of both languages.
logical that such actions be taken by a democratic government, *a posteriori*. It also appears essential that these actions be institutionalized (by resorting to legal actions for instance) in order to symbolically reintegrate the victims -los desaparecidos, los vencidos- and their relatives (who can be considered to be “secondary” victims as well) into the collective.

In Spain, nonetheless, after Franco's death in 1975 and during the establishment of democracy, in the first years of the Transición, a law called “Ley de Amnistía” was passed in 1976. Its major aim was to free from charges all individuals found guilty of political crimes between July of 1936 and December of 1976. If such a law enabled the reintegration of political opponents to Franco's regime into the new democratic society and was thought of as a way to “reconcile” both sides, it also led the young democracy to a judicial dead-end by rendering impossible the prosecution of crimes perpetrated during the War and under Franco's regime. In other words, democratic Spain did not allow its citizens to work towards an institutionalized recuperation of the memory of its Civil War's victims. As Julio Aróstegui and Antón Saracíbar put it:

Hemos asistido en estos últimos años, con esperanza, a un gran protagonismo de la justicia española en la persecución de la violencia y la represión llevada a cabo en países de América Latina, concretamente y sobre todo en Chile -caso Pinochet- y en Argentina. Paradójicamente, no se han levantado las mismas voces en la persecución de la depuración de los actos violentos y de los crímenes de guerra cometidos en nuestro país. Efectivamente, es escaso el avance en relación con esta materia, a tenor de lo filtrado en los medios de comunicación, porque se aborda desde el punto de vista de la seguridad jurídica cuando estamos hablando de un asunto político, en un contexto de guerra, donde no se daba ninguna seguridad jurídica y estaba presidido por las políticas de represión sistemáticas. (Aróstegui and Saracíbar 14)

In other words, Spain as a democracy has failed to recognize the trauma suffered by the victims of the Civil War and the previous dictatorial regime. What was envisioned

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6 This law is referred to as “Ley de amnistía parcial.” It was followed by a “Ley de amnistía total” in 1977, which had a larger scope than the previous one.
as a consensus necessary to start building a democracy also led to the creation of a tacit “pacto de silencio,” with very concrete consequences: the reopening of mass graves and the identification of the bodies were delayed in time, constituting obstacles to working through the trauma on a collective level. These very concrete obstacles have therefore exacerbated the silencing of individual stories, as well as veiled collective history. As unionist Cecilio Gordillo Giraldo points out in “El interés por la recuperación de la memoria histórica” (2007):

In such a complex socio-political context, it therefore appears crucial to interrogate the questions of legacy and transmission. It is crucial because the specificities of the Spanish context tell us that current generations (2nd, 3rd, even 4th generations who have not lived the Civil War, and for some who may even have been born after Franco's regime) are all inheritors of a history marked by silences on a global socio-political scale. But these generations have been the recipients not only of a history filled with silences, they have also been transmitted the strange task of breaking the pact of silence, in other words to give voice to stories, facts and events that they have not directly experienced themselves, and that have not always been silenced at an intermediary level. If these generations have not undergone the Spanish Civil War, they are nonetheless, in the present, the protagonists of the recuperation of the victims' memory.

Because exile is such an important aspect of my work, as the opening of this introduction suggests, the specificities of the French and Mexican contexts must also be
examined since they reveal distinct tensions. If the experience of exile implies a rupture with the homeland, it also entails a need to “work through memory,” as a critical way to maintain some sort of link with the land of origin. But in the context of a fratricidal conflict such as the Spanish Civil War, the link with Spain as a nation could not be maintained, since the newly established dictatorial regime pushed exiles to “cut the cord” with their homeland. As a result, one may wonder if the experience of exile does not “precipitate” the need to work through memory, and how memory transmission is played out in such circumstances. Examining these questions highlights the difficulties for exiles to integrate themselves into a new and foreign collective network that is not necessarily welcoming.

As historians Pierre Laboire and Jean-Pierre Amalric point out in their book *El exilio republicano en Toulouse* (2003), working through memory in the case of exiles acquires several functions, one internal, the other external: “destinada por una parte al exilio, y por otra al país de acogida” (20).

Following a sociocultural perspective on memory therefore requires looking into the specificities of French and Mexican exiles, and determining how individuals position themselves vis a vis the many collective groups they relate to. First of all, what are these collective groups? Can they be national, or even regional? Since exile -more particularly in the context of a civil war- implies on the one hand a rupture with the homeland and on the other settling down in a new nation, it is necessary to examine if such relations make sense, or if they can be maintained by individuals who seem to be not from here, nor from there. In such a context, it is therefore necessary to go beyond the national or regional communities, and also -but not merely- to explore the connections that individuals maintain with ideological groups, such as the internationalized unions and political parties, since in
some cases such groups appear to the exiles as idealized and imagined communities that survived the death of the Segunda República.

Also, but not merely, because parallel to the dream of overthrowing the dictatorial regime and bringing back the lost República del Frente popular with the support of these imagined communities, individuals in a situation of exile are constantly reminded of their lack of belonging to the new national community they find themselves in. In turn, imposed on them is a strange sense of belonging to Spain as a nation, regardless of their regional origins. From the perspective of the citizens of the new land, and this is especially true in the case of France where exiles are viewed as a compact and somehow homogeneous group of individuals who share the same homeland and speak the same language. These projections are problematic mainly for two reasons: first because they negate the regional diversity of Spain and thus equate exiles with a national narrative that they sometimes reject, and second because they are constantly reminded of the recent appropriation of such a narrative by the Francoist regime, which in turn reactivates the trauma that has led them to exile. As reductive as it may be, and because it is mirrored back to a relatively large number of individuals, the external image imposed upon the exiles ends up creating a new community. Although the individuals that comprise this new group may not buy into the external image that is forced upon them -and oppose, for instance, the pejorative projections that may come along with it-, they necessarily have in common at least two

7 In French argot, Spanish immigrants and exiles were often referred to as 'espingouins', a pejorative term made of the words 'espagnol' (« Spanish ») and 'pingouin' (« penguin »).
things: the experience of exile -being forced to have left one's home-, and the experience of being identified in terms they do not agree with, or which feel foreign to them.

Even though this sense of national belonging is imposed upon exiles, it is crucial to look at its implications when considering the questions of transgenerational memory, precisely because exiles have experienced a rupture with the homeland. The questions of transmission and legacy need to be thought of as a rhizomatic network, and a sociocultural approach may help to understand how different groups of individuals are connected to one another and interact with each other. The rupture from the homeland and the relative sense of isolation that characterize the experience of exiles enable determining the intermediate levels of memory transmission, where and how they operate. The urgency to maintain a link with the homeland, as thin as this link may be, ends up matching the urgency of maintaining one's identity intact, of protecting oneself from the projections that emerge from an external gaze. Hence, the “task” of transmission and legacy in the case of exiles is rarely delayed in time; its necessity is inherent and contemporary to the experience of exile because it often is the only way to maintain a coherent, unfragmented satisfying sense of self.

Questions of legacy and transmission therefore imply examining the sociopolitical contexts in which individuals navigate. While in the Peninsula, second and third generations must deal with the consequences of the Civil War and the dictatorship on the one hand, and with the political choices made during the Transición, on the other hand, second and third generations of exiles born and raised outside of Spain must deal with a legacy of displacement and integration into a new land that also happens to be their primary land. They must look at the spaces in which their close relations operate and at the broader
collective. If in the case of Spain the pact of silence can create a rupture in the legacy that is passed onto the following generations, as will be examined in the third chapter of this dissertation, in the case of exiles, a gap appears between the legacy of displacement and the spontaneous cultural identification with the new land. And in some cases, for second and third generations of exiles, the question of bridging this particular, multidimensional gap remains.

WORKING TOWARD COLLECTIVE PRACTICES OF MEMORY

In Spain, the “Ley de Memoria Histórica,” finally adopted in 2007 during socialist José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero's term as Prime Minister, seems to be the first institutionalized step toward the recognition of violence and persecutions perpetrated during the Civil War and the Dictatorship. Despite pressing criticism from diverse groups, the law has nonetheless made it possible to provide an initial legislative frame broad enough to consider all Republican victims of the Spanish Civil War and the dictatorship and their descendants, both in Spain and in exile. For instance, as a result of the adoption of the law (which included a temporary section enabling descendants of exiles to request Spanish nationality), approximately 500,000 people were granted Spanish citizenship. Although this possibility was opened for a very short period of time -a total of three years-, requests coming from sons and daughters of exiles, as well as from grand-sons and grand-daughters were considered and, in most cases, granted. In Spain, the adoption of the law

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8 Since its enactment, the law has been criticized by organizations that actively promote the recovery of Spain's forgotten memory -such as the Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica (ARMH) founded in 2000-. It has also been criticized by most right-wing political parties and by the Church, which argued the law would only lead to reopening old wounds.
also marked a first step, although insufficient, towards the recognition of all crimes committed, particularly by providing assistance in locating and identifying the bodies of Republicans who were shot and placed in common graves. Regarding this specific point, nonetheless, the Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica (ARMH) deplored a lack of further political investment, since the original version of the law did not totally engage the State as the main actor of the identification and burial of the Republican victims. In other words, the new legal frame provided by the law was considered too modest to effectively tackle the colossal task of working through memory. As a result, if the Ley de Memoria Histórica was a first attempt to work through memory from and within the Institutions, an anxiety remains in relation to the many individual memories that were silenced, lost and displaced, both in Spain and in exile and hence do not have representation in the eyes of the State.

Parallel to the foundation of the ARMH, the past decade led to the emergence of a growing interest for these silenced stories in film and literature, especially with the publication of Soldados de Salamina, by Javier Cercas, in 2001. The great literary success encountered by the novel, which was quickly adapted by film director David Trueba, showed that there was both an audience and an interest in stories that would contradict the official versions of historical events. The appealing success of the novel and its filmic adaptation opened a path for authors who wanted to revisit history and give voice to the silenced and forgotten. As novelist Isaac Rosa pointed out in 2007 in his article “Memoria literaria y represión franquista,” published in La recuperación de la memoria histórica: una perspectiva transversal desde las ciencias sociales:
en ese proceso de restitución de la memoria que se está produciendo en los últimos años, y cuyos pilares más visibles son el movimiento asociativo, y la nueva generación de historiadores, también tenemos mucho que decir los creadores. Se suele destacar la responsabilidad de los historiadores, pero poco se dice de la responsabilidad de los creadores, en la construcción y conservación del discurso del pasado. [...] En las últimas décadas se han publicado miles de títulos sobre la Guerra Civil y el franquismo [...] en los últimos cuatro o cinco años se ha acelerado la producción [...]. (Rosa, 160)

Aside from Isaac Rosa’s critical observation regarding the absence in most novels -including *Soldados de Salamina*— of subversive perspectives that would effectively challenge our vision of Franquismo, the novelist shows that what has become a literary trend—“es todo un género en España, y parece que no hay escritor que no tenga su novela sobre la Guerra Civil” (161)—echoes a genuine interest manifested by individuals—novelists and filmmakers as well as readers and spectators—who aspire to get better acquainted with their own complex past. The most compelling critique that Isaac Rosa formulates in this regard is that a collective need to recuperate a silenced past has been transformed into a relatively homogeneous mass of objects of (passive?) consumption (161). In order to avoid such a pitfall, Isaac Rosa argues that authors must acknowledge their social role in all questions referring to the recuperation of memory, to counteract a contemporary tendency to see “la memoria del pasado languidecer, desinflarse, o ser sustituida por mitificaciones, por nostalgias, por consuelos” (168).

However that may be, it is nonetheless true that contemporary literary texts, and among them, legacy narratives, are filling a void left by the State and other civil associations. What is particularly compelling from a cultural studies and literary-analytical perspective, is to examine how artists (and more particularly, novelists, film directors and graphic novelists) are doing the work of excavation of their own, by resuscitating a myriad of voices that sometimes challenge ideological discourses. The fact that such topics have become a literary trend should not prevent us from looking at what these texts are pointing
to, which, in most cases, are realities far more complex than a systematic denunciation of Franquismo. For instance, by interrogating a Manichaean perspective that would solely portray the Francoist vencedores as evil, while emphasizing the moral heroism of the Republican vencidos, second and third generation authors manage to demystify the moral standpoints we sometimes fear to challenge and therefore also engage in the broader social debate.

By doing so, these texts do not necessarily seek to substitute or pass over the work that is partially done by the State, on the contrary, they simply broaden the scope and interrogate the complexity of human nature. One may argue that authors who offer us tales of Republican anti-heroes are indeed using the current literary trend as both pretext and context -in short, as a mere decor- to explore the most immoral aspects of human nature. Whatever is the case, what is striking about these stories and should not be overlooked is that they echo a historical reality that can partly explain why the Republicans could not win the Spanish Civil War, because the Republican side was never homogeneous ideologically, as it brought together different ideologies and political parties that had their own agendas.

Such tales do not minimize the horrors perpetrated by the Francoists, nor do they invite us to give in to the idea that “todos perdimos, […] todos fuimos víctimas” (165), as Isaac Rosa puts it. They challenge us to reflect on the multiplicity and complexity of memories and legacy, beyond Manichaean perspectives. In other words, the massive literary and filmic production should not merely aim at rendering justice to the victims, it should challenge us to reflect on history. Such texts cannot and will not take over the State's duties -since it is the duty of the State to recognize who the victims were, and possibly to
provide proper reparation-, but they can, and they do voice untold stories on a large scale, and point to the connections between individuals and collective groups, while mapping the inextricable network of memory and legacy.

As previously mentioned, the challenges posed by transgenerational memory in the case of Spain and exile greatly impact the collective. For this purpose, the theoretical framework chosen in this dissertation relies mainly on a collective approach to memory as proposed by Maurice Halbwachs, and draws from Paul Ricœur's conceptualization of memory as a trajectory. In that sense, my project does not oppose individual and collective memories as two separate practices: in spite of the ongoing debates among different fields of studies in the humanities, that often reflect methodological issues specific to given fields, I argue that only an approach to memory that includes both the individual level and the collective can inform on questions of transgenerational memory and transmission.

My focus is therefore not psychoanalytical: I only explore the mechanisms of individual trauma in order to see how individuals grasp the memories of events that they did not necessarily experience themselves, and what they do with them. In other words, I look at the consequences of trauma on the relations that bind survivors and the following generations, keeping in mind how these consequences affect the collective. In that sense, my research dialogues with the current approach on “cultural memory,” as broadly defined by literary critic Astrid Erll as “the interplay of present and past in socio-cultural contexts” (2). Cultural memory, as Erll argues, enables covering different manifestations of memory that range from individual memory in relation to a given social group to national expressions of memory (2). As such, cultural memory must be understood as a wide
analytical field that unites a large array of disciplines including psychology, philosophy, literary and cinema studies, history, sociology and cultural anthropology.

As Erll points out, cultural memory draws from Maurice Halbwachs' notion of collective memory, which he defined for the first time in 1925 in *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*. I particularly examine Halbwachs' conceptualization because I argue it enables localizing the “memory paths” that are shared collectively by the members of given social groups, or as Halbwachs calls them, the social frameworks of memory (98). Halbwachs' conceptualization, which I look into in more depth below, is, to a great extent, a critique of Henri Bergson's approach to memory. In *Matière et mémoire. Essai sur la relation du corps à l'esprit*, first published in 1896, Bergson proposes a definition of memory that distinguishes two types of memories: one that imagines, and one that repeats:

> on pourrait se représenter deux mémoires théoriquement indépendantes […] Les souvenirs qu'on acquiert volontairement par répétitions sont rares, exceptionnels. […] Le souvenir spontané est tout de suite parfait; le temps ne pourra rien ajouter à son image sans la dénaturer; il conservera pour la mémoire sa place et sa date. Au contraire, le souvenir appris sortira du temps […] il deviendra de plus en plus impersonnel, de plus en plus étranger à notre vie passée. (Bergson, 49)

Bergson's conceptualization relies on the examination of the mechanisms of the human brain and ends up opposing memory paths that are constituted of repeated actions (therefore revealing habits), and memory paths that lead to the remembrance of unique events.

Halbwachs' main criticism of Bergson's approach is that the philosopher does not take into consideration the distinct “milieux” in which memory is exercised, therefore overlooking the many elements of memory that are determined by collective groups and society. To Bergson's individual, mechanical approach, Halbwachs opposes a sociocultural approach to memory that links individuals to the collective (6) and further expands his 1925 work in *La mémoire collective* (1950) that he names, as the title of the book suggests,
collective memory. Halbwachs' argument is twofold: it postulates that memory supposes a collective component, and it questions psychological approaches that tend to consider the processes of memory as individual, cognitive operations but that do not ponder the influence of others:

On est assez étonné lorsqu'on lit les traités de psychologie où il est traité de la mémoire, que l'homme y soit considéré comme un être isolé. Il semble que, pour comprendre nos opérations mentales, il soit nécessaire de s'en tenir à l'individu, et de sectionner d'abord tous les liens qui le rattachent à la société, de ses semblables. Cependant, c'est dans la société que, normalement, l'homme acquiert ses souvenirs, qu'il se les rappelle, et, comme on dit, qu'il les reconnaît et les localise. (Hallbwachs, 6)

For Halbwachs, if the process of rememoration cannot be merely considered an individual operation, it is because the evocation of memories is -directly or indirectly- triggered by others. Therefore, the process of rememoration acquires a relational quality that can be observed in conversations and day-to-day interactions (6).

Since memory is relational and the process of rememoration is triggered by elements that are external to the self, Halbwachs argues that memory is not constructed individually, but collectively. Opposing Bergson’s approach, Halbwachs pleads for a middle-ground where both types of memories (one that imagines, one that repeats) meet and become intertwined. What characterizes this middle-ground are the collective elements that create the frames in which the process of rememoration is exercised:

les cadres dont nous parlons et qui nous permettent de reconstruire nos souvenirs après qu'ils ont disparus ne sont pas, nous l'avons dit, purement individuels: ils sont communs aux hommes d'un même groupe [...] ils résultent de ce que la mémoire des hommes dépend des groupes qui les enveloppent et des idées et des images auxquelles ces groupes s'intéressent le plus. (Hallbwachs, 98-104)

As Halbwachs points out, individual memories (or specific, unique facts that happened in the past) are linked to one another by thoughts that are themselves connected to our social “milieu” (107). Furthermore, it appears that our very thoughts constitute social frameworks
of memory, since they point to the “memory paths” followed during the processes of rememoration (108).

But the notion of collective memory itself, and by the same token, all notions that are derived from it, have often been challenged, in part because they fail to separate individual memory from collective memory, as historian Wulf Kansteiner points out. In his article *Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies*, Kansteiner makes two main critiques to collective memory and its field of study: “Collective memory studies have not yet sufficiently conceptualized collective memories as distinct from individual memories. As a result, the nature and dynamics of collective memories are frequently misrepresented through facile use of psychoanalytical and psychological methods” (180). This critique of collective memory was already formulated in Halbwachs’ time by historian Marc Bloch, and Kansteiner points out is that the lack of a satisfactory definition of collective memory in turn constitutes a methodological impediment to its scientific study.

Kansteiner's critique raises two remarks. First, a “faithful” enough reading of Halbwachs' conceptualization reveals that collective memory and individual memory are not to be opposed, rather, the notion of collective memory includes, as stated above, both individual and collective aspects, which are intertwined. In *La mémoire collective*, Halbwachs does not reject the possibility of individual, unique memories, but he argues that memory can only be at the same time individual and collective: indeed, to separate individual aspects from collective aspects would result in an arduous, somewhat artificial task. In other words, individuals are influenced by the group(s) they belong to, and their memories are shaped accordingly (18). Yet, and this is my second remark, the
methodological critique raised by Kansteiner is a crucial one when considering the tasks of historiography and the confluence of memory and history, which necessarily aims at writing the “story/ies” of a broad collective.

The separation that concerns the individual level on the one hand, and the collective on the other is often reflected in history through the idea that memory deals with an individual and/or a limited collective level of past events, while history examines the movements that shape a broader collective level in order to offer its representation. As historian Pierre Nora points out in “La France malade de sa mémoire”: memory is “le souvenir d'une expérience vécue et fantasmée et, à ce titre, elle est portée par des groupes vivants, ouverte à toutes les manipulations, inconsciente de ses déformations successives, vulnérable à toutes les manipulations, susceptible de longues latences et de brusques réveils”, while history can be envisioned as “une construction toujours problématique et incomplète de ce qui n'est plus, mais qui a laissé des traces. Et à partir de ces traces, contrôlées, croisées, on tâche de reconstituer au plus près ce qui a dû se passer, et surtout d'intégrer ces faits dans un ensemble explicatif cohérent” (20-27).

But here too, the distinct processes that are examined can find themselves, to a certain extent, intertwined. As Nora shows in his essay *Entre mémoire et histoire*, the confluence between memory and history lies in what Pierre Nora characterizes as a contemporary “need” for both history and memory, due to an “acceleration” of history. According to Nora, this “acceleration” can be understood as the consequence of two main events: the growing rural exodus of the late XIXth century on the one hand, and on the
other the processes of globalization. If, as Pierre Nora affirms, “Le besoin de mémoire est un besoin d'histoire” (30), the historian nonetheless establishes a distinction between two memories, or better said, two practices of memory: “la mémoire vraie […] réfugiée dans le geste et l'habitude,” which exists outside the realms of historiography and is transmitted in a simultaneous movement orally and subconsciously, and “[…] la mémoire transformée par son passage en histoire […] volontaire et délibérée, vécue comme un devoir et non plus spontanée” (30). For Nora, the latter practice of memory goes hand in hand with the acceleration of history. What he calls a “psychologisation intégrale de la mémoire contemporaine” reveals a new “regime” of memory that tends to be both forced from the outside and “privatized”, in other words adapted to specific needs and discourses (33). According to Nora, it is this new regime that has multiplied “sites of memory”, insuring a sense of continuity as a way to tackle the challenges raised by the accelerated transformations of the distinct groups that constitute societies. In Nora's own implacable words: “il y a des lieux de mémoire parce qu'il n'y a plus de milieux de mémoire” (23).

Of course, Pierre Nora's assertion primarily concerns the challenges faced by historiography and the evolution of memory transformed by its contact with history. But beyond the challenges specific to the field of history (and beyond the play on words between “lieux” and “milieux”), to argue that there are no “milieux” of memory comes down to dismissing the role of distinct social groups that still procure a fertile soil in terms of memory transmission. Continuity is not merely provided geographically by “des lieux de mémoires”. Rather, following a cultural perspective to memory, sites of memory are

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9 Nora's study concerns contemporary France.
part of a larger network of elements that can offer continuity and stability to practices of memory.

In his book *Voices of Collective Remembering*, anthropologist James Wertsch points out that considering memory as “a form of mediated action” enables placing individuals and cultural tools at the center of collective memory processes. As a result, this allows changing the focus from *what* is remembered to *how* memory is practiced collectively (51), a change in focus that Wertsch defines as instrumental memory: “Instrumental memory is memory or knowledge about a cultural tool and the procedures for using it. The cultural tools used by one collective may differ from those employed by another, and this can lead to different memory processes and products” (52). Cultural anthropology therefore informs on the multiple and simultaneous ways in which memory processes are organized and exercised collectively. Sites of memory, commemorative ceremonies, museums and exhibitions, but also testimonies, films, documentaries, texts, maps or photographs are examples of the many cultural tools that provide continuity and stability to specific practices of memory.

When speaking of texts as cultural tools, the question of written representations of the past brings together historiography and literary writing. In his book *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (2001), historian Dominik LaCapra explores the connections between both disciplines and points out that there are two major approaches to historiography: one, which can be labeled as positivist and relies on evidence and referential statements that take the form of truth claims based on said evidence, and another one, which can be linked to radical constructivism and constructs narrative structures based on political, ideological,
rhetorical, figurative, performative or aesthetic factors in which referential statements can be found, but where truth claims become relatively marginal (1).

As LaCapra points out, radical constructivist historians such as Hayden White and Frank Ankersmit “accept the distinction between historical and fictional statements on the level of reference to events but question it on structural levels. For them, there is an identity or essential similarity between historiography and fiction, literature, or the aesthetic on structural levels, and their emphasis is on the fictionality of structures in all these areas” (8). The challenges of historiography raised by historians who adopt a constructivist perspective can be summarized as follows: the “narrative substance” or narrative structure is fictive by nature since it is both politically and ideologically motivated in the present. As Ankersmit argues: “we can never test our conclusions by comparing the elected text with 'the past' itself”, since “narrative substances do not refer to the past” (10).

Two of the main critiques that LaCapra expresses toward a radical constructivist perspective is, first, the tendency to identify narrativization with fictionalization, and second, that narrative structures also imply truth claims even if they are not manifest (13). Furthermore, going back to a positivist perspective, which would characterize historiography by its manifested truth claims, truth claims cannot be taken as distinguishing factors between historical narratives and fictional narratives because the latter can also rely on truth claims as part of their narrative structure.

As a result, LaCapra advocates for a perspective that acknowledges the connections between historiography and fiction, but that does not identify one with the other: “the interaction or mutually interrogative relation between historiography and art (including fiction) is more complicated than is suggested by either an identity or a binary opposition
between the two” (15). For LaCapra, what is relevant and particularly evocative is how truth claims emerge in narrative structures:

the complex relation of narrative structures to truth claims might provide a different understanding of modern and postmodern realism (including what has been termed traumatic realism) wherein correspondence itself is not to be understood in terms of positivism or essentialism but as a metaphor that signifies a referential relation (or truth claim) that is more or less direct or indirect (probably generically more indirect in fiction than in historiography). (LaCapra, 14)

In literary studies, keeping in mind the emergence of truth claims in the text can be very informative when dealing with texts that narrate past events. The reference to an archive within the text (letters, maps, photographs, official documents, personal diaries), fictional or real, can function as a way to claim a fictional truth that establishes the authority of the narrative voice. Furthermore, when approaching tales of memory and trauma, the reference to said archive enables creating a connection between an intimate, subjective space where trauma is played out, and the outside world: the objects that constitute the archive materialize a reality that is in direct relation to the emotional, immaterial traces of the trauma. As far as trauma is concerned, one may argue that going back to the archive could open two simultaneous possibilities: a reactivation of the trauma through a conscious, deliberate projection into the past, and at the same time a possible detachment from the past through mediation. This process could be a way to “work through trauma”, a term that LaCapra defines as “an articulatory practice,” through which “one is able to distinguish between past and present and to recall in memory that something happened to one (to one's people) back then while realizing that one is living here and now with openings to the future” (22).

LaCapra's observation that “one is living here and now with openings to the future” leads me to introduce another important aspect of memory studies, which as I have already
mentioned constitutes a key characteristic of what I call “legacy narratives”: transgenerational memory. The first question that ought to be posed when considering the possibility of transgenerational memory is whether memory and trauma can be transmitted. In *The Generation of Postmemory*, Marianne Hirsch introduces two distinct intellectual positions regarding memory: one, supported by literary critics Gary Weissman and Ernst van Alphen, who argue that memory cannot be transmitted, and another, adopted by Jan and Aleida Assmann, who examine the ways in which memory can be passed on from one generation to another.

These two distinct intellectual perspectives on memory echo the debate between individual and collective memory that I briefly discussed previously. While Weissman affirms that “no degree of power or monumentality can transform one person's lived memories into another's,” van Alphen claims, following a semiotic standpoint, that “trauma cannot be transmitted between generations” because “the normal trajectory of memory is fundamentally indexical,” meaning that there is “a continuity between the event and its memory” (Hirsch, 109). For van Alphen, this continuity follows a specific trajectory: “the event is the beginning, the memory is the result.” As a consequence, van Alphen rejects the claim that memory can be at all transmitted, because, he says, second and third generations maintain a relationship with past events that is not indexical, contrary to the people who have experienced these events (Hirsch, 109).

Although Marianne Hirsch acknowledges the impossibility to transmit actual memories -“we do not have literal “memories” of others' experiences,” she writes-, her stance on transgenerational memory (that she calls *postmemory*) draws from a collective understanding of memory. Her work closely dialogues with Jan and Aleida Assmann's
concepts, which follow Halbwachs’ collective memory. Hirsch particularly turns to Jan Assmann's book, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (1997), in which he establishes two types of collective memory: a factual, biographical memory that he calls communicative memory, and a cultural one, which could be defined as a memory “performed” through rituals, commemorations, institutionalization or artistic forms of expression (Hirsch, 110).

Finally, the author also looks at Aleida Assmann's input and expansion of the two models previously described by adding two subcategories: individual memory and family or group memory, both emerging from communicative memory; and national/political memory and cultural/archival memory, which arise from cultural memory. Because Marianne Hirsch's postmemory draws from collective perspectives to memory, her stance on transgenerational memory must be understood as a relational process. In Hirsch's own words:

Postmemory describes the relationship that the “generation after” bears to the personal, collective, and cultural trauma of those who came before -to experiences they 'remember' only by means of the stories, images, and behaviors among which they grew up. But these experiences were transmitted to them so deeply and affectively as to seem to constitute memories in their own right. Postmemory's connection to the past is thus actually mediated not by recall but by imaginative investment, projection, and creation. To grow up with overwhelming inherited memories, to be dominated by narratives that preceded one's birth or one's consciousness, is to risk having one's own life stories displaced, even evacuated, by our ancestors. It is to be shaped, however indirectly, by traumatic fragments of events that still defy narrative reconstruction and exceed comprehension. These events happened in the past, but their effects continue into the present. This is, I believe, the structure of postmemory and the process of its generation. (4)

Although Marianne Hirsch mainly looks at trauma in the context of the Holocaust, as Sandra So Hee Chi Kim points out in her article *Redefining Diaspora through a Phenomenology of Postmemory*, and tends to consider “collective trauma as the sole point of 'origin' for postmemory” (340), her insights regarding the questions of transmission and legacy are invaluable because they gather distinct levels of memory (individual, collective
within family and groups and broader collective) and elucidate how memory is actually transmitted within familiar bounds. As Kim points out, Hirsch's notion can be expanded to other socio-historical contexts and beyond the experience of trauma (340). What Kim argues, which is extremely relevant to my project and the experience of exile, is that transgenerational memory can help analyze the effects of displacement or diaspora, since she argues that the processes of postmemory are part of, and consolidate “diasporic identities” (340).

Drawing from the works I have mentioned, my stance on memory also explores the relational (and situational) aspects of collective memory. Although I find Marianne Hirsch's work enlightening in the many ways I have explained previously, I do not refer to transgenerational memory as “postmemory” but as legacy. Kim’s reformulation of Hirsch’s postmemory confirms my insistence on transmission and legacy. First, because as Kim points out, transgenerational memory influences subsequent generations in such a way that it constitutes a legacy, second because the term legacy clearly posits the following generations as inheritors, and third because the notion of memory already implies a post. Since collective memory is indeed a relational process, and the inheritors of transgenerational memory as a legacy are not passive recipients but are actually invested in the relational processes of memory, I believe the use of this terminology allows capturing the type of relationship that binds one generation to another. Furthermore, and this is another crucial aspect of my research, I understand transgenerational memory as a legacy and process that is not necessarily tied to structures of kinship: I argue that such transmissions occur both within and outside the boundaries of family and home. Here I make reference to texts that deal with questions of memory, legacy and transmission but
that paradoxically stage protagonists who lack a direct and visible familiar bond that would enable memory to be passed on, as will be explored through the analysis of Montserrat Armengou and Ricard Belis’ documentary, *Els nens perduts del Franquisme* (2002), and Juan Carlos Medina’s fictional film *Insensibles* (2012).

In order to examine *how* transmission is played out and legacy is created within distinct groups, I will refer to Paul Ricœur's stance on memory, which also allows creating a point of contact between individuals and the collective and that I develop in detail below. But before doing so, I find it crucial to take a deeper look at the ways memory is approached in Peninsular Studies; to that end I wish to lay out several remarks in relation to what I have presented. By posing the frameworks in which the processes of rememoration occur, Halbwachs' collective conceptualization of memory enables rethinking a series of questions specific to the Peninsular context.

If what has been silenced are the specificities of individual memories from the Republican side on a collective scale, Halbwachs' approach allows opening a different perspective by looking at the social frameworks of memory. When considering the Spanish context, it seems more than likely that the social frameworks of memory were never erased by the Francoist regime, neither during the Transición. Since, as Halbwachs explains, for the frameworks of memory to exist it is not necessary for the group to *know* the characteristics of individual memories, I argue that contemporary texts allow tracing the social frameworks of memory that can hardly be erased, and that at the same time, these texts compile specific individual memories and give them visibility on the broader collective scale. I believe that such narratives do more than reveal what was silenced, and what still “haunts” Spanish society today, as the specter metaphor and the reference to
hauntology have suggested. Reading these texts from a sociocultural perspective allows pinpointing the social frameworks of memory they resort to, unveiling as well what remained. And as they do so, they also inform on the processes of transgenerational memory as a legacy because they point out, to paraphrase Halbwachs, the images that matter the most to distinct groups and that are transmitted from one generation to another.

WORKING THROUGH GHOST STORIES: APPROACHES TO MEMORY IN PENINSULAR STUDIES

In the context specific to Spain and the Civil War, Carmen Moreno-Nuño explores the implications of trauma in post-transición Spanish narratives in her article “The Ghosts of Javier Marías: The Trauma of a Civil War Unforgotten”, published in Eloy Merino and Rosi Song’s book Traces of Contamination: Unearthing the Francoist Legacy in Contemporary Spanish Discourse (2005). As she explains in her article, trauma is “commonly defined as a wound in memory,” and one of its key elements is “its perpetuation, its power to be orally transmitted to others” (130). The “contagious” effect of trauma on second and third generations elucidates, according to Moreno-Nuño, the growing appeal for war narratives in Spain, which reveals a new literary paradigm based on trauma:

There is no doubt that many children of the war's survivors grew up surrounded by a silence that could never be broken and by a pervasive fear, because anything could bring about a terrible fate. [...] The subjectivity of this “second generation of the trauma” has been forged by the collective experiences (collective but not identical, as authors suffered them in various degrees depending on their familial and socioeconomic backgrounds). Over the years, many of these writers have echoed this never-healed social wound in their fiction, acting as spokespersons for their generation. This new literary paradigm based on the concept of trauma allows for an explanation of: 1) the vivid interest that the topic of the Civil War continues to arouse, even for younger generations immersed in a radically transformed reality, and 2) the expansion of a literary genre which has never been
more alive despite the predictions that were made some years ago about its imminent demise (and fossilization). (Moreno-Nuño 130)

Furthermore, like many literary critics in the field of Peninsular studies, Moreno-Nuño argues that this trend can be seen as a literary response to a persisting national trauma that has been silenced politically in order to facilitate the transition to democracy after the fall of Franco's regime. As a result, says Moreno-Nuño, “the politics of silence regarding the war have turned it into a ghost which obsessively reappears to a second generation who seeks its identity in connections with a past that has resisted oblivion” (131). The metaphor of the ghost, which has been widely used and has almost become a key element to understand memory and trauma in the context of Spain can be traced back to literature and film, with texts that propose ghost stories, as Moreno-Nuño shows in her article with the example of author Javier Marías, or in cinema, with films such as Guillermo del Toro's *El espinazo del diablo*.

But the specter metaphor can also be traced back from a theoretical perspective to Derrida's *hauntology*, which generally serves to explain the specificities of the Spanish context. As such, there has been a tendency in Peninsular studies to use this metaphor repeatedly to discuss both individual experiences (mainly as a tool of textual analysis) and the sociocultural consequences of 36 years of dictatorship, which have had many effects on the collective. If what is at stake in these discussions is also a reflection on the collective practices of memory, I argue that this metaphor, as appealing as it may be, has very little to say about how individual experiences are linked to the collective, as I will further discuss below.

The corpus of texts that I analyze includes narratives of individual trauma, and opens, at the same time, different paths for reflection concerning the processes of
transgenerational memory and legacy. As mentioned previously, because of the distance that separates writers from the events narrated, the texts chosen represent past events. My corpus incorporates narratives, such as the motion picture *Insensibles*, or Soler’s *Los rojos de Ultramar* that are built around notions of secrecy and revelation. To a certain extent, these texts follow the trend exploited in *Soldados de Salamina* by highlighting the investigation of protagonists who seek *something* from the past.

But in other cases, as will be analyzed in Altarriba and Kim’s graphic novel *El arte de volar* (2009), Lydies Salvayre’s *Pas pleurer*, and Armengou and Belis’ *Els nens perduts del Franquisme*, the narrative is not built around secrecy and revelation. Rather, these texts work as “tributes” rendered by second generations to the first. Therefore, there is no mystery surrounding the past, no quest for discovery. Yet, these texts still reveal *something* from the past: because they work as a homage, these texts render visible individual stories to a larger audience that goes beyond family boundaries. All these texts end up forming a heterogeneous corpus, which challenges a unique representation of the past, thus enabling “working through memory”, to borrow once again Dominik La Capra's term.

In her book *Working Through Memory: Writing and Remembrance in Contemporary Spanish Narratives*, Ofelia Ferrán shows how contemporary Spanish writers have challenged -since the 60's- dominant representations of the past. Her analysis refers both to the discourses of the victors under the Francoist regime and to the void left by the pact of silence during the post-francoist era. Ferrán argues that these narratives not only “place memory at center-stage thematically” (14) but they present a “meta-narrative reflection of the very process of memory production, of how it is written and rewritten, recounted or repressed, transmitted or forgotten” (15). Thus, for Ferrán, literature opens up
a space for reflection as well as enabling a “work[ing] through memory” as the title of her book suggests in a reference to LaCapra. In short, Ferrán argues that such texts can be envisioned as models for a culture of countermemory (Foucault), for a “practice of remembrance that recovers historical perspectives marginalized by official versions of the past” (15).

One of the key concepts of her work, that is relevant to my project, is that she also presents memory as a cultural practice, something that should not remain passive but needs to be constantly and collectively re-activated. Indeed, what interests Ferrán are the processes of rememoration, the acts of remembrance. As she explains throughout her book, reactivating the traumatic past through literary writing enables bringing to light what had remained in the shadows. By doing so, not only does literary writing reveal the inconsistencies of official discourses; but it also opens a space for “marginalized” perspectives, enabling as she puts it and borrowing a phrase by Jo Labanyi, a “symbolic reparation to the ghosts of the past” (268).

As Ferrán observes, the increasing production in contemporary Spanish literature of meta-memory narratives, a term she coins to refer to those texts that offer a reflection on the very processes of memory production, reveals an underlying need to fill a void and to transmit the memory of a collective trauma to the younger generations (“la generacion de los nietos de los vencidos”) who were born after the Francoist era. Following Ferrán's line of thought, meta-memory texts therefore enclose a double purpose: materializing a reparation that the successive governments of the post-francoist period have failed to deliver, and transmitting collective memory to the younger generations of Spaniards.
As mentioned above, the growing interest in meta-memory narratives is often attributed to the void left by the pacto de silencio. In the field of Peninsular studies, this void is often symbolized as a specter, a notion that is directly related to Jacques Derrida's *hauntology*. If ontology examines the nature of being, *hauntology* looks at the nature of what has been made invisible to the eye, what is not visibly present but nonetheless remains. Such a conceptualization, as I will further discuss below, is evocative in the sense that it enables looking at the many silences and traumatic breaks that have characterized Spain's collective history. Building on Derrida's conceptualization of the specter, literary critic Jo Labanyi reads the history of modern Spanish culture as a “ghost story.”

In her book *Constructing Identity in Contemporary Spain* (2002), Labanyi argues that modernity in Spain, -which she locates in a time frame that begins in the XVIIIth-XIXth centuries but does not necessarily end with Franco's death and the Transición-rendered popular and mass culture ghostly in two ways: first by marginalizing it, and secondly by cannibalizing it (2). Under Franco's regime, the cannibalization of popular and mass culture by the victors simultaneously produced “cultural specters” as a result of the fierce repression that silenced the opponents to the regime, “los desaparecidos” (7). As a response to this repression, intellectuals opposed to the regime retaliated with high-cultural productions that remained nonetheless distant from the masses:

while the regime's anti-intellectualism had devastating effects on high-cultural production, it exalted certain resemanticized versions of popular and mass culture-folklore, cinema, sport. The result, by way of reaction was the emergence of an intellectual opposition for whom popular and mass culture were irremediably ideologically tainted, and who therefore set about the task of ideological subversion by high-cultural means, through the creation of a neo-realist art cinema, an

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10 According to Labanyi, post-dictatorship Spain signified an “intensification of modernity rather than a break with it, except in the important respect of postmodernity's evaluation of mass culture” (1).
intellectualized 'social-realist' novel, and above all 'social poetry' - the inevitable result being failure to reach the masses. (Labanyi, 7).

Consequently, says Labanyi, even after the fall of Franco's regime, scholars and intellectuals have continued to privilege the high-cultural forms that were censored during the regime, neglecting the popular and mass cultural forms co-opted during the dictatorship.

Yet Labanyi argues that in recent years, literature and film of the transition and post-transition have opened up the “space of spectrality” (8) by rehabilitating both the figures of the vanquished and popular and mass cultural forms, engaging, as such, in a “recycling” process “in which nothing is lost but returns in new hybridized forms, adapting to changed circumstances” (12). Furthermore, as Labanyi points out, this “recycling” process reveals a conception of history that is not linear and progress oriented, but that is dynamic, “moving in many directions simultaneously” (12).

This idea is particularly provocative because it rejects monolithic master narratives that would impose homogeneous readings of the past: not only do the texts produced through different media reflect in their own way the collective, they also open diverse spaces for the narration of individual stories. Yet, rather than see these stories as an expression of what could be considered as a grand “spectral narrative,” my dissertation focuses on the dynamic Labanyi refers to, and as such examines the directions taken by postmodern artists when it comes to dealing with memory.11 For these texts do not merely

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11 I particularly draw on Jean-François Lyotard’s conceptualization of postmodernity as discussed in *La condition postmoderne* (1979). One of the key elements of postmodernity according to Lyotard is the transformation of knowledge since the 1950’s, which is not an end in itself anymore but is rather envisioned as an exchange. As such, Lyotard points out a disinterest in universal meta-narratives (*les grands récits*) and argues that the “postmodern condition” reflects an appeal to heterogeneous perspectives. He opposes a multiplicity of stories (*les petits récits*), where the links that connect individuals and the collective can be traced, to the grand narratives previously stated.
dialogue with the many “specters” from the past that weigh on the present, they also shed
a light on human nature, notably by exploring the intimate relationships of family members.
And by doing so, while they make visible the traces of the past and respond to the void left
in terms of reparation, these texts reveal dynamic processes of transmission, as well as the
spaces in which such transmission takes place.

If the specter metaphor functions, on the collective level, as a means to analyze the
sociopolitical and cultural repression under Franco's regime, as Jo Labanyi points out, it
can also shed light not only on what the present is made of, but on how it is made as Joan
Ramón Resina suggests. In the introduction to his book Disremembering the Dictatorship:
The Politics of Memory in the Spanish Transition to Democracy (2000), Resina draws on
and proposes a use of the ghost metaphor that changes from the ontological/hauntological
question (what is there/what is not there) to a topological question:12

Specters can radicalize the present, whose roots they are. [...] Ghosts, like the memories they stand
for, are beyond the ontological realm and, in that respect, beyond empirical skirmishes, beyond
proof or disproof outside their own affect-effect. To say they are unreal, in the sense that they are
not or were not, is irrelevant; to predicate anything about them is already their aporetic presence.
What seems fundamental, however, and I would hazard that this alone is the reason so much
attention is given to them, is their action on bodies, what Foucault calls their topologization. By
this he means that the phantasm calls into question the organicist notion of body, the ideology of
its unitary nature, its ontology (4).

12 A distinction between “fantasme” and “fantôme” ought to be made, since the term Michel Foucault uses
in Theatrum philosophicum is “fantasme” (fantasy) and not “fantôme” (ghost). Resina borrows Foucault's
term in its translated version (“phantasm”) and uses it as a synonym for ghost, without mentioning the original
meaning of the French word fantasme. Although Resina's reading of Foucault's translation constitutes a very
broad interpretation of Foucault's original text, it is still very revealing of the massive use of the specter
metaphor in Peninsular studies.
By proposing such a definition of the specter, Resina first brings the individual at the center of the debate through his/her own body. The “phantasm” Resina refers to seems to offer two parallel movements: it anchors the present while offering a possibility to escape the idea (the *fantasme*?) of the unitary nature of the organic body. This twofold movement, as well as the reference to Foucault's topologization then drives Resina to go from the individual back to the collective: as he sheds light on the questionable unitary nature of the body, he also explores the questionable unitary nature of the master narratives that have succeeded one another in Spain's history:

Self-decentering with respect to a cognitive model that yields recognition of the perennially same; identifying the model's original bias by which it centered itself and gave rise to the illusion of universality; [...] these are necessary conditions for a critical theory of ghosts. They are equally requirements for a critical approach to the politics of memory, and not least that of the Spanish Transition. There is scarcely a story more mythologized by the intellectual clerisy than the story of the Transition. Francoist myths pale by comparison with this story's success not only among those interested in its viability -the national and international political and economic elite- but also among literatti, scholars and segments of the media-consuming population (5).

What I find provocative in Resina's approach is that he insists on the subversive nature of the specter, which echoes Derrida's definition of *hauntology*: by an operation of self-decentering, the specter has the ability to catch our attention and make it drift from center to periphery, as will be further explained below. But the subversive nature of the specter has little to say regarding the operation that enables moving from the individual to the collective. Rather than revealing which steps allow moving from one level to another, Resina juxtaposes both planes and does not really inform us how this movement is operated. The multi-topological reference reveals a dynamic just like the one suggested by Jo Labanyi, a movement, a potential trajectory, but it leaves us wondering how this movement is actually made. Rather than exploring the manifestation of the specter (which I believe refers to the contents of memory, to *what* has been silenced or displaced), my
dissertation explores the modalities of the question “how?” previously posed by looking at the many trajectories that transgenerational memory as a legacy takes. In other words, rather than focusing on the spectral nature of memory, I examine its relational nature through legacy and transmission. For this purpose, I refer to Paul Ricœur's notion of trajectory of memory, and detach it from Derrida's specter metaphor.

LEAVING SPECTERS BEHIND: EL ARTE DE VOLAR AS A LEGACY NARRATIVE

Many silences have indeed marked Spain's contemporary history, as many literary critics in the field of Peninsular studies have pointed out. Moreno-Nuño, Ferrán, Labanyi and Resina, whom I have cited above are four among the many who refer to Derrida's conceptualization of the specter to describe and name these silences. And these silences have simultaneously marked the lives not only of thousands of Spaniards, but also of descendants of exiles. If “working through memory” implies, as mentioned before, trying to bridge the gap between past and present, it also means, in the context of Spain, to bridge the gap between a perception of individual isolation and society, between words and silence, between the homeland and the experience of exile. The appeal of Jacques Derrida's theory of hauntology in Peninsular studies can precisely be explained because Derrida's conceptualization of the specter allows pointing to the many marks left by the past. In Derrida's own words, the specter is “an unnameable or almost unnameable thing: something between something and someone, anyone or anything, some thing, “this thing”, but this thing and not any other, this thing that looks at us, that concerns us [qui nous regarde], comes to defy semantics such as ontology, psychoanalysis as much as philosophy” (6). According to Derrida, the specter manifests itself to a witness through a
series of apparitions that the witness does not control. It is the former that summons the latter, or as Derrida would put it, the specter forces its power and authority on the witness through its gaze, since it has the power to see without being seen (7). When dealing with tales of memory, Derrida's *hauntology* therefore enables the unveiling of the presence of the past in the narrated present, or put in simpler words, to reveal silenced stories.

Furthermore, Derrida's conceptualization of the specter could also seem promising when considering questions of transgenerational memory because it offers a relational perspective between the specter and the witness. This relationship is based on what Derrida describes as a *jeu de regard* that binds them and through which they share a common knowledge that “what has been but is not” remains, that the boundary between presence and absence, past and present, life and death is porous enough to make both worlds overlap in what Derrida calls a “space of spectrality”. This common knowledge, the appearance of a space in which the living and the dead can meet and interact -the “secret” that Derrida refers to- reinforces the intimate bond between specter and witness.

The sharing of a secret manifested in this “space of spectrality” entails a sense of loyalty between the witness and the specter. And, as Derrida infers, the loyalty that emerges goes from the one *who is* to the one *who has been*. Because the specter's apparitions cannot be controlled, because it reveals itself to the living and lets them see, the specter also has the power to transform the living into witnesses. Therefore, the specter has the power to transform aspects of the nature of our being. It maintains its definite anteriority upon us, creates a bond with us that is neither breakable nor revokable.

According to Derrida, the relationship between the witness and the specter is one that weighs on the witness, for it is not an even or synchronous one: “this spectral someone
looks at us, we feel ourselves being looked at by it, outside of any synchrony, even before and beyond any look on our part, according to an absolute anteriority” (7). As such, the relationship between the specter and the witness is tainted by anachrony: “Here anachrony makes the law. To feel ourselves seen by a look which it will be always impossible to cross, that is the visor effect on the basis of which we inherit from the law. Since we do not see the one who sees us, and who makes the law, who delivers the injunction.” Therefore, we are forced to “an essentially blind submission” to the specter's secret, to the secret of its origin; the law we inherit from the ghosts ties us to them in a relationship based on our loyalty towards them. But if Derrida clearly establishes how this spectral presence operates, one may wonder how it connects given individuals with each other.

In other words, if the spectral presence represents the content of the legacy, how is this presence “passed on” from one person to another? As will be further examined in the first chapter, Antonio Altarriba's autobiographical graphic novel El arte de volar is very evocative when it comes to addressing this particular question. It tells the story of Antonio, an old man who commits suicide in a retirement home. The story, divided into what can be considered as a prologue and four distinct chapters, follows the protagonist's life, from his early years in Peñaflor, a village close to Zaragoza to his final days in Lardero's retirement home, located a couple of miles away from the city of Logroño. What could seem, at first glance, as the tale of a rural life spent in a quite limited geographical zone (Logroño and Zaragoza being cities of northern Spain, located less than 200 kilometers away from each other) turns out to be the story of a life shattered by a civil war and temporary exile that leads to the protagonist's suicide.
El arte de volar's prologue dramatically frames the story around Antonio's suicide. In the first two pages of El arte de volar, we follow Antonio's last minutes as he escapes from his room and accesses the fourth floor of the retirement home where he resides to jump out of a window. The first panel, which shows Antonio facing a barred window and thinking to himself “Bueno, ha llegado la hora... la hora de echar a volar...” (13) indicates that the protagonist is trapped in a place that he himself calls “la jaula” and from which he attempts to escape. As the prologue ends with Antonio's suicide ("y ahora a volar", thinks the protagonist as he jumps out the window), the reader is invited to jump back in time at the beginning of the first chapter. The chapter opens with Antonio's childhood, and each chapter narrates in a chronological fashion the story of a life that we already know will end with a suicide. The chapters, which are not called “capítulos” but “plantas”, as in the number of floors from which Antonio plunges, are separated by a black page that contains a single panel showing Antonio falling down, with what looks first like a surprised, yet happy expression on his face. Below each panel a number and a time frame appear, corresponding to a floor number and the years of Antonio's life that are narrated in the chapter.

When the reader reaches the last chapter, Antonio is back in the retirement home. The last panel is a replica of the first one, showing Antonio facing a barred window and thinking to himself: “bueno, ha llegado la hora... la hora de echar a volar...” (207). Following a Derridean reading, Antonio's memories could be seen as the spectral presence that haunt the protagonist until he decides to break away from them and set himself free by ending his own life. As Antonio's memories are chronologically unveiled in each chapter, they give the reader a better understanding of the protagonists' decision to commit suicide.
Once the memories are unveiled and Antonio is dead, Antonio himself could be read as a spectral presence in his son's life.

Indeed, *El arte de volar* is not simply the tale of Antonio's life: rather, it is a story of inheritance that functions as a tribute from a son to his father, a way of “making good” on a legacy that is composed of many elements, some being linked to the Civil War and the dictatorship, others being connected to different aspects of life (the difficult relationships Antonio maintains with his father and his wife, for instance). Throughout the prologue, two narrative voices address the reader: one that is enclosed into thought bubbles propelling us directly into Antonio's mind; and another one, contained in captions which belongs to Antonio's son.13

As the panels lead the reader into the story, showing Antonio as he attempts to reach the fourth floor, the first narrative voice asserts its authority by emphasizing the relation of kinship that unites the narrator and the protagonist:

Mi padre se suicidó el 4 de mayo de 2001. Nadie sabe cómo un hombre de su edad y en su estado pudo burlar los controles de vigilancia, subir hasta la cuarta planta, encaramarse a una ventana y arrojarse al vacío... yo sí sé cómo lo hizo... soy el único que puede saber cómo lo hizo... porque, aunque no estaba allí, estaba en él... siempre he estado en él porque un padre está hecho de sus hijos posibles... y yo soy el único hijo que le fue posible a mi padre... desciendo de mi padre, soy su prolongación y, cuando todavía no había nacido, ya participaba, como potencial genético, de todo lo que le ocurría... por eso sé cómo murió... y también cómo vivió... (13-14)

As he explicitly unveils the connection that binds both narrative voices, Antonio's son indicates that there is a continuity between his father and himself: he is an “extension”

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13 I refer to the voices as first narrative voice (Antonio's son) and second narrative voice (Antonio's) for clarification purposes. These numbers are not meant to imply hierarchy, I simply use them because Antonio's son’s narrative voice is the first one the reader encounters, the captions being placed at the top of the panels. As these voices merge at the end of the prologue, there will only be one narrative voice left, that I will simply call “narrative voice”.
of his father, leading the reader to assume that his story and his father's story are intertwined. Thus, the first narrative voice bases its authority on two joint aspects: not only is Antonio's son the manifest recipient of the protagonists' adventures ("peripecias"), which he has heard and read about several times (the first narrative voice mentions 250 pages written by Antonio that narrate his life); he is also a part of his father just like his father is a part of him. “Pero lo que sé de él no es por haberlo oído o leído... lo que sé de su vida es porque, como he dicho, yo estaba en él o, quizá, era con él... y ahora, una vez muerto, él está en mí.” (p.14). The use of both “ser” and “estar”, as well as the physical reference emphasize the bond between father and son, and indicate that father and son are one.

Narratively, this aspect of the graphic novel is rendered by a juxtaposition of narrative voices, which, as will be further explained in the first chapter, are ultimately brought together. The first person narrator that occupies most of the textual space is, in fact, made both of Antonio (the father) and his son. The presentation of his father through his father's eyes but from his own perspective therefore places Antonio's son as the inheritor of a story that he hasn't directly experienced, but that he can talk about because this story lives inside of him. The reference to the 250 pages written by Antonio gives Antonio's son a very concrete element on which he can assert his authority regarding his father's life. Those pages give the reader the sense of an archive elaborated by Antonio. This archive establishes facts and offers an access to Antonio's perceptions: through this reference, the reader can therefore trust Antonio's son.

But it is interesting to note that Antonio's son’s insistence is not on the archive; rather, it is on something that cannot be perceived externally, something invisible to the eye and lodged in Antonio's son veins. That something invisible to the eye could therefore
be interpreted as this “spectral presence” (in this case, Antonio himself), that changes the living people into witnesses, and the witnesses into inheritors. Following this idea, as the spectral presence takes over the archive in Antonio's son’s tale, it could be argued, as Derrida puts it, that this presence also gives inheritors the power to “transform the inheritance” as much as necessary.

According to Derrida, inheritors are given the task to sort out a legacy that is, in essence, heterogeneous: “An inheritance is something gathered together, it is never one with itself. Its presumed unity, if there is one, can consist only in the injunction to reaffirm by choosing. 'One must' means one must filter, sift, criticize, one must sort out several different possibles that inhabit the same injunction. And inhabit it in a contradictory fashion around a secret. If the readability of a legacy were given, natural, transparent, univocal, if it did not call for and at the same time defy interpretation, we would never have anything to inherit from it.” (16). As the specter manifests itself to us and transforms us into witnesses, it also leaves us with its legacy. Because the witness belongs to a different present than that of the specter, because he comes after it and is “a necessarily second generation” (21), he is, as Derrida portrays him, “originarily late and therefore destined to inherit.” (21).

The relationship that binds the witness/inheritor to the specter is therefore one of possible submission to the past, but it also holds a promise for liberation. For 'taming' the past -filtering, sifting, criticizing it- and getting a sense of our heterogeneous inheritance may enable us get a better sense of the place we hold in our present time. But taking a Derridean approach to memory when considering a text such as El arte de volar is not only limiting, but also misleading. What is strikingly clear in Antonio's son’s prologue is that
his father and himself are part of one another. The bond that connects them is strongly established organically, by blood. Antonio is not a spectral apparition in his son's life, rather, the relation is inverted: it is the son who was already present in his father's life, even before he was born ("desciendo de mi padre, soy su prolongación y, cuando todavía no había nacido, ya participaba, como potencial genético, de todo lo que le ocurría").

But the son does not appear to the father either: *El arte de volar* is a story of transgenerational memory, of legacy, beyond a mere specter tale: what Antonio's son reveals here simultaneously are the traces of the past in the present as well as the traces of the future in the past ("cuando todavía no había nacido, ya participaba, como potencial genético, de todo lo que le ocurría"). Furthermore, Antonio's story was never a "ghost" story. As we see it in *El arte de volar*, the first autobiographical narrative voice clearly establishes that the story of Antonio was not silenced, it was, on the contrary, told many times by Antonio himself to his son. In this case, the inheritance is not unveiled by an apparition, nor does it call for possible interpretations; it is rather embedded in the close, organic relationship between father and son.

As such, I argue that *El arte de volar* is a legacy narrative because it reveals how memory is passed on between generations: the questions raised by texts such as *El arte de volar* in terms of transgenerational memory allow us to locate legacy in the close relationships that connect individuals to one another. Of course, many tales of the Spanish Civil War, exile and life under the Francoist regime incorporate notions of silence and secrecy, even ghosts, as mentioned earlier. But in order to establish a broad map of Republican legacies, and their textual representations, it is also crucial to consider tales that do not rely on such notions. As appealing as Derrida's *hauntology* and the image of the
specter may be to address the many silences and gaps encountered in film and texts on the one hand, or simply the question of memory on the other, it still leaves us with a sensation of disconnection that does not fully explain how legacy is passed on. Instead of focusing on the relationship that binds the specter and the witness, I look at the relationship that unites the actors of said legacy.

MEMORY AND THE SELF-IN-RELATION-TO-OTHERS: RICŒUR’S TRAJECTORY OF MEMORY

In an attempt to better define what constitutes a legacy narrative, and to examine the processes of transgenerational memory, I particularly examine how Paul Ricœur's stance on memory can help us draw that bridge between individuals on the one hand, and groups of individuals and society on the other hand. In Memory, History, Forgetting (2000), Ricœur points out that “remembering is not only welcoming, receiving an image from the past, it is also searching for it, 'doing' something. The verb 'to remember' stands in for the substantive 'memory'. What the verb designates is the fact that memory is 'exercised'.” (56). In this definition, Ricœur reveals two apparently opposed aspects of the act of remembering: welcoming and searching. In other words, Ricœur stresses the fact that by the same token, memories may unexpectedly “appear” to us -and these apparitions and re-apparitions may function in similar ways as Derrida's specters, which suddenly summon us and are subject to being summoned and made to resurface by us.

Yet for Ricœur, remembering is at the same time a cognitive and practical operation: cognitive in that it implies a mental process that leads to a recognition of the
memory, and practical because it necessitates effort and work (56). These cognitive and practical features place subjects at the core of the act of exercising memory. In fact, according to Ricœur, “the act of exercising memory comes to be inscribed within the list of powers, capacities, belonging to the category 'I can', to take up the expression dear to Merleau-Ponty.” (57). But even though individuals are the point of departure in this first definition of memory and remembering, Ricœur points out that the fact that memory is an exercise -and can therefore be exercised, “trained”- leads to a series of abuses that he thoroughly examines and categorizes as blocked memory, manipulated memory and abusively controlled memory. The study of these categories opens onto a reflection on the treatment of ideology and collective memory in society, with the latter constituting, as Ricœur proposes, “the soil in which historiography is rooted.” (69). Here, the author implies that the exercise of memory is not merely individual, a point established earlier with Halbwachs, but is also -and foremost- relational.

Although Derrida's description of the relationship that binds the specter and the witness together offers, as mentioned above, a promise for liberation from the past, it nonetheless seems to isolate the witness and the specter in what can be read as a privileged relationship. Derrida's conceptualization, by implying that witness and specter share a common secret, doesn't examine the possible connections between witnesses. In other words, since the witness is also the bearer of a secret that can weigh upon him, it can be argued that he is still isolated from other witnesses. One of the consequences of such a conceptualization is that it doesn't say much about the witness's relations with others, leaving little room to look at the witness's context or at the exercise of collective memory.
Ricœur's stance offers a different perspective since it broadens the relational scope and considers both individual and collective memory. Like Derrida, Ricœur also takes as his point of departure the individual by looking at the notion of identity, but he does so by maintaining the individual in a collective context. Furthermore, Ricœur points out that - here referring to Locke's theory that establishes memory as the criterion of identity (80) - memory and identity intersect when memory is mobilized “in the service for the quest, the appeal, the demand for identity” (81). This intersection between memory and identity becomes problematic and leads to abuses of memory due to the fragile nature of identity:

As the primary cause of the fragility of identity we must cite its difficult relation to time; this is a primary difficulty that, precisely, justifies the recourse to memory as the temporal component of identity, in conjunction with the evaluation of the present and the projection of the future. This relation to time is a problem by reason of the equivocal nature of the notion of the same, implicit in the notion of the identical. What, in fact, does it mean to remain the same over time? […] self-constancy over time rests on a complex interplay of sameness and ipseity […] I will say that the temptation of identity […] consists in the retreat of ipse identity into idem identity or, if one prefers, in the slippage, the drift, from the flexibility, proper to self-constancy as manifested in the promise, to the inflexible rigidity of a character, in the quasi-typographical sense of the term. (Ricœur, 81)

According to Ricoeur, the fragility of identity is therefore intimately linked to the exercise of memory. Self-consistency -which one may say provides a sense of stability to the self- relies on a constant rememoration of what and how one has been.

But for Ricœur, the fragility of identity does not merely fall in the limited frame of one's own relation to oneself. Identity is also rendered fragile in our relationships with others. In fact, Ricœur states two other causes of fragility, one being the confrontation with others who can potentially become or be perceived as a threat, another being the “heritage of founding violence”, in other words, war (82). Once identity is affected by relations with others, the process of rememoration that aims at guaranteeing self-consistency is complicated: the tension between the ipse and idem that Ricœur refers to doesn't occur only
within the limitations of the Self, it may appear and reappear in our relations to others. Indeed, our perception of ourselves, that relies on a sense of self-consistency and therefore on rememoration will differ from the perception and sense of “alter-consistency” that others have of us.

This specific argument leads us back to Halbwachs: if memory is a criterion for identity, and if identity is affected by our relationships with others then we may wonder how our relationships with others may affect our individual memory. Ricœur also examines this question by referring to the ongoing debate among scholars who ask whether memory is primordially personal or collective (93), a debate, as he explains, that opposes a phenomenological perspective to a sociological approach. Rather than engaging directly in this debate, Ricœur displaces this issue by asking the following question: “to whom is it legitimate to attribute the pathos corresponding to the reception of memories and the praxis in which the search for memories consists?” (93).

By asking these questions, and shifting their object from “who” to “to whom”, Ricœur focuses his reflection on the trajectories, the destination. Memory understood as a trajectory enables advocating a middle ground in which the individual meets the collective. Neither merely individual nor solely collective, memory as a trajectory is at the same time individual and collective: “does there not exist an intermediate level of reference between the poles of individual and collective memory, where concrete exchanges operate between the living memory of individual persons and the public memory of the communities to

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14 Here Ricoeur refers to the Aristotelian categorizations of “Anamnēsis”, one being a 'search' or recollection -praxis- and the other being an affection -pathos-. He further describes the pathologies of memory, relying on Freud's works on trauma and mourning.
which they belong?” (131). The intermediate level that Ricœur points to is the set of networks in which individuals operate, the social groups to which they belong, making memory both relational and situational and modulating the different relations in the network.

The author defines the intermediate level as one a “middle-ground between the self and the 'they'” (132); it is, in other words, a level where intimate relations with what Ricœur calls “privileged others” can develop. If close relations occupy the middle-ground between the self and the 'they' -or the others-, then the attribution of memory becomes threefold: it includes the self, one's close relations and the “others,” the individuals who inhabit the same spaces as we do but whom we do not know. But the question that remains to be asked is the question of the trajectory of memory between those three poles, a question that Ricœur examines as follows:

What is the trajectory of memory attribution along which close relations are located? The tie to them cuts crosswise and selectively through social filial and conjugal relations as well as through social relations dispersed in accordance with multiple orders of belonging or respective orders of standing. In what sense do they count for me from the viewpoint of shared memory? To the contemporaneouness of 'growing old together', they add a special note concerning the two events that limit a human life, birth and death. [...] Both of them interest society only in terms of public records and from the demographic point of view of the replacement of generations. But both events were, or will be of importance to my close relations. [...] My close relations are those who approve of my existence and whose existence I approve of [...] This mutual approbation expresses the shared expression that each one makes regarding his or her powers and lack of powers [...] What I expect from my close relations is that they approve of what I attest: that I am able to speak, act, recount, impute to myself the responsibility for my actions [...] In my turn, I include among my close relations those who disapprove of my actions, but not of my existence (Ricœur, 132).

Ricœur's threefold attribution of memory forces us to take a better look at the spaces in which these close social, filial and conjugal relations develop, spaces of intimacy and of shared living. By looking at the trajectory of memory and establishing a tridimensional relation between the self, its close relations and the others, Ricœur brings up the question of legacy and anchors it in the physical and symbolic spaces that individuals share with
both their close relations and others. Following Ricœur, the question of legacy is therefore not only relational: rather than exclusively offering a promise for liberation from the past, it becomes evolutional. Indeed, by looking at the tridimensional relation, the trajectory of memory is set in a specific context, a context that evolves in time and can therefore transform the legacy according to what individuals experience.

Ricœur's conceptualization of the trajectory of memory can therefore help us to better examine the specificities in the Spanish context on the one hand, and in the case of the French and Mexican exiles on the other hand. Indeed, the experience of exile implies undergoing the inevitable confrontation with another culture, in other words, it raises the question of the possible -necessary?- integration into a foreign sociocultural group. As such, the experience of exile entails the renegotiation of one's identity, and the necessity to (re)position oneself within a new society, and therefore a new collective network. In such contexts, one may say that memory, transmission, and legacy become a way of maintaining a sense of self-consistency while one's identity is transformed by the experience of exile. Furthermore, in the contexts of exile, considering the questions of the trajectory of memory as they are posed by Paul Ricœur suggests unveiling the possible conflicts posed by the relation between exiles and the foreign sociocultural group in which they situate themselves, in relations of accommodation, assimilation, resistance, or partial integration.

LEGACY NARRATIVES AS EXPRESSIONS OF MEMORY WRITING

In this project, my interest in Ricœur’s conceptualization is double. First, it allows mapping the complex and heterogeneous network that is Republican memory, because it
posits that memory is diverse and relational. Second, it gives us important analytical clues to trace the multidirectional trajectories of memory textually: in other words, it gives us compelling indications of specific processes of memory writing, taken in a broad sense.

The corpus of this dissertation gathers five texts (a graphic novel, two novels, and two films) that recuperate the living experiences of Republicans, thus giving them a space of expression to voice individual stories that may have been told in the intermediate level, but which were never heard on the broader collective level. In each text, tracing back the trajectory of memory between first, second, and third generations will enable proposing what I envision to be a broad enough definition of legacy narratives.

My understanding of legacy narratives locates the genre at the confluence of different media, which rely on verbal as well as visual forms of expression. Each chapter will focus on a specific medium in order to determine how the processes of memory writing are problematized, and how legacy narratives are formed. Following Halbwachs, it could be argued that every medium functions as a specific “framework” of memory, because each one supposes a tradition that texts mirror or sometimes challenge. In other words, through a close analysis of the narrative techniques employed by the authors, I will answer the two overarching questions that have guided my reflection: what do these texts recuperate from the past? And how do they recuperate individual memories at the same time that they contribute to collective practices of remembrance?

The first chapter looks into the comics medium with the analysis of Antonio Altarriba and Kim’s graphic novel El arte de volar. As explained briefly earlier, this text is partly based on the memories of Antonio Altarriba’s father, and at such, it engages first and second generations textually through autobiographical writing. In the first sections of
the chapter, I also look at the specificities of sequential art as a medium of expression, more particularly within the graphic novel genre. Moreover, these sections focus on tracing the trajectory of memory, and establishing how the memories of Altarriba’s father are represented and recuperated textually. These aspects allow outlining some of the crucial techniques that come into play in legacy narratives. The following sections of the chapter highlight the contents of memory, and show more specifically the tensions between the intermediate level of transmission and the broader collective in the context of Spain.

The second chapter broadens the scope of legacy narratives by looking at another medium – the novel – and by exploring other sociocultural contexts. This chapter particularly highlights exilic productions, and locates the traces of the trajectory of memory in France and Mexico. In the first sections of the chapter, I analyze how Goncourt winner Lydie Salvayre recuperates the memories of her mother in her 2014 novel *Pas pleurer*. Like Altarriba’s *El arte de volar*, Salvayre’s textual rendering of the trajectory of memory between first and second generations conceptualizes the notions of home and family as spaces for transmission. Additionally, and this is particularly compelling in *Pas pleurer*, the novel focuses on women’s voices, which enriches the scope of this dissertation. Ultimately, this section shows how *El arte de volar* and *Pas pleurer* complete each other, since they give us an idea of the ordeal faced by men and women whose late teenage years were derailed by the Spanish Civil War.

The last section of this chapter leads us to Mexico, with the analysis of Jordi Soler’s *Los rojos de ultramar*. This specific legacy narrative reveals how the trajectory of memory may include third generations, while focusing in more depths on the consequences of exile. Soler’s novel adds another layer to our definition of legacy narratives, first because it
recuperates the memories of the author’s grandfather, and second because it relies on
distinct techniques: the notions of silence and secrecy are, in his novel, much more present
textually than they are in the two texts mentioned above. Consequently, I analyze how the
novel dialogues with other literary genres, and employs what distinct scholars in Peninsular
studies have called the “investigatory mode” as a literary means to “work through
memory.”

Finally, the last chapter follows the trajectory of memory beyond familial bounds,
or when individuals have suffered breaks in their genealogy. This chapter specifically
focuses on the fate of children as represented in two films. The first one, a documentary
titled Els nens perduts del Franquisme, by Montserrat Armengou and Ricard Belis, reveals
aspects of Spain’s recent history that have been particularly silenced both during the
postwar period and after the fall of Francoism. The documentary recuperates the stories of
children who were born in Republican families and who were abducted consistently by the
regime. Although there is no evidence of a relation of kinship between the filmmakers and
the witnesses whose experiences are voiced in the documentary, I argue that Els nens
perduts del Franquisme can also be read as a legacy narrative because it shares narrative
techniques with the other texts analyzed in the first two chapters.

The last text further expands my understanding of legacy narratives by focusing on
a fictional film, Juan Carlos Medina’s Insensibles. While this horror film does not
recuperate actual lived experiences, it still allows tracing the trajectory of memory because
it offers a representation of the distinct poles of transmission identified by Paul Ricoeur.
This movie dialogues with a trend in Spanish cinema that portrays the Spanish Civil War
and Francoism by placing children and the figure of the monstrous child at the center stage.
Evidently, Medina’s film greatly differs from Armengou and Belis’ documentary, but as will be shown, *Insensibles* does point to similar aspects of Spain’s history.

The analysis provided in each chapter, which brings together different contexts of production, will allow determining the outlines of legacy narratives. The tales examined in each chapter are contextualized, and I examine how each medium chosen mirrors or emphasizes the context described. By doing so, this dissertation aims to reveal the heterogeneity of memories, explore how they are maintained, passed on and transformed within given collective contexts, and how each one of these contexts echoes and possibly influences the “broad” collective. Ultimately, the recuperation of men’s, women’s and children’s silenced stories shows us one of the biggest failures of Francoism and National-Catholicism: the regime’s implementation of “transgenerational transmission” did not manage to eradicate Republican memories, as the title of my dissertation suggests.15

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15 In the second and third chapter, I will examine further how the ideology of Francoism relied on notions of family, gender roles and transgenerational transmission to ensure the perpetuation of the regime.
Chapter One: Reading Comics, Reading Time: Memory and its Trajectory within Panels

This dissertation proposes to combine texts in different media -yet bearing similarities in terms of content- in order to analyze how they portray questions relating to transgenerational memory and legacy. When analyzing specific media, such as novel, film and comics, a series of questions comes to mind. As readers, and even more so as literary critics, how does one approach each medium? Do we read a novel like we watch a movie? How do images affect, contribute to or modify our understanding of a text? And when it comes to comic books, how do we engage with images and text? Do we read them like a novel, or do we watch them like a film? In other words, how does each medium influence our reception of the story we are told? Most often we may envision different types of texts as complete, finished products and we may associate the act of reading/watching with the fulfillment of a specific goal -whether intellectual or for entertainment-. Taking such a standpoint -that of the implied reader- enables the analyst to form thematically coherent corpuses of texts.¹⁶

¹⁶ In Story and Discourse. Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film (1978), Seymour Chatman defines the implied reader as the “narrative counterpart of the implied author—not the flesh-and-bones you or I sitting in our living rooms reading the book, but the audience presupposed by the narrative itself” (149). For Chatman, the implied reader plays a role in the “narrative contract” by informing the real reader “how to perform.” The implied reader can be explicitly present in the text as a “narrate-character,” or its standpoint can be simply inferred. As Chatman explains, “the real reader may refuse his projected role at some ultimate level […] but such refusal does not contradict the imaginative or ‘as if’ acceptance of implied readership necessary to the elementary comprehension of the narrative.
But if thematic coherence is a valid enough reason to justify bringing together
different media in a specific corpus of texts, a detailed analysis of each medium and its
formal aspects is also necessary to discern not only how each text enters the thematic
dialogue, but also what it has to suggest, and again how it may broaden said thematic scope.
Thus, the act of reading may lead us to interrogate the textual and visual “grammars”
displayed in the works under scrutiny. Here I use the word “grammar” quite loosely, with
the deliberate purpose of echoing North-American cartoonist Will Eisner's use of the word
views on literacy and on the psychological and cognitive processes engaged in the act of
reading, Eisner postulates that “the structures of illustration and prose are similar” because
“the psychological processes involved in viewing a word and an image are analogous”
(2). 17 Building on this notion, Eisner defines the “grammar” of comics as “a series of
repetitive images and recognizable symbols” that convey ideas and create their own
“distinct language -a literary form” (2).

17 Thomas Wolf presented these ideas in an article titled “Reading Reconsidered” that was published in

Before examining in more detail the specificities of this “distinct language” and how they affect the reading process, I want to take a few moments to go over the socio-cultural contexts that have influenced the production of comics, and to introduce the intellectual debates that concern the medium. Comics are a narrative medium that, as I examine below, employs both images and words to tell a story, although words are not always necessary. In comics, the narrative weight is distributed between two forms of expression: one that is purely visual and graphic, and another that relies on speech. Traditionally, the task of critically reading such narratives has been carried out in the academic realms by literary critics who include comics and graphic novels within larger corpuses of texts because the stories they narrate are part of a larger thematic concern. In that sense, this dissertation will be no different since it includes novels, comics and films that deal with the same broad historical topic (the Spanish Civil War and the Francoist regime) with an approach that interrogates questions of transgenerational memory, transmission and legacy.

But rather than simply reading each text thematically, as if it were a mere inflection of a larger topic, I find it crucial to keep in mind what medium it comes from, in order to establish bridges between different media. That is, just as film and cinema are considered a medium with technical specificities, comics also need to be analyzed in relation to their technical specificities. In other words, the arguments made in this dissertation follow the thinking of scholars and comics artists for whom comics are not a literary genre but a
medium of their own. Keeping this in mind is crucial when analyzing different media because it enables a reflective reading of texts without losing sight of the standpoints we adopt as readers. This, along with my own subjective experience as a critical reader, will be the “fil d'Ariane” that will guide the readers through the first section of my dissertation.

1.1 A BRIEF HISTORY OF COMICS: THE NORTH-AMERICAN AND FRANCO-BELGIAN TRADITIONS

In order to introduce the medium and its context of production, a few remarks need to be made. First of all, a distinction is observable between different traditions in the comics world: the North-American tradition, the Franco-Belgian tradition and the Japanese tradition. Not only because these traditions generally vary greatly in style, but also because not all traditions benefit from the same response and appreciation from the consumers of comics. In other words, to understand what is at stake within each tradition, it is once again necessary to adopt the standpoint of the implied reader and to consider the reception of comics. I won't go here into the specificities of the Japanese tradition, since the graphic novel that I will analyze is not influenced by it, but I will say a few words regarding both the North-American and the Franco-Belgian traditions, and then look in more detail at the Peninsular case. This will allow understanding not only how comics are read, but also how they are studied in Western Europe and the United States.

Being a fervent reader and enthusiastic consumer of Franco-Belgian comics since a young age, I naturally followed what the vibrant market had to offer in terms of style, topics and formats to readers of different age ranges. As I grew up, I started including graphic novels, such as Joann Sfar's *Carnets*, or Aude Picault's titles (*Papa, Fanfare*) in the
album series I used to read when I was younger and which I was very fond of, from Uderzo and Goscinny's *Astérix et Obélix*, to Jean Van Hamme and William Vance's *XIII*, or Franquin's *Gaston Lagaffe*. The *album*, with its bigger format, its traditionally limited number of pages and its serialized publication in volumes was often an invitation to step into an adventure with my favorite characters. On the other hand, the graphic novel’s, novel-like format, which could be either shorter or longer than the 48 pages that characterize the *album*, was generally the occasion to enter a more intimate story. From my personal experience, I can say that the universe of Franco-Belgian comics seemed infinite, offering an extremely wide range of topics presented in just as creative a manner. Yet, contrary to what could be assumed, the thematic distinction between the album and the graphic novel in the Franco-Belgian tradition is sometimes blurry: while it's true that the graphic novel seems naturally to resemble autobiographical narratives by bearing a likeness to notebooks or diaries – the name “*Carnets*” chosen by Joann Sfar literally translates as “notebook” and also evokes the *carnet de voyage*-, this does not mean that the *album* format exclusively targets younger audiences or addresses less profound topics.

The possibilities within the realms of the *neuvième art* - the Franco-Belgian tradition refers to comics as the ninth art- being what they are, renowned artists such as Christophe Blain or Manu Larcenet have published their own *carnets* and autobiographical narratives in the traditional *album* form. The case of Manu Larcenet is particularly interesting, because it merges adult content with a sometimes “childlike” graphic universe, as can be seen in figure 1 with two panels extracted from his four volumes album series *Le combat ordinaire* (2003-2008). Those panels, which show two brothers reunited after the protagonist, Marco, has moved 350 miles away, illustrate the choice of lines and coloring
made by Larcenet to tell the story of a young man in search for his identity and roots.

Figure 1: *Le combat ordinaire, vol.1* (5). © Manu Larcenet.

Far from conflicting with the gravity of the topic, the graphic style invites the reader to follow the steps of the protagonist in what will prove to be a deeply emotional journey. In fact, the choice of line and coloring mirror the bitter-sweet tone of the narration, making it accessible for the reader and extremely lively: such a graphic treatment allows playing with a wider range of emotions, from comedy, as displayed in this scene, to nostalgia and tragedy.

If I have taken the time to formulate remarks that refer to my own experience as a comics consumer, it is to introduce the different types of comics that have been available to the public for the past forty years, and to better situate the text that I analyze in the following three sections of this first chapter, Altarriba and Kim's *El arte de volar*. First, I propose to define what the terms album, comic magazine, and graphic novel entail in terms of format, but also how they are adapted in different cultural contexts of production. This will allow, pointing out the differences and similarities between the North-American tradition and the Franco-Belgian tradition, and tracing back the origins of the graphic novel and of the *album* as we know them today. Moreover, it will lead me to present the Peninsular comics industry since *El arte de volar* was produced and published in Spain.

Within the Franco-Belgian comics universe, which includes various comic book formats, the distinction between graphic novel and comic book has seemed less relevant
than in the North-American tradition until very recently. To be completely exact, from the standpoint of many comics consumers -and even from the standpoint of some critical readers-, the graphic novel still appears nowadays as “un objet culturel non identifié” (an unidentified cultural object), as literary critic and comics specialist Thierry Groensteen would put it.\(^\text{18}\) Simply, the term “roman graphique” -the literal translation of graphic novel- is not commonly used, the preferred term to refer to any type of comic book, regardless of its format or content remaining “une B.D.” (which reads “bédé”, an abbreviation of bande-dessinée, the generic term for the medium).\(^\text{19}\) This may seem irrelevant, but I believe it mirrors the different ways comics are commonly viewed in the United States and in Western Europe.

In fact, this lack of a clear distinction between *album* and graphic novel echoes what literary critic Jan Baetens mentions in the introduction to his 2001 book titled *The Graphic Novel*, a publication of papers delivered during the International Conference on Graphic Novel hosted by the Institute for Cultural Studies of the University of Leuven in Belgium. Baetens points out a difference in appreciation of comics in Europe and in the United States that leads, in the case of the latter, to a need to “make a clear-cut distinction between the ‘good guys’ and the ‘bad guys’, between comic pulp fiction and more or less high-art visual narratives in book-form whose ambition it is to save the literary heritage in an illiterate world.” In the case of the Franco-Belgian tradition on the other hand, Baetens

\(^\text{18}\) *Un objet culturel non identifié* is a book by Thierry Groensteen published in 2006. The book considers all comics products as unidentified cultural objects, not graphic novels specifically.

\(^\text{19}\) Academic Pascal Lefèvre points out that the term comes from the English, and that it has been recycled by publishing houses as a marketing strategy to distinguish a new type of product, closer to the novel in format than to the traditional *album*. As a result of the success encountered by a new variety of formats, mainstream literary publishing houses also proposed their own collections of “romans graphiques” to take advantage of the market. If today the term is used by scholars and publishers, it has not been popularized yet and is rarely used among consumers.
points out that there already exists a canon for comics that has been gradually established for the past decades, that does not necessarily equate high-art visual narratives with the graphic novel (7).

Of course, as Baetens shows, it would be naïve to assume that the Franco-Belgian tradition is completely liberated from any sort of elitist judgment, and that the debates that animate the North-American tradition are absent from the Franco-Belgian sphere because clearly, they are not: the cultural legitimation of comics has also been an issue in the francophone world historically. In fact, both traditions share a lot of similarities in their history and have influenced each other. But as Baetens explains, it is nonetheless fair to claim that generally, “Europeans don't debunk their 'popular' comics” the way it is often happens in the United States. The differences in terms of appreciation between the North-American tradition and the Franco-Belgian tradition does not merely reflect a high-culture versus low-culture type of debate; rather, it reveals the way in which the word-and-image narrative is viewed: “the American graphic novel considers itself a literary genre: a novel, not made by words, but by images, balloons and captions. In 'graphic novel', the important word is 'novel', not 'graphic'. In Europe, […] the emphasis is put much more on the word 'graphic'” (8).

Because the emphasis has been placed on the “graphic” aspects in the Franco-Belgian tradition, Baetens argues, artists along with independent publishing houses such as L'Association, Fréon or Les Requins-Marteaux, have managed to renew the offer by exploring different formats, as explained before, that challenged the traditional A4 sized album. And since the emphasis in the North-American tradition is on “novel” -and also because the album is not the traditional reference in terms of format and style in the United
States-, the term graphic novel implies the exploration of certain topics that clearly target an adult audience and that move away from more standardized content. In their book *The Power of Comics: History, Form and Culture* (2009), Randy Duncan and Matthew J. Smith trace the history of comics in the United States, pointing out that the comic book industry originally derived from newspaper comic strips and pulp magazines (26). The format of the standard North-American comic book inherited many of its characteristics from those two roots, and the development of the comic book industry led to a massification of narrative products presenting relatively standardized content, such as the superhero series, the romance comics, western comics, crime comics and horror comics in the 1940's -that is, before the implementation of the Comics Code Authority in 1954 that banned two of these bestselling genres, the crime and horror comic (36).

As the Comics Magazine Association of America (CMAA) started regulating the content of comics with the Comics Code and stripped it of its violent and sexual substance, artists such as Robert Crumb and Gilbert Shelton launched their own underground publications under the title Underground Comix, allowing artists to express explicitly adult content (55). In many ways, the North-American graphic novel is the inheritor of the underground movement that aimed to liberate comics from the censorship of the CMAA. But the term, which dates back to 1964, was originally coined by Richard Kyle, a member of the comics fan community, who “was aware of the more mature work being produced in European comics and expressed a desire for similar comics work in America.” Kyle was the first to use the term graphic novel “to distinguish serious works from run-of-the-mill newsstands comic books” (70). A decade later, the term graphic novel was used to qualify works that were longer than the traditional comic book, and that clearly demonstrated
“literary intent” (70). The most prominent examples of this period being Will Eisner's *A Contract with God* published in 1978, followed by Alan Moore and Dave Gibbons' *Watchmen* and Art Spiegelman's *Maus* -the first comics to win the Pulitzer Prize in 1992.

Such works not only transformed the production of North American comics, they also influenced a great number of European artists. As mentioned earlier, some parallels can be drawn between the North American and the Franco-Belgian traditions: both inherited their mainstream format from the press, resulting in the *album* in the Franco-Belgian case. For comics specialist and historian Jean-Pierre Mercier, the differences between the *album* and the *roman graphique* within the Franco-Belgian sphere can be presented as follows: “[le roman graphique] est a priori quelque chose qui se distingue du reste de la production, par la non-conformité à une norme, qui serait 48 pages, enfin un album classique, couleur, qui rentre dans la série. [le roman graphique est] autre chose, donc, [il n'est pas concerné par des] contraintes de pagination, pas de contrainte de format” 20 Mercier ends his definition of the Franco-Belgian graphic novel by emphasizing a greater freedom of inspiration and creativity due to the absence of format restrictions.

The difference between *album* and *roman graphique* in the Franco-belgian is therefore formal rather than thematic. Roughly summarized, one could say that on the one hand, the traditional *album* implies respecting certain codes, such as a limit of 48 to 62 pages, a certain approach to coloring, a clarity of lines, a hard cover and the “serialization” of the narrative. On the other hand, the *roman graphique* could potentially be *anything* that does not fit the codes of the traditional *album* and that explores other styles and forms: an

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20 The definitions proposed by Jean-Pierre Mercier were given during an interview with Fred Paltani-Sargologos for his Masters Thesis titled *Le roman graphique comme prescripteur de légitimation culturelle*. 
absence of page limits leading to longer or shorter narratives, the exploration of black and white, the absence of serialization, soft covers.

Although Franco-Belgian artists have in fact used the roman graphique to explore other formats and to find new ways of addressing topics destined to adults -as previously mentioned, autobiographical narratives, for instance, are generally published in the form of romans graphiques-, the distinction between album and roman graphique is not clear-cut, since many artists, such as Manu Larcenet or Thomas Cadène, constantly blur the limits between styles and formats. To name a few examples from these two artists, other than the series Le combat ordinaire, Larcenet is the author of Blast, another series aimed at adults and published in the album form by Dargaud (publisher of popular album series such as Astérix, XIII, Lucky Luke or Blueberry). The Blast series is mainly drawn in black and white, with volumes reaching more than 200 pages. Recently, author Thomas Cadène has worked on the script of a series called Les autres gens, collaborating with different artists in charge of the graphic narration and published in the roman graphique format.21

Despite the differences briefly referred to, and despite an emphasis placed on form or content within the Franco-Belgian and the North-American traditions, the evolution of the comics industries in both traditions have been marked by a series of crises that have impacted production worldwide, such as, for instance, the popularization of television and audiovisual content in the middle of the XXth century, as literary critic Juan Manuel Díaz de Guereñu points out in Hacia un cómic de autor: A propósito de Arrugas y otras novelas

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21 Les autres gens is a series originally published on the internet between March 2010 and June 2012. The format mimicked that of a soap opera, with a new episode published every day (Les autres gens is referred to as a “bédénovela” a neologism combining the terms “B.D.” and “telenovela”). Each episode was graphically narrated by an artist collaborating in the project. The episodes were available online for a monthly fee. In 2011, a publishing house called Dupuis printed the “bédénovela” in the roman graphique format.
gráficas (2014). For the past four decades, the aesthetic changes that have given birth to the graphic novel have also shaped the perception of comics as a perhaps more “valuable” cultural product. This has also been the case in Spain, where the notion of cómic de autor emerged as a result of these changes. In addition, the emergence of a cómic de autor echoes the idea of “literary intent” inherent in the North-American definition of the graphic novel, because it puts the emphasis on the author and what she/he has to say rather than on the genre or series.

1.2 HISTORIETA, TEBEO, CÓMIC: COMICS PRODUCTION IN THE SPANISH CONTEXT

As Díaz de Guereñu points out, the situation in the Spanish market has been no different than in the rest of Europe and the United States. Similar changes in the systems of production of comics during the second half of the XXth century have also impacted their reception. But the Spanish market has had its specificities since its origins, mainly due to the impact of the Civil War on the publishing industry and the restrictions imposed by the dictatorship (20). Until 1951, year of the creation of the Ministerio de Información y Turismo, the production of comics was regulated by the Vice-secretaría de Educación Popular that oversaw the publications to be released regularly in the form of magazines. As a result of a severe monitoring, many publications where printed in the form of leaflets, particularly those that were not official (21).

In the 1950's, the comics market started to take off: “la actividad de editores especializados, la mayoría radicados en Barcelona y Valencia, convirtió las revistas de historietas en uno de los productos impresos más difundidos del país. Como señala Antonio
Altarriba, 'se trataba de un medio que se adaptaba a las posibilidades técnicas, a las infraestructuras industriales y a los niveles económicos del país’” (21). Comics published in the form of revistas became extremely popular, with titles such as TBO - a publication that also gave its generic name to the Spanish comic book, tebeo-, Pulgarcito or El capitán Trueno. The decade of the 1950's saw the expansion of one of Spain's most prominent publishing houses, Bruguera, which later introduced foreign productions to the Spanish market, such as Astérix and Blueberry. Comics artist Paco Roca, author of the renowned Arrugas, also published in 2010 a book titled El invierno del dibujante that skillfully describes the success of Bruguera in the late 1950's. Roca's work can be read as an enlightening homage to the five founders of the DER (Dibujantes y Editores Reunidos), named Carlos Conti, Guillermo Cifré, Josep Escobar, Eugenio Giner and José Peñarroya. All of them were comics artists employed by Bruguera before they opted to start their own independent label and launched their own title, Tío Vivo.

For these artists, the purpose of launching their own label was to earn public recognition and to regain their copyrights, which they had given up as a result of their contract with Bruguera. Yet in a market dominated by Bruguera and crawling under a large offer of revistas, the founders of Tío Vivo were soon forced to sell their product to the publishing company that once employed them. As publisher and scriptwriter Antoni Guiral mentions in the afterword of Roca's book, “en la España de 1957 ser historietista era un oficio. No eran artistas, eran obreros de la viñeta. Cobraban a tanto por página -o por viñeta-, trabajaban a destajo, siguiendo unos patrones establecidos e inamovibles. Renunciaban a sus originales y a sus derechos de autor a cambio del parné” (122). In other
words, the short-lived experience of the founders of Tío Vivo reveals that Spanish comics artists had to deal with many restrictions that greatly limited their creative works.

Figure 2: Tío Vivo, #1 cover.

In Spain, the combined effects of censorship applied during Franco's dictatorship, along with the stranglehold by big publishers on the production resulted in a standardization of products destined to a young audience, that showed no violent content and that did not question authority figures (Díaz de Guereñu, 28). As a result, the products sold on the market failed to win the long-term loyalty of their readers, eventually resulting in a progressive decline of the industry. It is not until the decade of the 70's and the fall of the regime that the offer was renewed with what is referred to as the “boom del cómic adulto” that increased the number of revistas destined to adults, with publications like Tótem (1977-1986). Interestingly, this period is characterized by a shift in marketing strategies that placed the emphasis on comics artists as a way to insure content quality. Tótem, published by Nueva Frontera, regularly issued the works of both Spanish and foreign artists whose graphic style was strongly defined, such as Carlos Giménez, Alfonso Font, Enric Sió, Moebius, Hugo Prat, Enki Bilal, Gotlib, and Sergio Toppi. Tótem opened up creative horizons in the landscape of the Spanish market: “el 'nuevo cómic' se presentó como obra de autores que exhibían su individualidad creadora y reclamaban reconocimiento como tales, contra el modelo editorial de la época precedente” (Díaz de Guereñu, 34).
Along with *Tótem*, the publications that marked this period, such as *Rambla, Cimoc* or *Cairo*, offered new means of production and distribution: many were managed directly by their authors (*Rambla*), others were published and distributed by companies, such as Norma. This company started using the content published in its *revistas* (*Cimoc* was one of them) to release them in the *álbum* format, as was commonly the case in the French and Belgian markets. As a result, the 1980's were marked by a decline in sales of comics published in the *revista* form: readers were more likely to consume comics created by the artists they knew and liked in the *álbum* form than to purchase magazines that did not entirely satisfy their expectations in terms of content. As Díaz de Guereñu points out, Spain wasn't the only country to be affected by the changes in production that had led to the appearance of the *álbum*. The French market was undergoing a similar crisis, but such a crisis did not affect French comics artists as strongly as it did in Spain. In fact, the French crisis of the beginning of the 1990's put a strain on Spanish comics artists, who found their opportunities to have their works exported to the French market drastically reduced (35).

The 1980's crisis touched the Spanish comics industry with such vigor that many artists were simply out of work: if the *revistas* could not employ them anymore, they had to find other ways to sell their work (37). One of the paths that was explored by comics artists was self-publication, and the format adopted became the *cuadernillo*, closer in form to the North-American comic book and cheaper to produce than the *revista*. Yet if the *cuadernillo* was a good way of delivering one's work to the public, it was not a viable way to make money: it therefore attracted younger artists, many from the underground scene, who wished to make a name for themselves. This led to a considerable turn-over of artists, many of whom ended up unemployed. As Antonio Altarriba points out, “los autores que
protagonizaron la renovación de los setenta y de los ochenta tampoco llegaron a atravesar el umbral de los noventa. Nombres tan imprescindibles en aquella época como García, Beá, Font […] Martí, Montesol, Sento […] se distanciaron o se apartaron definitivamente de la historieta, a pesar de que todos ellos se encontraban en plenitud creativa” (Díaz de Guereñu, 41). Other prominent artists, such as Carlos Giménez, Gallardo and Prado kept a foot in the business, but their participation in the market after the 1980's has often been motivated by reeditions of their old work, the launching of new episodes of their old series (such as Giménez' Paracuellos) or occasional new material (Giménez' new series 36-39. Malos tiempos, published between 2007 and 2008).

The generational shift of the 1990's implied an exploration of new creative means and an increase in critical approaches to comics production. Along with the cuadernillos and revistas, critical fanzines were published, which contributed to establishing a canon that reflected the works and aspirations of the new generation (42). As in the case of many comics artists from the Franco-Belgian sphere, Spanish artists were increasingly influenced by works published in the United States: “Gustos e influencias de los autores, informaciones y opiniones de los críticos fueron dibujando las coordenadas actuales del medio. La permeabilidad de estas publicaciones a los conceptos críticos que operaban en el mercado norteamericano marca la orientación del nuevo canon crítico, ya desligado de la preferencia por el formato álbum y la tradición europea” (42). Soon, the generational shift and its consequences led to new approaches to publishing comics: independent publishers such as De Ponent (publisher of Altarriba and Kim's El arte de volar), Astiberri (publisher of Paco Roca and Clara Tanit) or Sinsentido (publisher of Sonia Pulido and Sergio García) opened a path similar to what publishers such as L'Association or
Fantagraphics had done in the French and American markets. As Díaz de Guereñu points out “la labor conjunta de todos ellos ha modificado la percepción del cómic como producto editorial, alejándolo del cuadernillo barato y aproximándolo al libro -cuyos formatos de edición ha adoptado-” (47). In other words, in the late 1990's and since the beginning of the XXIst century, the Spanish comics market has also been marked by the appearance of obras de autor, characterized by a narrative intent and published in the graphic novel format. As a result, the success and appeal of the novela gráfica label has collaborated to improve the public image of the comics medium in Spain as well.22

If the formal evolutions of the comics medium have naturally been linked to their contexts of production, it is nonetheless clear that different contexts have greatly influenced each other over decades. Even if these evolutions have participated in changing the perception of comics, the appeal of the graphic novel as a way to explore new paths of making comic art has not managed globally to free the medium as a whole from its relatively bad reputation. Yet, regardless of the many different forms it has taken throughout its history, comic art has followed certain patterns that make it what it is: a way of telling stories graphically that most times relies on words and images to convey meaning. In fact, beyond subjective tastes that lead consumers of comics to favor a thematic genre, an artist, or a style, comics enthusiasts are drawn to the medium because of specific narrative characteristics that are far richer than what comic art has usually been given credit for. Looking at the evolution of both form and content is useful because it can help us situate the texts under scrutiny and seize their influences as well as the background that

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22 Díaz de Guereñu points out that the term “novela gráfica” already existed in Spain and was quite popular in the 1960's. At the time, it was used to refer to books with formats “próximos a los de las novelas baratas de kiosco que recogieron relatos completos o adaptaciones de series norteamericanas de prensa” (51).
constitutes their creative aspects. But more importantly, a critical reading of comics cannot be achieved solely through the perspective of their context of production. Rather, the critical reader needs to “enter” the text and see not only what it has to say from the inside, but also how it manages to say it. In other words, the critical reader of comics needs to become acquainted with -if not fluent in- the comics language to pursue her/his reading.

1.3 AN OVERVIEW OF THE COMICS LANGUAGE: IMAGE AND TEXT AS GRAMMAR

In *Comics and Sequential Art*, Will Eisner points out two keys to understanding comics: the existence of a structure that, similar to grammar with regard to language, organizes icons and symbols in a consistent manner. If we were to pursue this analogy, each image could therefore be described as a word, holding its own meaning when separated from the context of a sentence, but transforming its original meaning to convey a broader message when included in a sentence. The same analogy could be made at an even smaller scale between letter and line. The term “sequential art” that the author uses to define comics therefore refers to the idea of creating meaning through an organized set of visual sequences. Indeed, as Eisner shows, the analogy between image and word is not arbitrary: it echoes the existing link between image and meaning conveyed by hieroglyphs or pictographs (8-9).

Yet to fully understand the “grammar” of sequential art, one must consider all parts of the structure and perhaps discern how its specific “punctuation” comes into play to ensure a fluidity of meaning. If we argue that in the language of comics an image functions as a word, we ought to determine where a specific sentence starts and where it ends, how
it is separated from other sentences, how many clauses it contains and how they are connected to each other. In other words, we ought to answer the following questions time and again: what can be considered a separate image? Is it a coherent set of lines that we are able to recognize visually and to interpret? Couldn't we attribute different interpretations to distinct pieces of an image?

Figure 3: *El arte de volar* (13)-a. Modified panel #1. © Altarriba and Kim.

I will quickly illustrate these considerations with a single panel taken from the first page of Antonio Altarriba and Kim’s *El arte de volar*. Through this panel, which is actually the third panel of the story and that I have slightly modified for the sake of this demonstration, we only see the bottom part of the legs of a person. Let’s focus on the pictures for a moment and try to see how meaning can be inferred from this single panel, which is quite straightforward and minimalistic from a visual standpoint: if we interpret the image as a whole, we see legs standing on what looks like an old mosaic floor. The legs, which are covered in what are clearly pants, may indicate that the person drawn here is a man, while the mosaic floor could suggest that this person -this man?- is indoors, maybe in an old house or a building. The legs and the mosaic could therefore be considered as two separate images, each conveying its own meaning. But let’s take a closer look at this panel –since it is, after all, a close-up- and consider another important part of its visual message that can be read both separately and in addition to the legs: the slippers that wrap the two feet. As far as meaning

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23 The caption and word balloons have been emptied of their content to focus exclusively on the images. I will further use this panel in several modified versions and in its original version to illustrate the different steps of interpreting comics and the different formal components that comics entail. The original panel is reproduced in figure 6 on page 19.
is concerned, the slippers potentially carry at least two meanings: first, they tend to confirm that the person is indoors, and second they could suggest that the person depicted in this panel could possibly be sick and/or of old age.

Of course, the exercise is quite speculative since, as readers, we will most likely associate an image or a group of images to concepts based on our sociocultural background and on our subjective experience. Furthermore, in order to maintain a sense of coherence throughout an interpretative reading, we need constant confirmations of our interpretations as we are extracting meaning from a combination of images. But the sole point of describing this panel visually is to better grasp how readers approach the interpretation of a combination of images. If, in real life, a mosaic floor and our legs are separate “objects”, we can be tempted to consider the drawing of a mosaic floor and the drawing of a pair of legs as two separate images that are combined in one panel. But can the same thing be said of legs and feet, or in this specific case, of legs and slippers? Should the legs and slippers be considered as a single image, since they are drawn following a continuity, or should they be considered as two distinct images, since each one of them conveys their own message – and after all, aren’t slippers separate from legs and feet in real life too?

In fact, it is by adding up separate and not so separate images that we are able to interpret them as a whole and to extract their full meaning, a process that is commonly referred to as closure. Reading a combination of images therefore places the reader in a position where he/she is invited to constantly (re)negotiate meaning by confirming or modifying his/her interpretations, in short by accepting possibly to challenge his/her perceptions. When facing a combination of images within a panel, we may be unaware of the cognitive processes that are at play, and that enable assembling separate images and
components of images in order to give them meaning; we may even be oblivious to the fact that we seek coherence, and constant confirmation of the validity of our interpretations – as for instance in figure 1, where the presence of the slippers seemed to confirm the notion that the scene was set indoors.

“Reading” images is not the only interpretative task that the reader of comics is expected to tackle. Indeed, when reflecting on the interpretation of the content of a comic book, it is also necessary to ponder the place of words and language in sequential art. If it is true that comics can do without words, as can be seen in works by Norwegian cartoonist Jason, that Eisner mentions in his book (but also in other cases, such as Quino or Jacques Sempé's humor books, or in French author Lewis Trondheim's work), comic books cannot do without an image, or a sequence of images that will carry part-or the totality, as in the cases mentioned- of the narrative weight. Therefore, when considering the grammar and punctuation of comics, we need to incorporate both image and text into the equation and explore how language will be read in relation to images.

In his theoretical book on comics titled *Understanding Comics* (1993), cartoonist Scott McCloud identifies seven types of word/image relations that enable grasping an important part of the “grammar” of comics: the specific word combination, that places the weight of meaning on words; the specific picture combination, that unlike the first type places the weight of meaning on pictures, words being a mere “soundtrack” to actions described visually (153); the duo-specific combination which implies a repetition since images and words convey the same message -each “language” carrying the totality of said message-; the additive combination, in which words add specific information to what is told visually; the parallel combination, where words and pictures seem disconnected from
one another, each telling their own story; the montage, where we see words integrated into pictures - in this specific combination, words are not enclosed in a word balloon or a specific frame, they become part of the image; and finally an interdependent combination where images and words carry part of a global message “that neither could convey alone” (155). As McCloud points out, this last combination is the most widely used, confirming the idea that words can also be an important part of the “grammar” of comics and establishing the necessity to closely look into the combinations at play when accomplishing a critical reading. To illustrate the relation between word and image, I will go back to the panel displayed earlier in figure 3. This time, we see that the panel shown in figure 4 differs slightly from the one shown in figure 3: part of its original word content has been added. The two word balloons, which represent the thoughts of the character depicted in this panel and which are now filled, give birth to the character’s narrative voice, a voice that is displayed visually with words.

Figure 4: *El arte de volar* (13)-a. Modified panel #2. © Altarriba and Kim.

The presence of such word balloons can lead us to interpret that this character will be somehow meaningful the story, in any case meaningful enough to have us enter his thoughts. Furthermore, the first set of thoughts we are invited to interpret (the ones displayed in the left balloon) tends to confirm the interpretations we had ventured with figure 3: not only does the word “riñones” indicate that the character may be suffering from back pain, which would confirm the idea that the character is either (or both) old and in physical pain; but the reference to the shoes that he/she has not been able to put on (“zapatos”) also demonstrates
that the character is currently indoors. If we stop this interpretation here, we could argue that what has been said so far in the word balloons repeats what is said visually through pictures. But the message conveyed with words does not end at this point and adds meaning to the panel. The end of the first word balloon and the reference to the shoes, as well as the second word balloon indicate not only that the character is indoors, but that he/she plans on going outside (as cryptic as the words “echar a volar” may seem without further context). Following McCloud’s classification, it can therefore be argued that this specific panel displays both a duo-specific type of combination of words and images, as well as an additive combination, since specific meaning is added through words.

Going back to Eisner's analogy, it becomes clear that both images and words constitute parts of the comics language. Thus, when considering the notion of punctuation and the questions previously posed, it is also necessary to take a closer look at how the comics language forms its “sentences”. In order to analyze this specific aspect, I refer to the works of both Eisner and McCloud, as well as to literary critic Thierry Groensteen's *The Systems of Comics*, first published in 1999. In his book, Groensteen examines the structures that hold words and images together and that allow the elaboration of the sequencing and its layout. This structure, that Groensteen names the “physical essence of comics” (24) is organized as a construction of “a finished series of supporting frames” that he further describes.

Within this structure, the first element that Groensteen analyzes is the panel, which he considers to be the “smaller unit” of comics (24). It is interesting to note that for Groensteen, an image by itself will not constitute the smaller unit, rather, it is by looking at how this image is organized within the panel, how it interacts with other images and
words that we can read its complete meaning. Borrowing a definition of the cinematographic shot by film theorist Christian Metz, Groensteen argues that the panel is the smallest unit of the sequencing chain: “if the shot is not the smallest unit of filmic signification (for a single shot may convey several informational elements), it is at least the smallest unit of the filmic chain” (26). Just like the cinematographic shot, the panel takes on a specific space in the narrative, but contrary to the shot, which the spectator may or may not be able to isolate from other shots within the filmic chain, the comics reader is constantly reminded of the boundaries that separate one panel from another: “framed, isolated by empty space (a redoubling of the frame), and generally of small dimensions, the panel is easily contained by and takes part in the sequential continuum. This signifies that at the perceptive and cognitive levels the panel exists longer for the comics reader than the shot exists for a film spectator” (26).24 As seen so far with the example of figures 3 and 4, the interpretation of a combination of images and words in comics is indeed carried out within the limits of the panel represented by the frame: the reader of comics knows that he/she needs to extract meaning from the combination as a whole.

In short, the effects of reading a comic book imply being made aware of a “multitude of narrative utterances” that are “accumulated piece by piece” to create a larger narrative utterance. Similar to this experience is the one we have when reading a novel, when we are placed in front of different clauses and sentences that convey their own meaning and add up to produce larger meaning. For Groensteen, identifying the panel as the smaller unit of comics rather than a single image or line allows maintaining an integrated approach that focuses on the different levels of interaction within the comics

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24 This empty space between panels is commonly referred to as the gutter.
language rather than dissociating its different components (27). Such an approach is particularly appealing because it truly considers the sequencing aspect of comics, in other words, the order in which the narrative unfolds visually. As Will Eisner and Scott McCloud both point out in their books, sequencing is one of the main keys to understanding comics because it reflects to the “spatio-topical” nature of the panel as well as its spatio-temporal dimension, two terms coined by Groensteen. As McCloud puts it: “comics panels fracture both time and space, offering a jagged, staccato rhythm of unconnected events” (67).

It is thus through the integration of words and images within a single panel that comics display unconnected events and require the intervention of the implied reader, his/her participation, to put together these events and bring fluidity to the story. Yet in order to fully appreciate Groensteen's integrated approach to the panel as the smallest unit of comics, we need to briefly describe the components of the panel, two of which have already been mentioned -images and words. Images, as Groensteen shows, are composed of different elements such as line, perspective, lighting and shadowing, or color (27) -and others that could be linked to the punctuation aspect of comics, such as the frame. Groensteen defines the frame as the structure “that makes the panel” (27), and goes on to describing the page as a “conglomeration of juxtaposed panels”, constituting a second framework that he calls the “multiframe” (28). More than the images or the combination of image and words in themselves, the specificities of comics lie within the frame and the multiframe:

To draw an ordinary multiframe is to consider not any particular comics page, but comics itself […] these miniature representations of comics pages are kinds of symbolic pictograms; they give value to their signs, they express a concept, they enclose an implicit definition […] They plainly confirm [the] two fundamental intuitions […]: that comics are composed of interdependent images; and that these images, before knowing any other kind of relation, have the sharing of a space as their first characteristic. And, remarkably, they do not say anything other than that. (28)
The notion of space, and its organization -referred to as gridding- imply three subsequent aspects that Groensteen describes as follows: the form of the panel (meaning the geometric perimeter of the frame), the area of the panel (its surface) and the site it occupies within the multiframe (28-29). With this last term -the site-, the notion of space inherent to the panel acquires further meaning: beyond its geometric characteristics, the panel is given locational meaning. The choice of the location of a panel indicates, at least, two important things: first, it can serve as a way to underline or “reinforce” utterances presented in the panel, and second it gives an indication of the panel's temporality.25

Will Eisner elaborates on the notion of temporality and its relation to the panel in the third chapter of *Comics and Sequential Art*. As he points out, the act of reading comics implies some sort of awareness of the passing of time, since it is established –unless explicitly mentioned otherwise- that the actions depicted within each panel precede the actions of the following panels. And to that effect, the frame –also referred to as border-, which functions as the structure of the panel by separating panels from one another, is the most effective way of giving an illusion of time: “the act of framing separates the scenes and acts as a punctuator. Once established and set in sequence the box or panel becomes the criterion by which to judge the illusion of time” (26). Space and time are therefore key components of the comics language, merging together within panels and establishing the necessary premises of the stories that are being told.

25 Groensteen further explains this idea in the following pages of *The Systems of Comics*’ first chapter. As he points out, some spots of the comics page, such as the upper left hand corner, the geometric center or the lower right hand corner, enjoy a “natural privilege” and are naturally chosen by many artist to display key moments of the story (29). Regarding this aspect, Groensteen also notes that specific attention should be given to the double-page as a whole: panels located on the upper left hand corner of the left page or on the upper right hand corner of the right page can therefore hold a specific meaning in relation to the rhythm of the story, pausing it as the reader is invited to turn the page, or accelerating it at the beginning of a new double-page.
I will here take another example from *El arte de volar* to illustrate this specific point. Those two panels, which come after the panel seen in figures 3 and 4, (confirming that the character is an old man) can be read as two separate sentences expressed in the comics language: with a duo-specific combination of words and images, the panel on the left features an old man in a room with a barred window, and describes what seems to be the preparation of an evasion; while the panel on the right, that logically follows the one on the left, shows the character exiting the room and cautiously looking from side to side to avoid being caught.

Figure 5: *El arte de volar* (13)-b. © Altarriba and Kim.

While there is a chronological progression between panels, it is interesting to note that the panel on the right tells several stories. The story we are being told is displayed in the forefront, showing what we have now identified as the main character and indicating that what happens in the background serves to set the atmosphere of the scene. But two word balloons in the background, situated at the end of the perspective of a long hallway, catch the implied reader’s eyes and invite him/her to temporarily enter another story whose characters are Avelino (whom we cannot see) and what looks like two nurses.

What is particularly interesting here is that the perspective of the hallway, along with the word balloons create a visual diversion from the main story, emphasizing the main
character’s caution as he aspires not to be seen. For a second, the implied reader is expertly led to focus on an invisible character (invisible because Avelino is visually absent from the panel) while he/she forgets about the protagonist, visible in the forefront, recreating through a clever combination of words and images the effect the protagonist is trying to achieve in the narrative. As a result, the panel on the right displays what can be interpreted as a simultaneity of events that increases the reader’s perception of time. This echoes Eisner and McCloud’s argument that the frame is not the only way of creating the necessary “illusion of time” in comics. Indeed, panels may blend several temporalities within a single frame, by incorporating word balloons or captions that are usually separated from the pictures and that can vary in shape.

As McCloud suggests when he describes the seven word/picture combinations he identifies, once words and images are put together, the comics artist gains creative freedom: a word specific combination, for instance, may allow greater visual creativity since the weight of the message conveyed relies mainly on words (155). Furthermore, creativity within the frame, through the combination of words and images, may also concern the treatment of time and the blending of several temporalities within a single frame, as explained above.
To illustrate my last point with regards to temporality and the language of comics, I will now go back for the last time to the panel presented in figures 3 and 4, now displayed in figure 6 in its complete, original version. The last element left to analyze from this panel is the caption and its word content. As previously mentioned, the content displayed in the word balloons introduced the character’s narrative voice, whose thoughts were anchored in the narrated present, as the use of the present tense of “dar” suggests. Yet the caption, which is placed in the top left hand corner, supposes another temporality with the preterit tense of “hacer”. The placement of the caption, separated from the thoughts of the main character, added to the change of verbal tense and person clearly indicate that two temporalities are merged in this panel: one that corresponds to the present of narrated events, and another that makes reference to the past. If from this panel alone, it is not possible to determine whether the narrative voice enclosed in the word balloons matches that of the caption, it is nonetheless apparent that two temporalities face each other within a single panel.

To sum up the remarks presented in an attempt to give a few introductory guidelines to reading comics, the critical reader of comics must keep in mind that she/he is led to interpret a combination of words and images, organized in sequences and presenting both spatio-topical and spatio-temporal aspects. As Scott McCloud points out in *Understanding comics*, reading comics is therefore engaging in a collaborative enterprise where the reader will imagine the invisible—as seen in figure 5 with the mention of Avelino-, fill in the blanks located in the gutter—the void space between panels that invites readers to make the
necessary transitions from one panel to another and allow each visual utterance to challenge her/his perceptions (66). As I mentioned earlier, if, as readers, we are generally unaware of the cognitive processes that enable interpreting a combination of words and images within a panel, we nonetheless know that something—words, images, or both—will come after the panel we are currently reading. Therefore, the modification of our interpretations and perceptions may occur within the boundaries of a single panel without us realizing it, but this also happens constantly as we move from one panel to another. As we expect something else to happen, we also expect to renegotiate meaning and to modify our understanding of the global story, which in some cases, as with *El arte de volar*, can imply dealing with distinct temporalities.

If one were to simplify what the act of reading comics entails, one could therefore be tempted to say that to read comics is to read time. Here I echo literary critic Eric Rabkin who recommends to always “take the time to read time in graphic narrative” in his article “Reading Time in Graphic Narrative,” published in the collection of essays titled *Teaching the Graphic Novel* (2009). If, as Rabkin points out, it is true that a critical reading of comics implies for the reader to truly “take the time to read time,” it is also accurate to say that no matter how much thought and intention the reader puts into reading comics, the result will be the same: she/he will have experienced reading time. And when approaching texts that deal with memory and with the past, such as *El arte de volar*, the necessity to follow Rabkin’s advice is crucial to fully grasp the implications of the story that is being told, as we will see in the following section.
Part Two: Drawing the Family Circle: Memory and Legacy in *El arte de volar*

2.1 CHRONOLOGICAL TIME AND MEMORY-TIME

In her essay “It's About Time: The Chronotope of the Holocaust in Art Spiegelman's *Maus,*” published in Jan Baetens' *The Graphic Novel,* literary critic Sue Vice explores how the bakhtinian notion of the chronotope can be useful to illustrate the connection between time and space in comic art. As she points out, the notion, -which has already been used in film studies to refer to cinema as a chronotope in itself (47), - fits the description of sequential art since the medium is characterized by both its spatio-topical and spatio-temporal dimensions. Although Bakhtin's concept was originally conceived to analyze literature, the notion can indeed be extended to other media in which time and space are imbricated. In Bakhtin's own words, the chronotope is “the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed [in literature]” (84). As Bakhtin further notes, the chronotope “expresses the inseparability of space and time […] spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one carefully thought-out, concrete whole. Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history. This intersection of axes and fusion of indicators characterizes the artistic chronotope” (84).

Moreover, Sue Vice shows how time “thickens” even more when considering sequential art works that deal with the past: not only is time visible graphically, panel after panel, but the passing of time is also emphasized thematically in such narratives. In other words, the interconnection between time and space also reflects the interconnection of form and content. And as Sue Vice explains, contrary to what happens in literature, where “time
usually takes precedence over space” comic art unfolds an opposite movement: “because of its form, the graphic novel has a unique potential for spatializing time within each frame” (47-48). As a result, Vice presents two different visions of time that are useful to read narratives that deal with the past: “memory-time” that refers, on the one hand, to the events recalled and narrated, and “chronological time” that unveils the structures that organize time within the narration. For the author, comic art offers a space in which memory-time and chronological time “collide in nearly every panel, as do the spaces of the past and the present” (48).

Such remarks are enriching because they enable unveiling some of the visual implications of critically reading a comic art work about the past. What Sue Vice presents in her reading of *Maus* can be extended further to works that deal with other periods of history but offer similar problematizations of memory, such as Altarriba and Kim's *El arte de volar*. Notions such as “memory-time” and “chronological time” are indeed helpful to understand the different levels of discourse presented in *El arte de volar*. To understand how *El arte de volar* addresses the question of time and its spatial representation in the graphic novel, I will first go backwards and say a few words regarding its global form. Backwards as opposed to the logical direction naturally taken by an implied reader, who pretends to discover the narrative and the treatment of time panel after panel, page after page, chapter after chapter, before being able to consider how the global structure of the narrative is built, and within it, how time and space are elaborated.

The narration is organized into four chapters preceded by a group of introductory pages that could be considered as the foreword to the story. The purpose of the introduction is to lay the foundations of the story and present the two narrative voices -that of Antonio,
the protagonist, and that of his son- that will be merged into one at the beginning of the first chapter. After the introduction, each chapter opens with a page composed of a single panel on a black background. The panel is centered on the page and shows Antonio falling down from the third floor. Below each panel, the title of the chapter is displayed, including time markers that enable linking the events of Antonio's life within a determined chronological frame: the first chapter is titled “3a planta 1910 – 1931 El coche de madera”, the second chapter “2a planta 1931 – 1949 Las alpargatas de Durruti”, the third chapter “1a planta 1949 – 1985 Galletas amargas” and the last chapter “Suelo 1985 – 2001 La madriguera del topo”.

After a first reading of *El arte de volar*, we realize that the graphic novel has a circular structure: in the last few pages of the last chapter we are led back to where the story started, both in terms of time and space. In other words, after having explored the different events that, presented chronologically, characterized Antonio's life, the implied reader is taken back to the beginning of the story, which also happens to be about the instants preceding Antonio's death. Being taken back to the beginning of the narrative implies three things: first, being brought back to a narrative present that is closer in time to that of the implied reader's present -in other words, being taken back to the beginning is *not* being taken back in time since the introduction of the graphic novel is set in 2001 and the first chapter begins in 1910-, second being spatially taken back to the retirement home where Antonio commits suicide and third being taken back, as mentioned, to the moment that precedes Antonio's suicide.26

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26 If I mention here the implied reader's present, it is because the events presented in *El arte de volar* have a strong historical component, which allows situating the events narrated. Dates are employed as markers of time and they are an important part of the narrative, as mentioned with the titles given to each chapter.
These three elements, presented graphically by a repetition in panels (the last panel is almost an exact repetition of the first one, as can be seen in figures 7 and 8), indicate that *El arte de volar* merges two conceptions of time within its narrative: a linear conceptualization of time, that unfolds chronologically from chapters one to four, and a circular conceptualization of time -that could be read through the notion of memory-time- that is put forward in the introduction, but that is revealed to the implied reader at the end of the narrative. When we compare the two panels, we see that they differ from one another only on a few details. The character and his thoughts, the space (the room with a barred window) and the moment are roughly the same.

But on closer examination, at least four things have changed between the first and the last panel. First, the caption that encloses Antonio's son's narrative voice and that opens the story with a major revelation about his father -the fact that he committed suicide- is not present in the last panel. Second, the reference to the date “el 4 de mayo de 2001” in the first panel not only sets the beginning of the story and serves as a reference to a lineal conceptualization of time, but it also functions as a way to pull the reader into the narrative by giving a factual detail about Antonio's death. Its absence in the last panel gives it a timeless aspect, but it could also indicate that we have switched from a representation of chronological time to a representation of memory-time.
Third, the point of view slightly differs between both panels. The implied reader sees the scene from above and behind Antonio's back, emphasizing the oppressive presence of the barred window suggesting that the character is held captive. But in the last panel there is a zoom out, creating greater visual distance between the implied reader and Antonio at the end of the narrative. Apart from the zooming out motion, we also see that the focus has changed. In the first panel, we only see Antonio's head and the complete window frame; whereas in the last one, we do not see the top part of the window, but we notice Antonio's shoulders. The gaze of the reader is therefore directed in two different ways in both panels. When the narrative ends, while there is a greater visual distance between Antonio and the implied reader, focus is nevertheless placed on the protagonist rather than on the window.27

27 Another difference that can be noted between both panels is the position of Antonio facing the window, as well as the changes in the background landscape outside the window, which would lead the reader to believe that he has not come back to the exact same moment in time. In the last panel, Antonio seems to be facing the center of the window, while on the first one, he is facing the left windowpane. I propose two interpretations here. In the first one, the movement from left to right can be explained by the dezooming motion and the change in focus, which would imply that it is not Antonio who has moved but the point of view as explained. In this case, we could still imagine that we are back at the exact same moment in time. A second interpretation would lead to argue that despite the change in point of view, we have not come back to the exact same moment in time, and that the modifications in the background and Antonio's left.center motion indicate some time has passed between both panels, be it a couple of seconds -or in any
Finally, even though I have chosen not to represent this in figures 7 and 8 for purposes of space, the first and last panel differ in size, the frame of the last panel being considerably bigger than that of the first one.

Looking even closer this time and considering both frames within the space of the multiframe, a fifth difference can be added: as mentioned before, the frame from figure 7 starts the story and is therefore placed in the top left hand corner of the first page. Within this multiframe, the first panel is followed by another panel similar in size, showing Antonio getting ready in front of the mirror -this time the reader is facing both Antonio's back and the reflection of his face and torso in the mirror-. The rest of the multiframe is constituted of another six panels, smaller than the first two but similar in size among them, and placed in two lines of three panels each.\footnote{Three of these panels have already been displayed in figures 5 and 6.}

Figure 9: \textit{El arte de volar} (207)-b. © Altarriba & Kim

The panel shown in figure 8, that closes the narrative, is situated at the bottom of the last page, as can be seen in Figure 9. The last multiframe is comprised of four frames, two of which are similar in shape and size (that is frames 1 and 3). The second frame is slightly larger than the other two panels located in the case, the time necessary for clouds to clear away and for an old man to recall the major events of his life. I would argue here that regardless, we know that we are back roughly at the moment that precedes Antonio's death.
same line. Finally, the last one is considerably bigger than the other three. It is also square-shaped and centered within the page, attracting the reader's gaze and closing the circular narrative.29

The differences described are obviously not random. Not only do they have something to say about Antonio's story, but they also have something to say about the passing of time, and about the representation of memory. In short, they reveal the protagonist's story (his story), as well as they place the implied reader between history and memory. Elaborating on the notions of chronological time and memory-time, I read the first panel of the narrative as a way of anchoring the reader in chronological time. This notion, that could be related to history in that it implies a series of facts and events that are organized linearly, one after the other, is represented in the first panel with the date of Antonio's suicide.

The reference to a date in the first “written” sentence of the story -as opposed to visual sentences made of images or groups of images and words- is particularly interesting because it links an emotionally charged event -the suicide of a relative- to a very factual aspect that has to do with time-the date it occurred-. Out of the many possible ways one has to finish a sentence that starts with “mi padre se suicidó”, the first narrator -Antonio's son- chooses to complete the verb “suicidarse” with a time complement. Rather than trivializing his father's suicide, the reference to what could seem as a factual detail transmits sobriety and adds solemnity to this tragic event. As mentioned before, dates enable setting the chronological frame of the narrative, as well as they catch the implied reader's attention by giving her/him a reference that she/he might need to hold on to throughout the story -

29 The first and last panels of El arte de volar, displayed figures 7 and 8, are both square-shaped.
the date is, after all, mentioned since the beginning. Finally, the reference to the date can be read as a way to emphasize the action marked by the verb “se suicidó”: the implied reader can situate Antonio's suicide in time. As a result, in addition to the solemnity mentioned earlier, the date serves to emphasize the implacability of Antonio's death (its veracity) by placing the plot on the “path” of chronological time.

Read in conjunction with the first panel, the absence of a date in the last panel could therefore represent another conceptualization of time, circular this time, and that could be linked to what Sue Vice calls memory-time. What's particularly striking about this last panel is that although the caption enclosing the first narrative voice is absent we are still made aware of Antonio's thoughts, with the repetition of the two thought balloons stating “bueno, ha llegado la hora... la hora de echar a volar...” that refer to Antonio's suicide. The repetition of Antonio's thoughts serves two purposes: first, it seems to indicate that we are back to the moment preceding Antonio's suicide -it gives us an indication of time- and second, and more importantly, it appeals to the reader's memory. Most likely, after seeing this panel, the implied reader might be tempted to go back to the first page of the graphic novel to verify that both panels are roughly the same. The absence of a precise date in this panel evinces the fact that what is represented here is another conceptualization of time -memory-time-, less rational, more emotional perhaps.

As a result, the representation of memory-time in the last panel pushes the implied reader to remember what she/he had seen at the beginning. Mimicking the way memories come back to the human mind, the repetition of the last panel invites the reader to search his/her mind, and to take the circular leap that will bring him/her back to the first pages.

30 I would argue that the urge to verify that the first and last panels are similar is in fact the element that closes the reading of El arte de volar.
The repetitions are not only observable in images, they are also perceivable in words: the repetition of both thought balloons further triggers the reader's memory, who will most likely recall he/she has already read the sentence “ha llegado la hora de echar a volar”. The appeal to the reader's memory is yet another clue indicating that we have moved away from chronological time, and that we may even have been “liberated” from it. As a matter of fact, the bars in the window combined to Antonio's thoughts can be read as a promise for liberation. As Antonio proceeds to “take flight” and actually liberates himself from the passing of chronological time, what is left of him, of his life, are memories. In other words, at the end of *El arte de volar* (and because of its circular form), we are given the confirmation that the graphic novel tells a story of both history and memory.

Not only is it interesting to examine how form matches content, as explained above with the comparison of the two panels, but also to see what conclusions can be drawn regarding memory. What is beautifully achieved with this ending isn't merely an indication that what's left of Antonio's life are memories, it is also the way the implied reader is led to participate in Antonio's remembrance. At the end of the story, when we have verified that the first and last panels were almost the same, we also have, in fact, *remembered* Antonio. Remembrance has become a collective act. Memories have been transmitted from Antonio to his son, and from the son to the readers. In other words, merging chronological time and memory-time in *El arte de volar* serves as a way to pass on what was -and still is- a personal, familial legacy to a broader collective. By sharing personal memories with unknown others through the act of sequencing/reading, the family members involved in the narrative actively incite strangers to engage in the processes of collective remembrance, leading us to think that Antonio's memory has been successfully recuperated.
In that sense, the motion of zooming out observed in the last panel of the narrative and presented in figure 8 can take several meanings. First, if the close-up was a way to pull the reader into the narrative, a zooming out motion mirrors the fact that once the legacy has been transmitted to the implied reader, she/he is able to see Antonio with more clarity, to understand and globally appreciate the events that have shaped his life and that have shaped him as a person. Yet the distanciation operated through a zooming-out motion can also be read from another standpoint, that of the first narrator, Antonio's son. Therefore, could this distanciation mean that a working through memory has been achieved, since memory has successfully been passed on? However it may be, it is important to point out that chronological time and memory-time are not the only narrative means used to represent the transmission of Antonio's legacy. In fact, the graphic novel relies on the special bond that unites the first and second narrative voices in order to set in motion the processes of legacy and transmission. In other words, we need to consider the roles played by biography and autobiography in the graphic novel to further examine how memory is passed on from one generation to another.

2.2 (AUTO)BIOGRAPHY AND THE MERGING OF NARRATIVE VOICES

Taking the example of *El arte de volar*, one could be tempted to argue that the comics medium seems particularly suited to explore memory narratives. Although such a generalization may be a bit of a stretch, it could partly explain the increase in works dealing with memory for the past thirty years in the comics industry. Works such as Art Spiegelman's *Maus*, Franco-Iranian Marjane Satrapi's *Persepolis* (2000-2003) or Chinese born American Belle Yang's *Forget Sorrow* (2010), to name a few, also explore questions
of memory through formal means similar to *El arte de volar*: all four narratives are presented in the graphic novel format, in black and white. In terms of content, the four works have in common the exploration of memory through the autobiographical genre.\(^{31}\) And as is the case in *El arte de volar*, the memory these works attempt to preserve is that of the author and his or her close relatives in the context of historical events.

As Ana Merino points out in her article “Memory in Comics: Testimonial, Autobiographical and Historical Space in *Maus*”, the comics medium, along with literature or film, has been explored as a way to document one's story: “comics, as a cultural space, incorporate both testimonial and documentary forms, offering the possibility of representing subaltern subjects who in and of themselves form a part of the construction of the text.” For Merino, such texts have offered an opportunity to explore narratives beyond the “male-centered meta-narratives of mainstream super-hero comics”, opening, as a result, alternative options within the underground comic scene. Furthermore, Merino argues that these works give voice to “marginalized subjects”, by emphasizing “the concrete, the personal” and by “focusing on the minuscule details of the lives” of their protagonists.

In her article, Merino refers to the notion of testimonial literature, arguing that Spiegelman's *Maus* contains elements that fit John Beverley's definitions of testimonial texts. As she points out, “testimonial literature is a narrative told in the first person by a narrator who is the protagonist or a witness of the events he or she is relating. In many cases, this narrator is someone who is illiterate, or simply someone literate who is not a writer.” Merino further presents Beverley's conception of testimonial literature by mentioning its structural components, such as the use of a tape recorder, the need to

\(^{31}\) Out of the four titles mentioned, two have been published in volumes. *Maus* was first released in two books, and *Persepolis* was originally a series of four volumes.
elaborate a transcription and editing of events told orally and the presence of a person who is literate and who is in charge of the transcription and editing. But in many cases, this literate person is, as Merino notes “an intellectual, journalist or writer”, in other words a person who has no initial relation to the events and who is not necessarily related to the person giving their testimony.

If it is true that some comic art works that deal with memory, history, and that display autobiographical components also share aspects of testimonial texts, I argue that particular attention needs to be given to the relationship that binds witness and transcriber/editor. Indeed, where memory narratives may take the form of testimony when the two persons involved do not share a close bond, I state they take the form of a legacy when they do. Indeed, the type of relationship that binds witness and transcriber/editor have implications that need to be taken into consideration. In the case of testimony, the presence of an outsider mediating stories he/she collects through his/her external gaze imply the “artificial” recreation of autobiographical narratives. Furthermore, as neutral as this outsider may attempt to be, the use of first person narrators creates what can in some cases represent a misleading sense of proximity with the protagonists. In other words, because the relationship between transcriber and narrator in testimonial literature is based on specific factors such as literacy, the bond can hardly be neutral. At the very least, the relationship is socially charged, each person belonging at best to a different social class, not to mention different cultural background(s) or gender.

If we now take into consideration the relationships that bind two people who belong to the same familial circle, it is still possible for it to be socially charged if, for instance, members of said circle have achieved social mobility. But before this specific kind of
charge starts to weigh on the relationship -as social mobility is most likely to be experienced later in life, there is another type of charge that precedes the social charge: an affective charge that Ana Merino also mentions in her article. I do not mean to argue here that such a charge can only be experienced within familial bonds, as the affective charge can be perceived in many other types of situation by people who share similar experiences. As a result, an affective charge can potentially be set in motion whenever people belonging to the same socio-cultural group(s) recognize that they share experiences with others, and even more importantly, link their own individual story to the broader history of the group. In short, the affective charge is triggered when individuals can identify either with someone else's story or with the group's story, and thus internalize the group stories as a fragment of their own.

In terms of narration, the implications are therefore not the same: whereas there is an “artificial” sense of proximity in testimonial literature, narratives of transgenerational memory as a legacy do not need to rely on the same artifice to justify their autobiographical components: the sense of proximity is inherent to the affective charge that permeates the texts and gives authority to the narrators, since in some cases -El arte de volar, Maus, Forget Sorrow, to name only three-, it is largely admitted that the story they are telling is their own, even when they have not experienced the events themselves. As a result, these texts do not present themselves as the tale of the marginalized and subaltern; and although they can sometimes be interpreted as such, a nuance needs to be introduced. If second and third generations feel an urge to tell the story of their family, it may indeed be to right a wrong caused by history. But since an affective charge pours out of the texts, giving us indications of how the familial story has impacted the following generations, I argue that
such narratives can be read as an homage rather than as “subaltern stories.” My definition of the term “legacy narrative” aims to acknowledge both the affective charge and the elements of transgenerational transmission that are visible in such texts.

In that sense, key to understanding the affective charge that derives from legacy narratives, autobiography (when it applies) and biography might be more suitable paths to follow than testimonial literature. In *Le pacte autobiographique* (1975), Philippe Lejeune seeks to define autobiography and explain how “narratives of the self” are constructed. Biography, says Lejeune, is a “récit rétrospectif en prose qu'une personne réelle fait de sa propre existence, lorsqu'elle met l'accent sur sa vie individuelle, en particulier sur l'histoire de sa personnalité” (14). From this definition, Lejeune formulates four characteristics that are inherent to autobiographical narratives: first, it needs to be written in narrative prose; second, it must focus on an individual life and tell the story of a person's identity; third, the identity of the author must match that of the narrator (the name must reflect that of a non-fictional person), and the identity of the narrator has to match that of the protagonist; and fourth, the narrative must follow a retrospective perspective. According to Lejeune, autobiographies need to fit all four aspects in order to be considered as such. As he points out, texts emanating from neighboring genres to autobiography tend to fit most of the characteristics mentioned but one: memoirs, for instance, do not deal mainly with an individual life and the story of a personality; in biographies, the identity of the narrator does not match that of the protagonist; autobiographical poems are not written in narrative prose; and diaries do not adopt a retrospective perspective.

Strictly following Lejeune's definition of autobiography, it is clear that *El arte de volar* falls between two categories: that of biography and that of autobiography. Although
such a situation may seem logically impossible -a text can either fit or not fit a genre-, the particular treatment of narrative voices in *El arte de volar* indicates three simultaneous possibilities: first, the graphic novel could be considered a biography of Antonio, the protagonist, narrated in the first person by his son (or by the first narrative voice, since as we have seen *El arte de volar* includes two narrative voices). Second, it could be an autobiography of Antonio, who has the second narrative voice. Third, it could be an autobiography of Antonio's son, the first narrative voice, who presents the story of his father in the introduction of the graphic novel, and begins the first chapter by merging the two voices, as shown in the first three panels displayed in figure 10 below. In order to determine how *El arte de volar* falls into, or dialogues with the autobiographical genre, it is necessary to lay out a few remarks regarding the use of the first person narrative voice. For that matter, let's take a closer look at chapter one's first page, where Antonio and his father become one in an odd game of sequential “musical chairs,” in which pronouns are switched and characters belonging to the same family circle take each other's places.

What I refer to as “a game of musical chairs” takes place through speech in the captions of the first three panels shown in figure 10. As mentioned, these panels will eventually give rise to the only narrative voice in the first person to guide the implied reader until the end of the narrative. The first caption, that reads “mi padre, que ahora soy yo, no conserva buenos recuerdos de su infancia. A los ocho años dejó de ir a la escuela para trabajar en el campo” (19), starts with the merging of father and son, but maintains the reference of the third person (referring to the father) with the verbs “conserva” and “dejó”.
In other words, in the first panel, the merging has initiated, but it is yet to be completed. In the second panel, the process is taken one step further by introducing the members of the family circle: “mi abuelo, que ahora es mi padre, sólo pensaba en incrementar sus escasas propiedades. Mis tíos, que ahora son mis hermanos, le respetaban o, más bien, le temían... En cualquier caso le obedecían ciegamente” (19). Here, the equivalence of both narrative voices is evidenced by the use of possessive pronouns (“mi” and “mis”) that place father and son on the same level of identification. In the following panel, the final step of the merging process actually occurs: “Yo, que ya soy un solo yo, nunca me encontré a gusto en esa casa. Y, de no ser por el afecto de mi madre, no habría conocido los afectos familiares” (19). In this panel, the conjugations of “soy”, “me encontré” and “habría conocido” match the first person singular of the narrative “yo”. And in the last panel presented in figure 10, the caption establishes the authority of this brand new narrative “yo” with a very short sentence, that contrasts with the longer sentences of the other three panels and that almost falls like a verdict: “nunca me gustó el campo” (19).
This assertive statement may seem arbitrary or anecdotal; but what better way to establish the authority of this brand new first person narrative voice than to present its dislikes?

But the captions -and speech enclosed in them- are not the only way in which the merging process is created. Indeed, the “visual sentences” presented in the four panels offer a cohesive argument by showing a scene taken from daily life. In fact, the presence of the four characters depicted here in each panel -Antonio being the youngest of the three young men- mirrors the second step of the merging process identified in the second panel: the merging of the two narrative voices has affected the kind of relational bond that unites other members of the family circle. Their presence is far from being irrelevant, and neither is the background scene representing field labor. These elements anchor the narrative “yo” in the first setting that has contributed to shape him as an individual, constituting another aspect of Antonio's legacy. The visual repetition of Antonio's relatives serves to establish the trajectory of memory, taking the reader back to Antonio's roots.

Antonio's roots are evidenced here in two ways: “biologically”, since we see a young Antonio surrounded by his father and brothers, but also spatially, since the scenes depicted are set in Peñaflor, Antonio's hometown (although this information is given to us later on, in the following page). The trajectory of memory observable here is therefore grounded in different “locations” -symbolic and physical-, presented both by the captions through speech and by the association of pictures and words. Those panels rely on a duo-specific combination of images and words: the weight of meaning is therefore carried out by two different elements of the comics’ languages, each supporting fragments of the global story. In a way, the content enclosed in the captions could be read separately from the rest of the panel, as if each elements had its own story to tell. The captions gradually establish
the authority of the first person narrative voice and unfold the merging process, while the
images and word balloons present a scene that takes us back in time to Antonio's pre-teen
years. Yet the superimposition of those two narrations also serves to emphasize certain
aspects of Antonio's legacy, such as the presence of the relatives and the roughness of
country life. As a result, the fact that Antonio is not a young child when the narrative opens
is not innocent: his personality has already been forged by the harshness of his surroundings
and by the rigidity of an aggressive father figure. When the story begins, the protagonist
already knows that this type of life is not for him, indicating that Antonio's personal
trajectory, -and by extension, his future legacy- will not end there.

If we now go back to Lejeune's definition of autobiography, it seems that we are
indeed in the presence of a narration that focuses on an individual life, and that describes
“l'histoire de la personnalité du protagoniste.” But having demonstrated this does not help
us to determine whether or not El arte de volar falls into the autobiographical genre. For if
we see that the graphic novel engages with the second part of Lejeune's definition, the fact
that Antonio himself is not the author of the narrative suggests otherwise. To consider this
particular point, it is necessary to point out that the graphic novel has two authors, which
further complicates the analysis: Antonio Altarriba, the scriptwriter of El arte de volar, who
undertook the task of actually narrating his father's life after his passing, and Kim (Joaquim
Aubert Puigarnau), the graphic author of the narration and friend of Altarriba's, who
collaborated on the project. The fact that we have to consider two authors here would lead
to the same conclusion: El arte de volar challenges the category propose by Lejeune in Le
pacte autobiographique.
In the light of these remarks, let's reexamine the three possibilities proposed before the analysis of figure 10. The second possibility, that consisted in stating that *El arte de volar* is the autobiography of Antonio -the father-, has already been debunked because there is no “identité de l'auteur et du narrateur”, as Lejeune puts it. The first possibility, which supports the hypothesis of a biography seems to fit the graphic novel's narrative style: after all, it is Antonio's life that is narrated, admittedly, in the first person, but then again, the impossible equivalence of author and narrator only confirms the conclusions explained above. Yet narrowing *El arte de volar* to a biography of Antonio Altarriba's father is not entirely satisfactory, because it masks the fact that the graphic novel presents, as we have already seen, two first person narrative voices, one of which actually refers to that of the author, which leads us to examine our third possibility: the narrative is an autobiography of Antonio Altarriba -the son. But here we also have to consider that the graphic novel has two authors and if there partly is “identité de l'auteur et du narrateur” -at least of one of the two narrative voices-, there is no “identité du narrateur et du personage principal.” In fact, the presence of the son in the narrative is observable in two ways: first with the first narrative voice (as seen in the caption of the first panel presented in figure 7), and second as a somehow secondary character represented graphically in chapter 3.

However, as shown through the analysis of the first panels of chapter 1 displayed in figure 10, concluding that *El arte de volar* is not an autobiography and is, by process of elimination, a biography, seems like an easy way out because this conclusion does not reflect the complexity of the graphic novel's narrative structure. Even after a first reading of the graphic novel, we are compelled to admit that the work represents both a biography of Antonio and an autobiography, although limited, of Antonio's son. In other words, I state
that *El arte de volar* can be read as a biography *with* autobiographical components, or as Lejeune would put it a “roman autobiographique”: a text that includes autobiographical elements presented as specific events, or through the use of a secondary character who can be identified as the author -and in some cases, but not necessarily, as the narrator too. This suggestion is supported by the sporadic presence of Antonio's son in chapter three, as well as, I would argue, by the particular bond between father and son established by the first narrative voice in the introductory pages of the graphic novel, as will be further examined.

Before analyzing these aspects, let's go back to the “game of musical chairs” analogy used above. If in a game of musical chairs participants are gradually eliminated, it would be fair to say that Antonio's son is the first “participant” to be “left out” of the circle at the beginning of chapter 1, as we've seen with figure 10. But this analogy is not particularly satisfying if we take a closer look: not only does Antonio's son reappear in the text as a secondary character, but he is never left out of the circle, quite the contrary. Antonio's son, as the recipient of his father's legacy, is yet another link of the “memorial chain” that has been established in chapter 1 with the merging of the two narratives. Before chapter 1, before the merging of narrative voices occurs, we are in the presence of two narrative voices (pages 13 to 15), one enclosed in captions belonging to the son and another enclosed in speech balloons belonging to the father. The first narrative voice functions as a voice-over, establishing the foundations of the narrative. The first narrative voice also presents the close bond that unites father and son, confirming the biographical characteristics of the narrative. As the first narrative voice explains that the story told is that of the father from the son's perspective, the message conveyed through speech is reflected graphically.
The graphic novels literally illustrates the distinction between narrative voice and focalization as defined by Mieke Bal in *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative* (2009). In her book, Bal defines focalization as “the relation between the vision and that which is ‘seen,’ perceived” (145). In addition, she argues that focalization changes with narrative situations, in other words, that texts show how narrative voices associate temporarily, and dissociate from, characters who are focalizing (29). In the introduction of the graphic novel, Antonio therefore functions as a character-bound focalizer, i.e. as the character through which we perceive the events narrated. In the panel below, the implied reader faces Antonio's back from a greater distance than before. Graphically, we are placed in the continuity of Antonio's shadow, facing the perspective of the hallway that echoes the perspective mentioned in the captions. The text in the captions acknowledges the character-bound focalization (“con sus ojos”) while revealing the association and dissociation between narrative voice and focalization that Mieke Bal describes (“pero desde mi perspectiva”).

Figure 11: *El arte de volar* (15). © Altarriba & Kim.

Visually, this panel indicates that Antonio's life is behind him. The facts and events that characterize Antonio's existence are still unknown to the implied reader: they are, symbolically and graphically, in the shadow. And as the first narrative voice introduces his father to the reader through a series of panels that show him leaving his room and looking for a window to jump from, we are also informed of the close relation shared by father and son. Within this close relation lies the
possibility of a legacy: the nature of the bond that unite Antonio and his son enable showing how memory is transmitted from one person to another; and in this case, from one generation to another. Narratively, and following Mieke Bal, legacy could therefore be created and transmitted through the association and dissociation of narrative voices and character-bound focalization.

2.3 REPRESENTING A TIGHT BOND: HOME AND FAMILY AS SPACES OF TRANSMISSION

In order to understand the nature of this bond, we now need to read the introductory pages in conjunction with the pages that introduce Antonio's son into the story as a secondary character in chapter three. Antonio's son is born in the early 1950's, after his father has spent the past decade in exile in France. His return to Spain in 1949 signifies the end of a life led in agreement with the protagonist's aspirations, and the beginning of a bitter resignation - an early desencanto, as will be further explained in chapter three - that provokes him to take on a job offer proposed by Doroteo, an opportunistic entrepreneur and to marry Petra, a pious young woman whose faith conflicts with Antonio’s beliefs. The irruption of a son in the protagonist's life marks the possibility for a new beginning. In the first part of chapter 3, family is portrayed as a possible outlet from the profound anguish that seizing Antonio due to the overwhelming presence of the Francoist regime. As a way to counter the effects of the postwar years, the birth of a son gives Antonio a new purpose. Soon, the protagonist actively engages with his offspring in processes of transmission, as shown in three panels taken from page 149, and displayed in figure 12.
Whereas the rest of the page shows Petra in the hospital, and then follows the family within the space of the home, the three panels displayed in figure 12 can be read as a single sequence because they exclusively concentrate on Antonio and his son. They show a superimposition of captions and pictures, but contrary what is depicted in the rest of the page, word balloons are absent here, as a way to illustrate the emotional charge of the scene depicted.

Graphically, the three panels show a series of close-ups that emphasize the intimacy of the moment described (the first time Antonio holds his son) as well as the immediacy of emotions that are both described in the captions and through images. The expressions of joy, surprise and tenderness that can be read on Antonio's face mirror the expressions of the son, stimulated by the presence of his father. The bond that unites father and son is graphically represented by a zooming in motion on the index finger of the father that the small hand of the infant grabs, symbolizing a reciprocity in the relationship. In addition to the pictures, the notion of reciprocity is perceivable through the phrase “sólo puedo explicarlo como la conexión entre dos cuerpos de una misma sangre... sentí que yo estaba en él y que, en lo sucesivo, iba a ser con él...” These sentences are a repetition of phrases expressed by the first narrative voice in the introductory pages of the graphic novel. Here
too, the implied reader is brought back to the beginning of the story, where she/he had witnessed yet another “birth” resulting from the merging of the two narrative voices.

As we are caught in the moment that binds father and son, the broader background of the hospital room, the doctor, the nurse and Petra, Antonio's wife seem to have vanished from the scene. This element seems to indicate that the paternal lineage will be key to the processes of transmission and legacy. Although their presence was observable in the preceding panels, the other characters mentioned (Petra, the nurses and doctor) are now excluded from the frames, and by extension, from the bond that unites father and son, from the “alianza de sangre” that was already evoked at the beginning, in the panels of page 14, and that is further referred to in chapter three, in pages 161 and 162, as shown in figures 13 and 14.

Figure 13: El arte de volar (161). © Altarriba & Kim.

In figure 13, the reference to the “alianza de sangre” takes place at a moment where Antonio shares his worries and feelings of powerlessness regarding the education of his son, who is now a young child growing under a dictatorial regime and under the spiritual influence of his religious mother. While the captions express the conflicted emotions of the father, we see the son sitting at a table, drawing a war scene. The implied reader's point of view is almost that of the father. We only gaze a fragment of Antonio's face as if we were standing next to
him, his inquisitive index pointing at his son's drawings. The child, on the other hand, turns around and faces us, but his gaze is slightly shifted to the left, where Antonio's eyes are supposed to be. In many ways, these two panels are a repetition of the panels discussed in figure 12. The expression of joyful surprise on the son's face reminds us of the emotions shared by father and son in page 149. Similarly, the index moving forward in the son's direction and the kid's hand grabbing his father's finger lead to the same result: acknowledging and reenacting the “alianza de sangre.” Once again, we are only in presence of father and son, but this time the scene is set in the intimacy of the home, the physical space where transmission occurs.

Figure 14: *El arte de volar* (162). © Altarriba & Kim.

The following scene, presented in figure 14 and displayed in page 162, is also a repetition, of the other two. Antonio's son, now a teenager, signifies his decision to stop attending church, as a way to deliberately take on the legacy of his father. In this scene, except for the first panel, there are no captions enclosing Antonio's narrative voice. The caption superimposed on the first panel serves to lay out the background of the other four panels, first by showing a conflict arising between the parents after the son has spoken his mind, and then by focusing on the
complicity between father and son, with yet another repetition of the hand gestures that reaffirm the bond.

If we compare the panels of figure 14 with the panels displayed in figure 13, the positioning of father and son are inverted: the implied reader is placed slightly on the son's right side, and it is the father we face this time, Antonio's gaze being also directed to the left where his son's eyes are supposed to be. Here, it is the son who directs his index toward his father, who eventually grabs it in a complicitous gesture. As before, the two men are alone, and the same close-up technique separates them both from the outside and from outsiders. Furthermore, while the gesture takes us back to the “alianza de sangre,” the inversion in the positioning of father and son echoes the ideas expressed in captions in pages 14 and 149 by both narrative voices: since father and son are with each other through the close bond that unites them, they are symbolically interchangeable.

The sequences displayed in figures 13 and 14 are set within the intimacy of Antonio's family home. In fact, both home and family constitute symbolic spaces that enable the transmission of Antonio's legacy. The level of intimacy is measurable visually by the spatial setting in both scenes, where the family members are portrayed performing daily activities -drawing, cleaning, and shaving- in each other's presence. In the narrative, the familial space is constituted at the birth of the son, who is an only child. Antonio's son inaugurates the creation of the family circle: it instantly becomes the space that holds the biological bond expressed in “la alianza de sangre,” as seen in figure 12. In addition, home is portrayed as both a physical -the apartment- and symbolic space that constitutes a shelter from the outside world where intimacy is enacted. What's particularly interesting in El arte de volar is that family and home as spaces of transmission are portrayed and combined
graphically by the repetition of ritualistic gestures shared by father and son. The repetition serves several purposes: it emphasizes the level of closeness of both characters, and it is also a way to indicate what lineage the first narrative voice places himself into and whom he identifies with, as mentioned earlier. The last scene clearly states the impact of the father on his son's life: by rejecting the path of religion, Antonio's son reinforces his position as his father's inheritor. As a result, the transmission depicted happens between father and son, not between mother and son.

The fact that the son's legacy is almost represented at the mother's expense, as the scenes depicted in the intimacy of the home suggest, leads me to further examine the role of family and home as spaces for transmission. Indeed, the exclusion of Petra from the son's legacy would signify that such spaces do not necessarily guarantee the constitution of a legacy and its transmission. By the same token, this would also imply that other spaces of transmission are possible, as will be further developed in the following sections of this dissertation. Yet, spaces such as family and home do incite to proximity, and allow developing feelings of closeness and complicity. How is it, then, that Petra's legacy is absent from the narrative? Has the maternal inheritance not been passed on to the son? And if not, what are the reasons for it? To answer these questions, it is necessary to reexamine the notion that family and home function as shelters that separate the family members from the outside and isolate them from the broad collective. In fact, as we see in the sequences presented in figures 13 and 14, there is a clear permeability between the outer physical space and the space of the home: whereas in figure 13 Antonio evokes the impact of the regime on his son's education, figure 14 refers to the presence of the Catholic Church in the household through the maternal figure.
Put in quite simplistic terms, the son is therefore the inheritor of two legacies: the paternal legacy, linked to the Republicans, and the maternal legacy, inscribed in the religious ideology put forward by the regime. It's interesting to note that in figure 14, the adherence to one of these two legacies is presented as a choice made by the son. In the second panel, Antonio denies his responsibility in his son's decision by emphasizing his silence: “Yo qué culpa tengo... ya ves que no le digo nada...” The reference to the father's silence is illuminating because it indicates that transmission can occur in indirect ways. In fact, the caption in the first panel corroborates this idea by pointing out the indirect ways in which Antonio passes on his legacy: “Tras varios veranos en compañía de los restos vencidos pero todavía vivos del anarquismo, mi hijo aprendió francés y otras cosas...” The caption refers to the panels that precede this sequence, and that show Antonio and his son visiting Mariano, an anarchist met during the war who settled in France with his family. The scene shows Mariano's grand-children teaching French words to Antonio's son in the background (“le pain... le chocolat...”), while in the forefront Mariano and Antonio evoke the political situation: “El régimen celebra sus veinticinco años de paz... y la gente se resigna, incluso se identifica... todo por lo que luchamos está muerto y enterrado...”

In fact, in the sequence displayed in figure 14, the reference to Antonio's silence can be read as a way to highlight the son's decision to follow his father's footsteps. Not only have Antonio's memories not been actually silenced, they have been communicated to the son in both indirect and direct ways as explicated in the foreword by the protagonist's descendant: “[...] sé cómo murió... y también cómo vivió... me contó muchas veces sus peripecias... incluso, para paliar los primeros síntomas de la depresión, le insistí en que las escribiera... dejó doscientas cincuenta cuartillas de letra apretada y rebosante de recuerdos”
(14). As a result, *El arte de volar* illustrates that the transmission of the legacy is not only deliberate, it also necessitates the participation and consent of father and son. The teenager's rejection of his mother's legacy -a legacy related to the Catholic Church- can be interpreted as a serious questioning of authority figures, resulting in a rejection of the moral authority imposed by the dictatorial ideology from the outside. In other words, while Antonio's father symbolizes a positive authority figure, the mother epitomizes the negative authoritarian figure of the regime that permeates the space of the home.

To briefly sum up, the presence of the son as a secondary character in chapter three serves two simultaneous purposes. First, it reveals fragments of the son's life and of the challenges of having to grow up under a dictatorial regime, making *El arte de volar* a biography with autobiographical components. Second, because it emphasizes the nature of the bond that unites father and son, it further reveals how transmission is passed on between the two, in the intimacy of the family home. Here, the affective charge is evident, as revealed by the ritualistic hand gesture and the expressions of joy, surprise and tenderness depicted in the panels examined. And as mentioned before, it is this affective charge that gives a tribute dimension to the narrative, enabling the appropriation of the father's legacy by the son.

So far, I have addressed the questions of legacy and transmission by focusing on the *how* aspect of the question, in other words, how memory is transmitted from one person to another, one generation to another, and even one group to another. I have discussed these questions first by looking at the circular and linear structure of *El arte de volar*, which revealed a double conceptualization of time (memory-time and chronological time), enabling a transmission of Antonio's legacy to the reader through the guidance, intervention
and participation of the son. Second, by looking at the nature of the bond that unites father and son, I have examined how this legacy is transmitted from one generation to another and how it is narrated through the use of biography with autobiographical components. What I have not discussed yet -and this will be my following task in the next two sections- is the question relative to the contents of Antonio's legacy. In other words: what is *El arte de volar* transmitting exactly?
Part Three: Memories from the Two Spains

The first point that needs to be examined is the “nature” of Antonio's legacy and the many layers that constitute its structure: if *El arte de volar* is indeed a tale of memory, we ought to determine whether this memory is limited to the context of the Spanish Civil War and the ensuing dictatorial regime, or if it also transmits other sociocultural elements to the reader. As mentioned earlier, a quick glance at the pages that present each chapter seems to indicate that *El arte de volar* also explores other aspects of Antonio's life: the narrative is indeed not limited to the events that occurred during the dictatorship and the war; rather, it seems that it also has other things to say, as suggested in the panels displayed in figure 10. In fact, the different aspects of Antonio's legacy could be roughly divided in three categories (Antonio's childhood, the war and postwar years, and Antonio's traumas and dreams) that are represented through elements borrowing from different artistic movements and genres. And to better grasp the content of Antonio's legacy, it is necessary to look at the intertextual components and the graphic “ingredients” that compose the narrative.

3.1 READING BETWEEN (GRAPHIC) LINES: PICTORIAL INFLUENCES

Graphically, *El arte de volar* mainly follows a realistic line that matches the biographical-autobiographical contents of the narrative. The abundant details that are visible in most panels, the facial expressions of the characters are meticulously drawn, enabling the reader to visually situate the events narrated in a well-documented manner. In many ways, the realistic line and detailed drawing style intensify the historical tone of the
narrative. Visually, *El arte de volar* resembles an archival document capable of capturing reality in its smaller details as photography would, while covering almost a century of historical events, from the year 1910 to the year 2001. In fact, the visual reference to photography as a means to document events and/or to capture memories is made on several occasions in the narrative, with the inclusion of panels that mimic the photographic frame. The three panels displayed in figure 15, that show portraits of Spanish exiles confined in the concentration camps of Southern France, make a clear reference to the photojournalistic portrait style, as can be seen in Robert Capa's or Gerda Taro's work, and even, in a different context, in Dorothea Lange's shots of the Depression era in the United States.

Figure 15: *El arte de volar* (83) © Altarriba & Kim.

The reference to photojournalism and the realistic line emphasize the fact that *El arte de volar* has a documentary value. This idea is also supported by the use of black-and-white throughout the narrative, and places *El arte de volar* in the line of graphic novels such as Spielgelman's *Maus*, Joe Sacco's *Gaza* or Satrapi's *Persepolis*. The use of black-and-white echoes monochrome photography and film -a parallel can be made between the graphic novels cited and Spielberg's *Schindler's List*, for instance.
In addition, the use of black-and-white also borrows from engraving and, in that way, brings us back to the origins of the comics medium. XIXth century illustrator Rodolphe Töpffer is considered by many scholars and contemporary comics artists, such as Will Eisner, Scott McCloud, Thierry Groensteen or Jeffs Adams, as the father of modern comics. As Jeff Adams points out in his book *Documentary Graphic Novels and Social Realism* (2008), Töpffer's *histoires en estampes* combined “image and text within sequential frames using a caricature style of drawing. It is the combination of all four elements that mark out Töpffer's work, and made them appear like a modern comic book” (14). As a result, although the use of black-and-white resonates with photography and, in the specific case of *El arte de volar* with photojournalism, it is not simply used to enhance the realistic style. If it is true that black-and-white gives a documentary value to the narrative and supports its historical tone, it constitutes, at the same time, a distancing with the reality depicted, which enables opening a creative space where greater abstraction can be achieved.

Contrary to what we see in *Maus* or *Persepolis* for instance, what is interesting in the case of *El arte de volar* is that the graphic novel contains a much less minimalistic drawing style, combined with occasional abstraction. In other words, the graphic style of *El arte de volar* is not merely realistic, it also takes on caricature, symbolism, surrealism to name only a few. The realistic style remains the basis of *El arte de volar*'s form, and it is in some cases interrupted by brief intrusions of distorted perceptions of reality (dreams, fever-induced delirium, and anxiety attacks) as a way to graphically underline what Antonio is going through. In other cases, these intrusions do not represent distorted perceptions of reality, but they do highlight the character’s emotions, and as a result, they
can be read alone, or in sequence with other panels that present a more realistic style, as shown in figure 16. The panels corresponding to figure 16 are taken from the first chapter and represent the intrusion of *costumbrismo* and symbolism into a more realistic scene.

Figure 16: *El arte de volar* (23). © Altarriba & Kim.

Isolated from the graphic sequence, the first panel presented in figure 16 could very well be read as a *costumbrista* scene: it shows a man and a teenage boy working in a field, most likely harvesting wheat in a typical representation of field labor. In the foreground, we see the boy completely absorbed by his task, while in the background stands a man moving forward with a certain dignity, looking in the direction of the boy with an attitude that could be interpreted as pride. But the *costumbrista* representation of field labor ends with the first panel: as we cross the gutter and move to the second panel, -in other words when we read the panel within the sequence, - we realize that the boy is suffering from the conditions of intense physical work under an implacable sun. As the narrative moves from panel one to panels two and three, the focus moves from the archetypical representation of field labor to the physical marks it leaves on the workers’ bodies. When considering this passage as a whole sequence, we therefore see that our focus is redirected from the archetype in panel
one to something more subjective, as the close-up on Antonio on the following panels suggests. In short, we leave an idealized representation of field labor to enter the subjective world of Antonio's perceptions: across the gutter, we are absorbed by Antonio's obvious pain. This physical discomfort is emphasized by the character’s body posture, the placement of his hands, the sweat drops, lines and stars, and the exclamation “boof!!” incrusted in the picture on panel three.

In addition, by redirecting the reader's attention toward Antonio, we are led to forget temporarily about the second character of this sequence. As we move to panel four, despite the fact that we are facing the same point of view as the second character, our surprise matches Antonio’s. The leg and foot that appear in the foreground completely disrupt the costumbrista scene outlined in the first panel. The absurd brutality of the second character is emphasized by the ground-level point of view, the crushing laughter, and the stature of the adult body that occupies most of the space of the panel. Finally, the deathly presence of the scythe that can also be seen as a symbolist incursion within the sequence. The last panel of figure 16, which shows the sun setting on the country, echoes several elements contained in the sequence. It closes what is presented not as a typical country scene per se, but rather as a typical day in Antonio's life, with an emphasis on the hard working conditions and on the protagonist's disconnection from his fellow townsmen.

Placed next to one another, the different graphic influences therefore participate in the narrative content as much as the messages conveyed through writing. Indeed, what is particularly striking about El arte de volar is that the story encompasses a century of events that are embedded in the history of the XXth century in Spain, constituting an important part of Antonio's legacy. The first chapter of El arte de volar, which is also the shortest of
all four chapters, covers a period of twenty years in Antonio's life and ends in 1931. That date was the year of the proclamation of the Segunda República, marking the dissolution of Primo de Rivera's regime and the end of the Restauración. The choice of such a date to close the first chapter is not innocent: it enables linking the events of an individual life (Antonio's) to the broader political events that characterized the first half of the XXth century in Spain. As the first chapter follows a young Antonio struggling to get away from his hometown, we are immersed in Antonio's repetitive daily life, characterized by the harshness of peasant work and the apparent disconnection from the political turmoil of the 1920's. It is interesting to point out that this chapter does not contain dates or specific political events that could serve as chronological references for the implied reader. Rather, the focus is principally on Peñaflor, Antonio's village, and on the feelings of confinement that agitate Antonio, whose main objective is to escape a country lifestyle with which he feels no affinities.

The choice of ending the chapter before the proclamation of the Segunda República gains relevance because it mirrors Antonio's desire to escape Peñaflor, emphasizing the connection between the individual and the collective.32 As readers, we do not know for sure that Antonio actually left Peñaflor before the Segunda República was proclaimed since there are no dates to indicate otherwise; but what we do know nonetheless is that Antonio's political awakening, visible in the second chapter, is deeply connected to the advent of the Segunda República. In other words, the date of 1931 is a narrative device that not only enables situating the events for the reader, but also marks Antonio's political legacy.

32 The reference to this event appears at the beginning of the second chapter, in a panel that shows Antonio walking in the streets of Zaragoza and passing a crowd screaming “¡¡¡Viva la República!!”, brandishing the republican flag.
3.2 A GRAPHIC BILDUNGSROMAN?

Before we witness Antonio's political awakening, the first chapter lays the foundations of Antonio's life, which, as previously mentioned, comprise other aspects of Antonio's legacy and explain in many ways how the protagonist chooses to become involved in politics later on. In a way, the first chapter of *El arte de volar* also reveals what seems to be the coming of age story of a character who dreams to go beyond the boundaries of his country lifestyle; in other words, the graphic novel presents aspects of Antonio's legacy through the characteristics of the *Bildungsroman*. As literary critic Tobias Boes points out in his translation of Karl Morgenstern's lecture titled “On the Nature of the *Bildungsroman*”, a *Bildungsroman* “represents the development of the hero in its beginning and progress to a certain stage of completion” (656).

With the example of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*, Morgenstern focuses on the developmental aspect of the hero, showing how the “novel of formation” narrates the story of a “human being who develops toward his true nature by means of a collaboration of his inner dispositions with outer circumstances,” the purpose of such a development being “a perfect equilibrium combining harmony with freedom.” As defined by Morgenstern, the *Bildungsroman* therefore presents a tension between internal desires and external factors that sometimes constitute obstacles that the protagonist needs to overcome in order to combine harmony and freedom. And it is precisely this tension that will shape the hero/heroin of a *Bildungsroman* before he/she is propelled into adulthood, reflecting aspects of the human condition.

As Tobias Boes notes in his introduction to “On the Nature of the *Bildungsroman*”, Morgenstern's definition therefore goes beyond a mere concentration on “inwardness” and
“personality” that would alienate the hero from external circumstances. Rather, the Bildungsroman also reveals, according to Morgenstern, the influence of “social concerns and interpersonal relations” on the development of the protagonists. Boes further illustrates this point by citing Bakthin's definition of the Bildungsroman as a “kind of novel in which man's individual emergence is inseparably linked to historical emergence,” echoing Morgenstern's conceptualization of the novel of formation (649). As previously mentioned, the reference to the year 1931 could therefore be interpreted as a way to connect Antonio's emergence with the advent of the Segunda República, linking the “inward” to the “outward,” and the individual to the collective.

Figure 17: *El arte de volar* (26-27). © Altarriba & Kim.

The first chapter also presents several aspects of Antonio's development, such as the discovery of sexuality with Casilda, a young woman from the village, or the character's desire to get an education. But let's focus on another event of Antonio's teenage years that will be key to his development: his first confrontation with the city, narrated approximately
in the middle of the first chapter and shown in the double-pages 26 and 27, displayed below in figure 17.

Borrowing from the *Bildungsroman*, this double page opens and closes with the expectations and longings of a young Antonio in the first and last panels of pages 26 and 27. In those two panels, shown above in figure 17, we first see Antonio sitting on a tree branch with his cousin, and looking in the direction of the big city, Zaragoza. The perspective adopted in this panel is almost aerial: while the reader is at a distance from the two cousins, looking at them from behind, the two characters are pictured above the ground, looking ahead, as if projecting their dreams into the future. The last panel of the double-page on the other hand, shows the protagonist from an almost diametrically opposed perspective: this time the reader is propelled into the scene, along with Antonio who is situated at ground level in a busy street of Zaragoza, contemplating what the city has to offer. The fact that Antonio finds himself in the hubbub of the big city indicates that part of the young man's dream has come true: he has been able to escape the boundaries of his village and reach the city on his own, as the last frame of page 26 suggests.

Yet as Antonio decides to escape to the city for the first time despite his father's violent objection, he must also confront the ideal of his dream to the reality of city life as shown in the fourth and fifth panels of page 27: “enseguida pude comprobar que en algunas cosas no hay diferencia entre el campo y en la ciudad... trabajar siempre consiste en que te partan el cuerpo en dos...” Antonio’s encounter with a reality that does not match his dreams is, in fact, the first of many that will follow. But although Antonio's first attempt to escape Peñaflor results in a fiasco that precipitates his return to the village, this first journey to Zaragoza still leaves an imprint in the young man's mind. This is suggested both
in the caption of the last panel and in Antonio's expression of wonder when facing the modernity and diversity of city life: “...pero el espectáculo de la ciudad me fascinaba hasta el punto de olvidar las penurias y hacerme pensar que yo había nacido para vivir en un espacio como ese, dinámico, abigarrado, enorme...” (27).

Antonio's conviction that he is destined for bigger things than what Peñaflor has to offer is emphasized by the organization of the double-page. The panels of page 26 represent Antonio in Peñaflor, the village that needs to be left behind. Following the chronological reading inherent to comics, as we read page 26, we are not simply reading time: we are moving on with Antonio as he takes action to put his country lifestyle in the past. By contrast, the following page represents Antonio's desired future life: the frames on the right page all show the protagonist in the city, working to make a little bit of money and struggling with “outward circumstances” to achieve something more.

3.3 TALES OF THE RURAL SPAIN

In order to better understand the “outward circumstances” that create a tension with the protagonist's innermost dreams and desires, it is necessary to lay out the sociopolitical context of Antonio's childhood and teenage years. So far, I have explicated that the first chapter of the graphic novel ends in 1931, and shown how such a date is relevant to the process of transmitting Antonio's political legacy. Yet the historical period covered by the first chapter also indicates aspects of Antonio's legacy that should not be overlooked. *El arte de volar* begins in 1910, year in which the protagonist is born, although the first events graphically narrated show Antonio in what appears to be his pre-teenage years. The first decade of Antonio's life is therefore marked by the circumstances of the Restauración
borbónica (1874-1931), more particularly by the legacy of the sociopolitical and moral crisis that affected Spain after the debacle of the Spanish-American War in 1898. Because it signified the end of the Spanish colonial empire in the Americas, the defeat of 1898 had political consequences in the Peninsula. It resulted in a greater questioning of canovismo, the political system of the Restauración. Put in place by conservative Antonio Cánovas, *canovismo* was characterized by a systematic alternation of two political parties, one conservative, and the other liberal, that did not lead to a renewal of the country’s political actors. In fact, since the second half of the XIXth century in Spain, a strong need for renewal of ideas and ideologies had given rise to *regeneracionismo*, an intellectual movement influenced by the ideas of Karl Krause that called for a “new Spain” and for changes in the bipartite political system.

The turn of the century and the first decade of the 1900's were marked deeply by a rise of intellectual voices influenced by the ideas of *regeneracionismo*, as historian Santos Juliá points out in his book *Historias de las dos Españas* (2004). The need to reform deeply the institutions and to accompany the social changes that came along with industrialization were tasks that these intellectual voices proposed to tackle. In 1910, *regeneracionista* José Canalejas' liberal party won the general elections, a victory precipitated by the events of the Semana Trágica that took place in Barcelona in 1909.³³ As Santos Juliá further explains, the intellectual voices of the time, were mainly those of the literati, for instance, the founders of the *Generación del 98*, Unamuno, Pío Baroja, Azorín and Ramiro de Maetzu.

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³³ The Semana Trágica is known as a week of violent confrontations between the Catalan working class and the army, following Prime Minister Antonio Maura’s decision to send reserve soldiers, many of whom were unionized workers, to fight in the Second Rif War. Leftist unions and political parties organized a striked that paralyzed the city of Barcelona, and was violently repressed by the Authorities. The events resulted in Maura’s resignment, and eventually led to the victory of the liberal party in the General Elections of 1910.
On the one hand, these intellectuals criticized an oligarchic political system that was based on electoral caciquismo, and on the other hand, they held the popular masses in contempt, because they viewed them as an uneducated and an inert body easily manipulated by politicians: “Por citar sólo dos ejemplos que afectan a las dos bestias negras del regeneracionismo, el pueblo y los políticos” (63).

Simultaneously, the political events that shattered the XIXth century led to a redefinition of the social role of the intellectual, which consisted in counterbalancing the popular masses without getting involved with them: “‘intelectual' designa, pues, a literatos, pero también a científicos y profesores, como correlato de una masa inerte: la autoconciencia de intelectual emergió como contrapunto de […] una mayoría amorfa, ignorante, pasiva, ineducada, grosera, fácilmente manipulable por los políticos” (67). As Santos Juliá points out, the intellectuals of the time valued individualism because it contrasted with the notion of a collective popular body. Salvation came through the affirmation of one's individual voice, and this voice needed to be strong enough to be heard and isolated from the masses (67). In Miguel de Unamuno's own words, quoted by Santos Juliá: “cada uno de nosotros buscaba salvarse como hombre, como personalidad […] sólo nos unían el tiempo y el lugar, y acaso un común dolor: la angustia de no respirar en aquella España” (67-68).

If the turn of the century and the fall of the colonial empire led the Generación del 98 to express a marked individualism, and a profound anguish toward a world they felt they could not control, the first decades of the XXth gave rise to the following generation of intellectuals, the novecentistas, whose most prominent members were José Ortega y Gasset, Ramón Pérez de Ayala, Manuel Azaña -who would later become the President of
the Segunda República-, Gregorio Marañón and Eugeni D'ors. One of the main tasks of this generation was to reaffirm the role of the intellectuals by breaking away from the isolation of the previous generation. One of their main goals was to participate in the political education of the masses, which resulted in the establishment of the Liga de Educación Política in 1914. Novecentistas particularly opposed the previous generation's pessimism and passivity, and they were characterized by an Europeanism that the previous generation lacked, and by an interest in technology and science. A key figure of the Generación del 14, Ortega y Gasset was the main voice to call for action in order to provoke change:

Hay una España muerta, concede Ortega a sus mayores; o más radicalmente, una España que ni siquiera existe. Esa España que le duele a Unamuno es un panorama de fantasmas. Pero a su lado ha surgido ya otra España que se relaciona con la vieja como irrefutable prueba de su inexistencia, o de su existencia puramente fantasmagórica. La tragedia del héroe caído, de la nación moribunda, no culminará en el llanto por su muerte y en la pasiva espera de su resurrección, sino que se transmutará en un relato de las dos Españas […] Lo que se anuncia no es la resurrección de la España eterna, ni la persistencia de un espíritu del pueblo que espera la llamada de los intelectuales para resucitar. [Ortega anuncia] la entrada en escena de una España nueva, emergente bajo su mirada, de la que espera no que continúe el lamento y la protesta, […] sino que haga algo, que emplee sus energías en la acción. (146-147)

The actions proposed by the new generation were concrete: the novecentistas acknowledged that their social role consisted in guiding and educating, as a way to bridge the gap between the “two Spains.” Yet as Santos Juliá notes, Ortega's reference to “las dos Españas” was not new, it was, in fact, inherited from a long rhetorical tradition that relied on an imagined opposition between two Spains to explain the ideological tensions and conflicts of the XIXth century. In this opposition, an old, religious and traditional Spain was in tension with a new, modern Spain; an “official” institutionalized Spain faced a “real” Spain; finally a rural Spain clashed with an industrialized and urbanized Spain (149).
In many ways, the first chapter of *El arte de volar* depicts both the “angustia de no respirar” that Unamuno refers to, and the metaphor of the two Spains. This can be seen, for instance, in pages 26-27 displayed above in figure 17. As mentioned earlier, the opposition of the two Spains is visible almost instantly in these pages, the left page representing the rural Spain that must be left behind and the right page showing the urban and modern Spain that offers possibilities for the future. Although this chapter does not address directly the political aspects of the first decades of the XXth century, it immerses the reader in the daily life of those who are at the bottom of the social pyramid. Antonio's presence functions as a guide to the universe in which he was born and raised but with which he feels no affinity. His memories of Peñaflor echo the *regeneracionista* legacy of the intellectuals of the turn of the century, while his decision to leave for Zaragoza mirror the novecentista belief in the need to take action to provoke change. Not only is Peñaflor portrayed as a village that does not offer satisfactory opportunities, as shown in the caption of the third panel of figure 17 (“como en el pueblo no veía ningún porvenir, intenté buscarlo en otro lugar”), it is also shown as a space that does not challenge its inhabitants, whose behavior reflects a lack of education and interest for the outside world.

In many ways, Peñaflor echoes the Torremejías of Cela's *La familia de Pascual Duarte*: not only is it represented as a hostile environment, it seems to be a place doomed by fate, as the death of Basilio, Antonio's cousin, at the end of the first chapter suggests. But contrary to Cela's novel, the protagonist contrasts with the rest of the villagers. The inhabitants of Peñaflor, with the exception of Basilio, are presented to the reader as a rough and ill-mannered crowd. In fact, their actions, such as the erection of walls to protect their plots of land, are a consequence of their miserable condition, as shown in figure 18. As the
villagers erect walls to protect their limited resources and attempt to reclaim parcels that do not necessarily belong to them, they transform the landscape of Peñaflor, as illustrated below in the first panel of figure 18. By doing so, they reinforce the sensation of claustrophobia and confinement of the countryside within boundaries that transform its former openness into a finite universe. As a result, far from being a place where freedom can be achieved, the country is portrayed as a space where one is trapped, and must endure the impossibility of escape from the conflicts and tensions that agitate the community. In figure 18, we see two different scenes that serve to illustrate the different perspectives of adults (depicted in the second panel), and of the young boys (in panels one, three and four) who are likely to inherit the land and perpetuate the actions of their fathers. The perspective of the adults emerges in a sequence of panels that adopt the point of views of the boys.

Figure 18: *El arte de volar* (24). © Altarriba & Kim.

The sudden insertion of the adults in the sequence is mirrored by the contrast between day and night: while the young boys are portrayed in broad daylight, the adults are shown at night, perpetrating illegitimate actions. The contrast between day and night in the global scene adds a notion of secrecy and mystery to the action of the adults, and emphasizes the tensions in the community that are made visible in the daytime with the rampant fragmentation of the land.
The effect of this fragmentation is illustrated in the first, third and fourth panels. While in the first panel, the teenage boys are pictured looking at the land from above, as if looking at the “big picture” of what awaits them in the future, the last two panels show their confrontation with these walls and their failed attempt to see beyond them: “a mí y a los demás chavales de mi edad nos dejaron sin vistas. Y los muros aumentaban de altura con mayor rapidez que nosotros de estatura” (24), comments Antonio's narrative voice. In this sequence, the third panel particularly marks the boys' realization that the future that awaits them is devoid of perspective: as readers, we are placed on the other side of these walls, facing the teenagers in order to contemplate their expressions of stupefaction when they see that behind the wall are only many more walls.

As a result, the fragmentation of the land is not presented as an understandable way to pass on a legacy that is both material, i.e., the land, and symbolic, i.e., the practices of protecting one's private property by erecting walls. Rather, the act of fragmentation is portrayed in a negative light, evoking the sense of imprisonment within a land that the protagonist does not recognize as his own. In other words, it refers to another kind of legacy, which not only goes beyond Peñaflor, but that also oversteps the boundaries of the family circle. Antonio's longing for freedom, for education, in short, for something more than what Peñaflor has to offer, and his rejection of the violent ways of his fellow townsmen can be read as a reflection of the anxieties and concerns raised by the intellectuals of the Generación del 98. His decision to leave the village can further be interpreted as a way to take action.
The actual politicization of Antonio's legacy starts in the second chapter, which covers the years 1931-1949, a period marked by the instauration of the Segunda República, as mentioned earlier, but also by the rise to power of the Popular Front, by Franco's coup d'état and the Spanish Civil War, and finally by the instauration of Franco's dictatorial regime. The beginning of the second chapter reflects the feelings of renewed hope that followed the instauration of the Second Republic. The last decades of the Restauración Borbónica and the increased industrialization had given rise to social tensions that the bipartite system had failed to address. The union that emerged in the second half of the XIXth century further developed at the beginning of the XXth, with the creation of Solidaridad Obrera in 1907, that later led to the establishment of the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT) in 1910. Labor activism, marked by anarchist ideology, managed to mobilize workers who engaged in protests and strikes throughout the territory. The strike of February 1919 organized in Barcelona to protest the working conditions of the Anglo-Canadian electric company La Canadiense managed to paralyze production, and agitated the bourgeois trade owners who increasingly feared the radicalization of the anarchist unions.

Ultimately, the social conflicts shook the main industrialized cities and dispersed rural pockets that the unions succeeded to mobilize. In 1921, the trenchant defeat of the Spanish military in Annual, Morroco during the Rif War, along with the growing social tensions of the early twenties resulted in Miguel Primo de Rivera's coup in 1923, followed by the instauration of a dictatorial regime that lasted until 1930. During those years, a generation of younger artists, including Federico García Lorca, José Bergamín, Gerardo
Diego, Jorge Guillén, Vicente Aleixandre, Luis Cernuda and Rafael Alberti grouped under the name *Generación del 27*, rose to the forefront. Many of them shared a solid literary education, a thirst for knowledge and a profound admiration for the members of the previous generations. During those years, Madrid became a literary center, attracting a young generation that soon joined the intellectuals of the previous generation, with whom they participated in tertulias and conferences, as Santos Juliá points out (232). As a result, the city became a space of extraordinary “densidad cultural” (232), where three generations of artists and intellectuals coincided, and where the younger generation followed in the footsteps of the previous generation (235). If this new generation of artists valued the intellectual and artistic legacy they had inherited from the *Generación del 98* and the *Novecentistas*, they were at first characterized by a detachment from political questions.

Yet with the instauration of the Segunda República came a pressing need to define their role in a changing society. Eventually, the new generation was bound to interrogate the political function of art, and to “pick a side.” Moreover, the establishment of the Republic signified the re-emergence of the popular masses in the political landscape. As a result, the people could finally be envisioned in a new light:

la gente del 98 había perdido al pueblo, horrorizada por el crecimiento de la masa; los intelectuales pedagogos habían dado por seguro que eran precisos muchos años para que el pueblo volviera otra vez a una existencia consciente [...] La generación siguiente, la del 14, había teorizado, mayormente por obra de Ortega y desde fecha tan temprana como 1902, sobre la masa y se había dedicado a una tarea de organización de la minoría selecta a la espera de que cuando estuviera por fin constituida, la masa seguiría y las cosas marcharían por su cauce por sí solas. Sólo muy al final, cuando la monarquía quedó a la intemperie, redescubrió esa generación el discurso de la revolución popular y se puso de nuevo al frente de ese sujeto de repente en la calle al que llamaron pueblo (245-246)

Antonio's political awakening reflects the politicization of the younger generation of Spanish intellectuals in the first decades of the century. As reflected in two sequences displayed in figures 19 and 20, Antonio's interest in politics happens almost casually. After
he has left Peñaflor for Zaragoza for the second time, he finds himself caught in a
demonstration on the day of the proclamation of the Republic. The sequence selected here
shows Antonio after two important events have taken place. The first event, relevant only
to the protagonist, is the acquisition of a driver's license that Antonio had dreamed about
since his childhood in Peñaflor.

Figure 19: El arte de volar (43). © Altarriba & Kim.

The second event, crucial on the
collective level is the proclamation of
the Republic. Both events are, of
course, unrelated, and the fact that
they happen simultaneously is
completely fortuitous; yet these two
events become connected in the
narrative because they both offer a
possibility for a much desired
freedom. The panels displayed in figure 19 are included in a larger sequence that includes
pages 41-44, where we first see Antonio obtaining his driver's license (p.41- half of page
43) and looking for a job as a truck driver (half of page 44).

In this sequence, the story of Antonio's life is interrupted by the sociopolitical
events that shake the country: in the second panel, Antonio's “voiceover” shown in the
caption reveals the protagonist's reaction to the events, and his former disconnect from
politics: “absorto en mis problemas, apenas me había enterado de la agitación que sacudía
a España...” (43). It is interesting to note that this panel is the only one in the sequence that
contains a caption informing the reader of Antonio's thoughts. As such, the second panel is
the only to offer a space for Antonio as the protagonist of the narrative. In fact, the scene
presents a change in focus: whereas we were following Antonio in one of the milestones
of his life (the acquisition of his driver's license), attention is now granted to the people
celebrating the new regime, as can be seen in the speech balloon contained in panel two:
“¡ciudadanos...! y os llamo ciudadanos porque a partir de hoy ya no somos vasallos... El
rey se ha ido y éste es un país de hombres libres...” (43).

Graphically, this change in focus is further emphasized by a shift from realism to
social realism. The crowd is the real protagonist here, Antonio is a mere observer, and he
is almost lost in the crowd. His position in the panels is close to that of the implied reader:
located in the foreground, looking at the scene, he is not the main character anymore, but
rather, he “reads” the collective events that unfold in front of him in the same way the
reader goes through them. And as Antonio walks through the streets of Zaragoza, he
witnesses the different groups of people who are the momentary protagonists of the scene:
the liberals in panel two, speaking from the balcony and representing the bourgeois elite;
the communists, shown in panel three, opposing the previous group (“¡Camaradas, la
gasolina que queman los burgueses es el sudor que derramamos los obreros...!”); and
finally the unionized anarchists of CNT-AIT-FAI in the last panel of page 43, who call for
a revolution: “¡Compañeros, desconfiád de una república burguesa! ¡Hay que hacer la
revolución, suprimir la propiedad y abolir el dinero! ¡Abajo los caciques! ¡Abajo la iglesia
manipuladora e inquisitorial! ¡Abajo la explotación del hombre por el hombre!” (43).
Figure 20: *El arte de volar* (44). © Altarriba & Kim.

As we pursue the reading and turn the page (page 43 is the left page of the 42-43 double-page), we see Antonio blending into the group of anarchists, informing the implied reader that he will eventually become one of them, as shown here in figure 20. Before we continue with Antonio's life in the last panel of this sequence, we see the protagonist participating in the scene: contrary to the sequence displayed in figure 19, Antonio is not an observer anymore, he becomes part of a larger group that welcomes his participation by replicating his rallying cry “¡Abajo los muros!” (44). The spontaneity with which the young man utters words that refer to the reality of his previous life (“los muros” being a reference to the walls that fragment the land in Peñaflor) is communicated to the crowd in a humorous manner: as the men around Antonio repeat his words, they give them a more symbolic meaning, as suggested by the inclusion of the second panel.

The fourth panel of figure 20 shows Antonio in a typical representation of the idealized socialist worker epitomizing the people. Yet the fourth panel is a distortion of socialist realism: Antonio does not merely represent the people as a collective group, he also represents himself as an individual by holding his driver's license, his muscular chest
revealing his transition into adulthood with the inscription of the words “mayor de edad”. The panel therefore blends the individual and the collective: the wall that Antonio crushes in a forward and decided movement now represents both the barriers that obstructed Antonio's future as well as the obstacles that the Spanish working-class needs to overcome. In the background, the republican flag and the sun—possibly rising—refer to a new dawn and a renewed hope on the collective level, while the driver's license, as mentioned, refers to Antonio's individual achievements. In addition, the voiceover captions reappear in panels three and four, reinforcing the parallel between Antonio's life and the collective events: “Una serie de coincidencias casi milagrosas me hicieron vivir aquella primavera del 31 con gran intensidad... Acababa de cumplir los 21 años, lo había hecho en Zaragoza, la ciudad donde siempre había querido ir... y había obtenido el permiso de conducir el día de la proclamación de la república...” (44).

Other than the fact that the sequences presented in figures 19 and 20 narrate another episode of Antonio’s coming of age story, they anchor the protagonist's political legacy in the anarchist ideology. At this point in the narrative, this aspect of Antonio's legacy is presented as potentially positive, more so in any case than the familial legacy he turned down by leaving Peñaflor. But Antonio's implication in politics is not immediate. Over the years that follow the proclamation of the Segunda República, the protagonist develops ties with partisans of radical left organizations as he becomes involved in union meetings and improvised tertulias with the residents of the pension where he is accommodated. Nevertheless, during the last year of the Segunda República, which sees the Frente Popular rising to power and precedes the Spanish Civil War, Antonio maintains his distance from the idea of a revolution, as shown below in figure 21.
The sequence presented here starts in the first half of 1936, right after the victory in February of the same year of the Frente Popular, a coalition of republican and left-wing parties led by Manuel Azaña. The conversation that takes place in the first panel gives an indication of the narrated present as well as it predicts what will happen in the future. We first see one of the younger men sitting at the table asking “Bueno, Lucio, estarás contento con el triunfo del Frente Popular. ¿Qué se dice por Barcelona?...” while an older man reading a newsletter titled Solidaridad Obrera summarizes the political situation “El gobierno sigue teniendo miedo a tomar decisiones... ni impulsa la revolución ni purga la cúpula militar... y alguno de esos generales nos dará un disgusto...” (48). The dialogue between both characters confirms that the events narrated are embedded in the sociopolitical context that precedes the war, and they enable dating them with precision.

Antonio's presence is once again put aside in this sequence to emphasize political events, as shown in the voiceover commentaries: “La política se apoderaba de todo y la vida se nos hacía historia... y la historia hace más difícil la vida... había una gran ebullición ideológica y todos hervíamos en la salsa agrodulce de la penuria y la ilusión...” (48). Similar
to the former sequences analyzed, the collective takes over the individual graphically, thus placing Antonio in a double level network. The first layer of this network is comprised by Antonio's close relations: the men with whom he is acquainted and resides, and with whom he bonds on a regular basis. Following Paul Ricœur's tridimensional conceptualization of the trajectory of memory that considers the individual, her/his close relations and the broader collective, we see that the sequence presents a secondary intermediate level: a broader network of people who share the same ideology. And considering memory as a legacy, what is particularly striking in this passage is that it graphically confirms what has already been analyzed in the previous section: first, that a porousness at all levels is crucial for a possible transmission to operate, and second, that an active collaboration at all levels is also needed.

And in fact, the sequence tells us that Antonio is not a convinced anarchist. As the third panel reinstates Antonio as the main protagonist of the narrative through Lucio's comments “me parece que Antonio no está muy convencido...”, we are informed in panels four and five of Antonio's resistance to the idea of a revolution: “las ideas me gustan pero destruyen y matan para imponerlas... yo prefiero la costura a la ruptura... pelear por la tierra, pelear por las ideas... peleas en el campo, peleas en la ciudad... no sé...” (48). As the idea of revolution brings the protagonist back to the fights he witnessed as a boy in Peñaflor and from which he was so eager to escape, Antonio reveals his sympathy for the anarchist ideals while maintaining moderation. It is not until after the beginning of the war in July of 1936 that Antonio's commitment to the left or, in the context of the Spanish Civil War, to the Republican side, becomes total, as presented in figure 22.
The scene, which occurs at the early stages of the war, shows Antonio being beaten up by a group of Falangistas, the right-wing militias that supported Franco's coup. In a clear reference to the sequence presented in figure 21, the last panel depicts the protagonist's realization that a side has to be picked and that action should be taken, as expressed in the caption: “las circunstancias se encargaron de dejarme las cosas claras... y resultaba evidente que ya no eran tiempos de costura sino de ruptura...” (52). In the same way the ideological combat of the CNT reminded Antonio of the fight for the land in Peñaflor, the violence of the Falangistas triggers the memory of the violence of the villagers. In the last panel, an expression of frustration and sheer anger can be read on Antonio's tumid face, emphasized by the imprecation encapsulated in the speech balloon: “¡me cago en mi padre...! ¡me cago en mi pueblo...! ¡me cago en mi patria...!” (52).

Figure 22: El arte de volar (52). © Altarriba & Kim.

Antonio's imprecation contrasts with the Falangista salute “Arriba España” of the previous panels, and reveals a profound animosity toward what can be read as the different poles of the trajectory of memory. The first pole he mentions -the relatives- is crystallized in the father figure, presented in the first chapter as a violent man. The second pole, el pueblo,
can be interpreted in two ways: it can refer both to Antonio's hometown, Peñaflor -the village-, and to the Spanish people as a whole. This second reference can therefore be linked to a secondary intermediate level of transmission -the village- as well as to a broader collective that includes the Spanish people as a whole. This second reference functions as a transition that brings the protagonist to utter the final words: with the reference to the “patria” -the nation-, we have indisputably reached the broader collective level. Moreover, it is interesting to note that the choice of words also brings the reader back to the first and second poles of transmission, the patria being, literally, the land of the father.

As a result, as in the “alianza de sangre” discussed earlier, which established the transmission of memory between Antonio and his son in the paternal lineage, this passage also illustrates the weight of the masculine lineage on the legacy. *El arte de volar* is, in fact, a tale of men. Female characters -except for rare exceptions- are mainly given a secondary place. They are either relegated to the home, or presented as objects of male desire. In that sense, the graphic novel takes its distance from the rhetoric of the defeated motherland that characterized the poetry produced in the years leading to World War II. As Santos Juliá points out in *Historias de las dos Españas*, from 1937 on, the poetry of artists such as Miguel Hernández, Manuel Altolaguirre, Pedro Garfias or Arturo Serrano Plaja was marked by a repeated reference to the Madre España (mother-land): “Madre, tierra, entrañas, parto, muerte, sangre, madre otra vez: este es el léxico que acompaña siempre a España […] Llorar a la Madre España, traicionada, vendida, desangrada, era llorar por un tiempo cercano que ya nunca más será” (272-274).

*El arte de volar* does not present a rhetoric of lament for the “lost motherland”, for in order to feel lament, one needs to have something to lament. For Antonio, the coup and
the ensuing fratricidal conflict do not implicate a newfound attachment for his land, quite the contrary. The combat and tensions exacerbate his anger and his need to take action: “no sólo asumí que la paz y el entendimiento eran imposibles en esa España desgarrada sino que empecé a impacientarme por entrar en combate... sabía que no iban a tardar en movilizarme... así que empecé a elaborar un plan para pasarme de bando... estaba rabiosamente convencido de que la razón y la humanidad estaban del otro lado...” (53). To summarize, Antonio's political awakening is not so much linked to his attachment for his land, or to his complete adherence to the anarchist ideology; rather, it is marked by a his own ideals and aspirations, and by his need to escape from a feeling of helplessness. In short: the protagonist's political legacy is based on an intrinsic need for action, as will be examined in the following section.
4.1 THE WAR AS AN ADVENTURE, ANTONIO AS A “SUBTLE” HERO

The second chapter of *El arte de volar* narrates Antonio's war. It also focuses on his close friendship with a group of three other anarchists, his exile to France and his temporary settlement in Marseille. In this chapter, the tone previously set by the references to the *Bildungsroman* gives way to a dialogue with the adventure genre, extremely popular in comic book form. As Juan Manuel Díaz de Guereñu explains in *Habeko Mik (1982-1991): Tentativas para un cómic vasco* (2004), there is a long tradition of the adventure genre in the comic book form, that can be traced back to the 1930's because the comic book medium is particularly well suited to express situations in which action and movement are required in order to solve a conflict (171). Quoting Altarriba, Guereñu elaborates on the key ingredients that serve as starting points of the adventure genre, such as a situation threatening social harmony, a wrong to be righted, or a mystery to be elucidated. The main resource of the adventure genre is therefore the intrusion of external circumstances in the protagonist's life that shatter daily life and require action:

Robert C. Harvey, otro teórico del medio, ha explicado en su historia de los cómics publicados en la prensa norteamericana que una buena tira de aventuras “cuenta una historia que al menos es exótica, es decir, que implica a personajes y sucesos alejados de lo cotidiano”. La aventura, por definición, nos arranca de lo habitual y vulgar para acompañar al héroe, que se ha de enfrentar a lo extraordinario o inesperado. A ese supuesto fundamental […] obedece seguramente el requisito de la épica clásica […]: si la aventura es más grande que lo rutinario, parece lógico suponer que el aventurero deba ser más alto, más bello, más fuerte que el individuo corriente (171)
To sum up, the adventure genre relies on two interconnected factors: the existence of extraordinary circumstances that require action, and the presence of a heroic figure, usually male, capable of taking action and rising to the challenge.

An outline of the main characteristics of the archetypal adventure comics’ hero in relation to a graphic novel such as *El arte de volar* is called for. First, because we know that the graphic novel will not close with a happy ending, or even propose a heroic solution to right the wrongs of history. Antonio's suicide leaves no room whatsoever for a sequel in which he would be the protagonist, or for a “to be continued...” kind of ending, typical of the action magazine genre. Moreover, the protagonist is also part of the faction who lost the war, eliminating any possibility of displaying superpowers that would change the course of events, as is the case in the superhero subgenre.

The hero of the adventure comics does not need to worry about the permanence of his extraordinary actions: they speak for themselves and occur in a distant space and temporality (whether historical, futuristic or fantastic) in which he does not age or substantially change. As a result, as pointed out by Juan Manuel Díaz de Guereñu's regarding the adventure genre, the male action hero takes on many characteristics of the epic hero presented by Bakhtin in *Epic and Novel* as a “a fully finished and complete being [...] completely externalized” about whom “there is nothing to seek for [...], nothing to guess at.” According to Bakhtin, epic characters are “bounded, preformed, individualized by their various situations and destinies, but not by varying 'truths'” (34-35).

If we attend to the definition of the epic hero –a preformed, fully finished and complete and completely externalized being –, which shares a lot of traits with the male action hero, it is clear that the protagonist of *El arte de volar* does not fit the description.
Not only is Antonio a character in formation, as shown previously with the reference to the *Bildungsgroman*, but his personality is shaped both through a series of situations that he has no control over -the war- and by his own “truths,” such as an irrepresible disenchantment toward his people and his land. Antonio's universe is not that of the epic nor that of the superhero: it is shaped by crucial aspects of Spain's history and therefore, realism. In other words, Antonio does not evolve in the distant, absolute and immutable past characteristic of the epic described by Bakhtin, instead he is caught up in the intricate space of historical facts.

As such, Antonio presents a subtle heroic figure. He is not the superhero of the Marvel comics’ series, nor is he the archetypical anti-hero, despite what the beginning and ending of the narrative might presage. Antonio as a protagonist isn’t presented so much through presupposed extraordinary features. Rather, he is depicted through his dreams and aspirations. Portrayed as a relatively ethical man, it is nonetheless his innermost desire for change that is presented in *El arte de volar*, much more than his qualities or flaws. As such, Antonio is not the typical hero of the adventure genre, yet he voluntarily embarks on an adventure by choosing a side and refusing to let fate choose for him. The second chapter of *El arte de volar* borrows from the adventure genre, with movement and action as main characteristics rather than an emphasis on heroism.

In fact, the second chapter of *El arte de volar* sets itself apart from the rest of the narrative. Not only because it is the longest, but also because it features many of the happiest moments of Antonio's life, despite the war and the experience of exile in France. However contradictory it may seem, it is no coincidence: this chapter displays signs of fraternity that the protagonist lacked in Peñaflor, and it reflects a sense of freedom that
Antonio longed for in his younger years, as shown in figures 23 and 24. In figure 23, the first panel shows a group of four anarchist men, Antonio and his brothers in arms, met at the front within the Republican band and affiliated with the CNT.

Figure 23: *El arte de volar* (64). © Altarriba & Kim.

In this panel, the positioning of the light that illuminates the scene directs the gaze of the implied reader toward the toast and the fraternal gesture of the four men, emphasized by the rallying cry of the anachists: “¡¡¡ni dios, ni patria, ni amo!!!” (64). The following panel, a close-up of Antonio's hands driving the car of his childhood dreams further expresses the feelings of solidarity and brotherhood encountered on the front. Indeed, these panels are inserted after a passage that narrates the alliance made by the four men, the “alianza de plomo,” an exchange of lead rings that symbolizes their close bond.

Here, we witness the first alliance made by Antonio years before the “alianza de sangre” that he will later share with his son. But contrary to the “alianza de sangre,” that revealed the trajectory of memory between father and son, the “alianza de plomo” can be read as an event that constitutes Antonio's future legacy of memory. In this case, the constitution of the legacy takes place in the physical space of the front, and in a fantasized
space where solidarity and brotherhood can finally be enacted, as shown in the caption of the second panel of figure 23. “Hombres renacidos, alianzas de plomo, alpargatas de encantadas... no sabía si estaba en el frente o en un cuento de hadas... pero la magia estaba lejos de agotarse...” (64): the reference to the fairy tale contrasts with the harsh circumstances of the war, but what is revealed here is the possibility of freedom symbolized by the postal service car Antonio is in charge of driving. And, as shown in figure 23, Antonio's sense of freedom is profoundly associated with action and movement, key elements of the adventure genre.

In the following scene, displayed in figure 24, we see that Antonio has been assigned the role of messenger, a role that fits him particularly well and that he takes on with great pleasure. The possibility of being constantly on the move is reflected by the wings added to the body of the car:

Figure 24: El arte de volar (67). © Altarriba & Kim.

The wings refer both to the title of the graphic novel (“the art of flying”), and to Antonio's longing for freedom. They also allude to Hermes, the divine emissary, circulating between realms, bringing luck and accompanying heroes on their journey. The reference to Hermes is further elaborated on a panel located at the bottom of page 68 and that contains a surrealistic tone. This panel shows Antonio flying in his car and passing by a flight of doves, asking “y vosotras ¿sois mensajeras o de la paz...?” The intrusion of the surrealistic scene mirrors Antonio’s emotions: here, it is a sense of freedom and a sense of belonging that are
represented. Additionally, the caption presented in this same panel emphasizes the importance placed on movement rather than on heroism: “Alguno me besó al recibir un paquete o una carta largamente esperada... hasta hubo quien llegó a llamarme ángel... evidentemente no lo era... pero me gustaba llevar alas...” (68).

In many ways, the second chapter of the graphic novel reveals the fact that by embarking on an adventure, Antonio has found a purpose. But far from portraying idealized visions of the war and exile -the war scenes and the sequences depicting the concentration camps of the South of France are not romanticized in any way-, this chapter further explores the protagonist's “inwardness” in different “outward circumstances.” And as a result, Antonio's heroic traits match the hero of the novel as defined by Bakthin: “the hero of a novel should not be “heroic” in either the epic or the tragic sense of the word: he should combine in himself negative as well as positive features, low as well as lofty, ridiculous as well as serious” (10). Yet this chapter also shows that the protagonist is being pulled out of his usual circumstances, the war and the exile constituting the two main parameters of the adventure he heads out on. In other words, admitting the connections between the adventure comic and the epic as defined by Bakhtin, El arte de volar is located at the crossroads of the novel in a bakhtinian sense and of the adventure genre in comic form.

If the references to the adventure genre enable highlighting aspects of Antonio's personality such as his need for action, they also serve to effectively address the topics of war and exile in comic form. One of the immediate consequences of the war was the massive exile of many of the intellectuals that had contributed to shaping the political and cultural landscape of the Segunda República, to which should be added the thousands of people who left Spain in the aftermath of the conflict. As Mari Paz Balibrea points out in
her book *Tiempo de exilio: una mirada crítica a la modernidad española desde el pensamiento republicano en el exilio* (2007), the victory of the Francoist band and the establishment of the dictatorial regime intensified the isolation of exiles from their homeland: the group, represented as a homogeneous collective whole became the symbol of the “anti-España”, the enemies of the “righteous” state built around the rhetoric of a free, powerful, unified and indivisible Spain, as the Francoist motto “una, grande, libre” suggested.

As a result, Balibrea explains, “la narración de la nación […] se iría constituyendo en gran medida sin aquellos que fueron forzados a huir, quienes, por su estigmatizada ausencia, carecían de las oportunidades necesarias para intervenir en esa narración” (43). In other words, the establishment of the Francoist imaginary relied on the myth of a fantasized homogeneous Spain that needed to define itself in opposition to another supposedly homogeneous group, that of Republican exiles. Yet Republican exiles were far from being homogeneous: it included artists, intellectuals, men and women who had fought together on the Republican side during the Civil War but they did not necessarily follow the same political agenda. In addition, it also included individuals and families who during the second half of the 1940's, and particularly after the end of the Second World War, left Spain for economic reasons, fleeing the misery and socio-economic crisis of the postwar.

In such a context, Antonio’s “subtle” heroism serves several purposes. It reveals the complexity of a reality that the Francoist rhetoric and the symbols it relied on tried to mask. Antonio's political awakening is, as previously mentioned, the result of a frustration that pushes the protagonist to take action, and his sympathy for anarchist ideas reflects his desire to be free far more than it shows a political commitment and the complete adherence
to an ideology. Antonio is not portrayed as the Republican anarchist hero, in other words, as the typical enemy of “una, grande, libre” España of the Francoists. Rather, he is depicted as a young man born in Spain in the first decade of the XXth century, who aspires for more than his hometown can give him. In short, the constitution of Antonio's legacy of memory doesn't merely present other aspects of Antonio's personality: it also reveals other aspects of the vanquished, and other aspects of exiles as well. The former and the latter were hardly ever a homogeneous group, although they all had in common that their lives were impacted by the nationalist insurrection, the war, and later on, the dictatorship. In other words, Antonio's legacy is a reminder that not all of the vencidos were leftist intellectuals worried by the totalitarian coup, artists victims of the censorship established by the regime, or radicalized members of popular classes who had been brainwashed by the ideologies that led to the Russian Revolution.

As a result, Antonio’s subtle heroism shows that on the Republican side were also many “ordinary” men and women, pushed to momentarily engage in extraordinary actions by outward circumstances that they could not control. In that sense, the legacy perceptible in El arte de volar also functions as a tribute to this underrepresented group of people, whose reality escaped the simplistic categories of the Republican intellectual, the engagé artist persecuted by the regime, and the radicalized worker menacing the conservative order. And because the hero of El arte de volar escapes these categories, he may seem more “real.” This allows reducing the distance between the protagonist and the implied reader, to possibly enable the identification of the latter with the former, and further facilitate the transmission of Antonio’s legacy. Not only are we invited to embark on the adventure with Atonio, but we are sensitized to the inner reasons that push him to leave Peñaflor and take
action. In that sense, the captions constitute the narrative means to inform the implied reader of Antonio's self-reflective process, which in turn emphasizes the feeling of closeness established between protagonist and implied reader. Ultimately, this closeness is what enables the narrative to meet its purposes and to function as a tribute of the “ordinary,” “the forgotten.”

4.2 IMPRINTS OF OPPRESSION

The sensation of closeness, emphasized in narrative terms through the use of biography and autobiography, is also what allows peeking at yet another aspect of Antonio's legacy: the protagonist's disenchantment. Although this aspect is palpable since the first chapter and appears to a lesser degree in the second chapter, disenchantment is a central topic of the following two chapters, and more generally, of the narrative as a whole. In fact, this last aspect is crucial in the sense that it connects the different layers of time evoked in the narrative: the past of events relative to the Spanish Civil War and the dictatorship, the present of events narrated graphically that precede Antonio's death, and a third level of present observable in the captions that push the son to narrate his father’s story. Moreover, disenchantment is particularly significant because it relates to desencanto, a term commonly used to refer to the period that followed Franco's death, and that opened the way to the transición democrática.

In his book *El peso del pesimismo: Del 98 al desencanto* (2010), historian Rafael Núñez Florencio explores how the term desencanto became the other side of the democratic transition:

con la muerte de Franco, el desmantelamiento del régimen y la instauración de un Monarquía que se pretende democrática, se abre una nueva etapa. Todo el mundo, desde la élite al ciudadano de a pie, es consciente de ello -de ese cambio histórico- desde el primer momento y de ahí que se abran
grandes expectativas, que se traducen en palabras sonoras, como grandes lemas: libertad, amnistía, autonomías, derechos, democracia, prosperidad, desarrollo... ¿Demasiado quizás? ¿Demasiadas expectativas? La transición, tantas veces idealizada retrospectivamente, fue también el momento del desencanto [...], otro término negativo que hizo fortuna y que desde entonces quedó para caracterizar un momento histórico (15).

As Núñez Florencio further explicates, desencanto became the expression of a clash between idealized visions of the transition, -often portrayed both inside and outside of Spain as a model to follow, - and the sociopolitical reality of the period (360). The fragility of the new democratic institutions, the desire for consensus to conjure the fear of yet another coup led to what historian Javier Tusell qualified in the mid 1980's as a tutelage of the political class over the masses, resulting in a profound “desmovilización ciudadana” (362). In Javier Tusell's own words: “el peligro de la democracia española es mucho más el cáncer del escepticismo que el infarto del golpe de Estado” (362). In other words, the political class worked mainly to maintain a consensus. As a result of the self-imposed limitations this consensus implied, the many collective groups that had once been major opponents to the Francoist regime were absorbed by institutionalized organizations that followed the agenda of the political class, when they were not marginalized.

Desencanto como desengaño, frustración, impotencia, abandono... y, al final, [...] una cierta apatía. Una profunda sensación de desánimo se fue extendiendo poco a poco por todos aquellos sectores que más se habían distinguido en la oposición al régimen: intelectuales, estudiantes, periodistas, profesionales, sindicatos de clase, partidos, grupos y grupúsculos de izquierda en general. En un lapso cortísimo, menos de un lustro, entre los años finales del franquismo y la elaboración de un texto constitucional, se había pasado del cielo al suelo, de un horizonte utópico a un terreno estrechamente acotado. Se vivía el proceso como una derrota en toda regla, y de ahí una palpable y extendida desmoralización (365)

“Se había pasado del cielo al suelo”: Núñez Florencio's expression perfectly illustrates the feeling of disenchantment depicted in El arte de volar. Yet this feeling, as mentioned earlier, is not merely visible in relation to the transition, it is palpable throughout the narrative, and amplified in the last two chapters. In fact, it becomes pervasive once Antonio returns to Spain, after a decade in exile. The third and fourth chapter of the graphic
novel cover respectively the years 1949-1985, and 1985-2001. The first period covers the longest span of time, and illustrates 26 years of dictatorship, and part of the transition. Politically and economically, the years that followed the war were marked by a period of autarky that began in the second half of the 1940's, after the end of the Second World War. The postwar years were also characterized by a critical economic crisis that would persist until the following decade. On top of the repression and blatant conservatism imposed by a regime that had strong ties with the Catholic Church, the hopes of crushing the nationalist insurrection and reestablishing the Republic had died with the defeat. As Núñez Florencio puts it, “la posguerra española se prolonga durante un período claramente más dilatado, indudablemente por la pervivencia del franquismo.”

As a result, the sufferings endured during the war prevailed during the postwar years. The traumatic experience of the war was reactivated, if not amplified, by a regime that muzzled its opponents and constantly reactivated feelings of punishment, hopelessness and condemnation (305). The difficulty of living in “la España negra”, as Núñez Florencio qualifies it, is reflected in the literature of the time with a renewed interest in the novel form and the exploration of topics that simultaneously capture the contemporary historical events and propose to transcend them, as Robert Spires pointed out in his book La novela española de posguerra (1978).

Spires' classification of the postwar Spanish novel follows the chronology of the dictatorship and analyzes key examples within each decade, distancing his approach from the categories traditionally used to describe literary production under the dictatorship such as novela subjetiva, tremendista, existencial, documental, social, neorrealista and so forth. Rather, Spires' analysis relied on a main observation: the method and means through which
sociopolitical circumstances are translated into personal experience in each decade. Like Cela's *La familia de Pascual Duarte*, or Laforet's *Nada, El arte de volar* also offers the possibility for the implied reader to grasp how sociopolitical circumstances are translated into the narrator/protagonist' personal experience. The intimacy that results from the first person narration serves the same purpose observable in the “novela de personaje,” as Spires explicates: it enables involving the implied reader in the psychological development of the protagonist, greatly influenced by the specific context of the time of narrated events (73). Indeed, with Antonio's return to Spain after a decade spent in France, the third chapter of the graphic novel reflects the “España negra” Núñez Florencio refers to. Visible since the last pages of the second chapter, Antonio's personal evolution consists of having his hopes of freedom brutally crushed, and transformed into resignation and hopelessness: “no había ninguna esperanza de que los aliados fueran a emprender ninguna acción para derrocar a Franco... así que volví a Marsella y tomé una decisión […] Quizá lo mejor fuera aceptar la derrota, someterme a la ley del vencedor y volver a España […] Quizá lo mejor fuera enterrar en mi corazón el ejemplo de tantos hombres valientes y generosos cuyas huellas seguí...” (129).

These few sentences close the second chapter, and precede the panel that can be seen in figure 25. Graphically, this panel resembles the first and last panels of the narrative, with only a few differences:
Figure 25: *El arte de volar* (130). Altarriba & Kim

All three panels adopt a similar perspective, and show Antonio from behind, facing a window. But contrary to the other two panels replicated in figures 7 and 8, here the window is open, without bars to evoke confinement. The graphic reference to the first and last panel indicates that at the end of the second chapter, the implied reader is facing a key moment in the narrative. The visual evocation links the moment depicted in figure 25 to the moment that precedes Antonio's death fifty years ahead. As such, the decision to return to Spain can be interpreted as a turning point that precipitates the protagonist into a profound despair, accentuated by the complete loss of hopes to see any foreign intervention take place in Spain.

The general tone of the third chapter, which contains aspects of Antonio's life under the dictatorship, greatly contrasts with that of the second chapter. If, in the previous chapter, a sense of adventure and freedom could be perceived, despite the difficult conditions of war and exile, the third chapter transmits the feelings of hopelessness and condemnation that Núñez Florencio refers to. The limitations put in place under the dictatorial regime serve as a constant reminder of the defeat, and intensify the sense of confinement already experimented by Antonio in the first chapter -before the advent of the Republic,- as shown in figure 26.
The panels displayed on page 143 summarize the atmosphere of the chapter through a visual combination of symbolism and surrealism. The weight of the dictatorship is amplified in the first five panels by the size of the eagle, the catholic cross and the yoke and arrows -symbols of monarchy reclaimed by the Falange. In the last panel, the symbols of Francoism have disappeared, and the oppressive and growing presence of dark clouds throughout the sequence has now broken into a downpour of Falangistas. Moreover, particular attention can be given to the parallel lines drawn on the ground, resembling furrows and symbolizing the land, a land depicted as hostile and yielding the symbols of the regime. The combination of these symbols placed both on the ground (in the case of the yoke and arrows and the catholic cross) and above it (as with the eagle, the clouds and the rain) reveals the impossibility for the protagonist to escape the presence of the authoritarian state. The hallucinatory sequence, which is inserted in the narrative as the
result of a fever-induced delirium that takes over the protagonist, ends with a radical “solution” to deal with the regime: a state of blindness imposed by the political apparatus that results in a profound resignation and sense of helplessness.

The blindness is depicted as the only way out, as the expression of relief on Antonio's face suggests in the last panel. Without his eyes, Antonio is visually freed from the symbols of oppression, although he remains under the disciplinary gaze of the regime, in the sense of Foucault's panopticon. Following Jeremy Bentham's conceptualization of the prison panopticon, Foucault explains in *Discipline and Punish* how power must be at the same time visible and unverifiable: “visible: the inmate will constantly have before his eyes the tall outline of the central tower from which he is spied upon. Unverifiable: the inmate must never know whether he is being looked at any one moment; but he must be sure that he always be so” (291). The loss of the eyes therefore becomes a way of escaping, at least symbolically, the visible presence of the regime. But in the specificities of the Spanish context, the last panel of this sequence also echoes the reference of the body without organs made by Teresa Vilarós in her book *El mono del desencanto* (1998), a notion borrowed from Antonin Artaud and conceptualized by Deleuze and Guattari. Teresa Vilarós' reading addresses the postfrancoist period, and more particularly the Transición. The reference to Deleuze and Guattari's body without organs serves to illustrate her metaphor of the withdrawal syndrome (“el mono”) experienced by Spaniards after Franco's passing:

la transición se escribió en conflicto inconsciente como un estado de pasaje al que los españoles y españolas, adictos sin saberlo al régimen dictatorial, llegamos de forma brusca y que quedó colgado entre la modernidad y su pos, entre el duelo y la celebración, entre la producción y la destrucción, entre la esperanza y el desencanto […] el cuerpo del adicto es un cuerpo sin órganos conectado a la Cosa que lo alimenta y lo envenena. El síndrome de retirada, el conjunto de efectos causado por la privación de la Cosa, eso es lo que se llama el Mono (21-22).
Addiction to the regime or not, the sequence displayed in figure 26 shows how the notion of a body without organs is indeed triggered by the omnipresence of the regime. According to what Deleuze and Guattari conceptualize in Mille plateaux (1980), the notion of a body without organs is understood as a level of experience of reality that escapes the organizational structures of the organs, and that opposes the symbolic realm of interpretation characteristic of psychoanalysis: “là où la psychanalyse dit: Arrêtez, retrouvez votre moi, il faudrait dire: Allons encore plus loin, nous n'avons pas encore trouvé notre CsO [corps sans organes], pas assez défait notre moi. Remplacez l'anamnèse par l'oubli, l'interprétation par l'expérimentation” (187).

The body without organs is the level of experimentation freed from the distinct layers (“les strates”) of organization: “le CsO s'oppose non pas aux organes, mais à cette organisation des organes qu'on appelle organisme […] Combat perpétuel et violent entre le plan de consistance, qui libère le CsO, traverse et défait toutes les strates, et les surfaces de stratification qui le bloquent ou le rabattent” (196-197). If the dictatorial regime is read as a structured organism, or as a body with organs that relies on its specific symbols to maintain its organization and give its structure meaning, then the progressive dis-organization of Antonio's body -starting with his eyes- could be interpreted as a way to escape the symbols of the regime, and ultimately to remove oneself from the symbolic grasp of the authoritarian organization.

Going back to figure 26, we see that the overwhelming grasp of the authoritarian regime (symbolized by the eagle on that sequence) causes the transformation of Antonio's body: what starts as an aggression in panels two, three and four ends, as mentioned earlier, with signs of relief. There is a certain ambivalence toward the dis-organization of
Antonio’s body, a conflict that arises from the trauma resulting from the aggression and the ambiguous expression of relief “Qué bien, por fin no veo nada...”

But as the narrative goes on, we see that the moment of relief is only achieved because Antonio consciousness is altered by a fever. In fact, the rest of the chapter shows that there is no way to escape the grasp of the regime: the delirium that shakes Antonio is therefore a representation of the traumatic imprint of Francoism on the protagonist. In that sense, the last panel can be read as a fantasized solution to block the effects of trauma. Such a reading reintroduces psychoanalytical theory where the notion of body without organs attempts to challenge it, but in the sequence displayed in figure 26, the symbolic weight is too present to be ignored. In other words, in El arte de volar, the graphic representation of trauma and its effects is revealed through marks left on the protagonist’s body.

This is further explored in the last chapter of the graphic novel, in a series of sequences that show Antonio in the retirement home where he is a resident. The signs of what is diagnosed as a severe depression are portrayed in a kafkaesque way, in uncanny scenes that show Antonio walking through the retirement home’s hallways while his fellow residents are represented in animalistic traits.\(^\text{34}\) Antonio’s depression is also depicted in a similar way. It is revealed as a mole that excavates its way through the protagonist’s thoracic cage and that gets stuck in his chest: “la tristeza se hizo tan honda que empezó a dolerme... notaba un intenso desgarro en mi interior... como si un animal escarbara en mi pecho y devorara mis pulmones... […] se alimenta de mi y de la pena por lo que no pude

\(^{34}\) The reference to Kafka is clear in several passages of the narrative: first in page 95, in a sequence that shows Antonio and a fellow Republican exile interrogated by two French police officers. In these panels, the former are shown as cockroaches, and the latter as grasshoppers. In another sequence, Antonio is portrayed reading Kafka’s The Metamorphosis (p. 193).
...no alcancé el sol ni tan siquiera logré mantener el vuelo... por eso se me come un animal ciego y subterráneo...” (195-196). These sequences, that precede Antonio's death, further exemplify that the manifestations of trauma have left irreparable imprints on the protagonist, imprints that the end of the dictatorship and the transition to democracy can't possibly erase.

4.3 LEGACY FROM THE MARGINS

The fourth chapter contextualizes the last portion of the protagonist's life after Franco's death. Teresa Vilarós' reading of the postfrancoist era corroborates Nuñez Florencio's account of the transición and of the subsequent desencanto. The term, derived from Jaime Chávarri's film El desencanto (1976), is deeply connected to the reorientation of the sociopolitical role of the intellectual at that time:35

A principios de los años setenta, la clase intelectual española estaba todavía necesariamente marcada y afectada por una utopía de transformación social revolucionaria y radical. Muchos de los intelectuales y universitarios de este período mantenían una orientación de izquierdas de signo marxista […] El fin de la dictadura en España enfrenta a los intelectuales con el problema de tener que reconocer que su antiguo papel histórico de conciencia crítica del país tiene que ser radicalmente revisado. Después de 1975, pensadores y escritores implicados hasta entonces en proyectos totalizadores de crítica y de renovación social se refugian en una estética introspectiva (23)

If the consensus among scholars is to locate the desencanto after the fall of the regime, it is nonetheless interesting to note that a text such as El arte de volar proposes a slightly different reading. Of course, such a reading is retrospective, since the graphic novel was published at the end of the first decade of the XXIst century, forty years after Franco's death. The reading of desencanto revealed in El arte de volar is also the product of the following generations, born in the 1950's and who had arguably inherited a sense of

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35 The film follows the wife and descendants of Falangista poet Leopoldo Panero, both after his death and after the fall of the regime.
desencanto since their childhood -and thus under the regime. *El arte de volar* does not present the fall of the regime as a rupture: simply, historical events such as Franco's death and the advent of democracy are not mentioned. The lack of mention of these events greatly contrasts with the depiction of the Segunda República in chapter one, as mentioned earlier with the sequence displayed in figure 20.

In fact, life under democracy is shown to be continuous with life under the regime. This is observable graphically by a repetition of the opening scenes of chapters 3 and 4. The sequence of panels that opens the third chapter shows a series of parallels with the sequence of panels that starts the last chapter. In the former, the plot is situated at the beginning of the 1950's, during the postwar, while in the latter, it is located in the mid 1980's, a decade after Franco's death. The sequences show two similar situations: in both chapters, Antonio is represented standing in an office, facing a person sitting behind a desk. In chapter three, Antonio faces Doroteo (Elvira's husband, the protagonist's cousin), who proposes to offer him a job when he returns from exile. In chapter four, the protagonist is depicted talking to Rita, the head of the retirement home where Antonio has been admitted as a resident.

Graphically, the second sequence displays a series of symbols that indicate that the dictatorial regime has been replaced by democracy. In the background of the panels taken from chapter three, we see the pictures of Franco and José Antonio Primo de Rivera, head of the Falange; while in chapter four, it is a picture of King Juan Carlos the First that we discern hanging on the wall. At the end of that same sequence, we distinguish the new Spanish flag and the European flag suspended on the retirement home's façade.
In these two sequences, we see that although the symbols have changed, the marks of the dictatorial and democratic regimes are visible in the same way, signifying a sense of continuity.

Figure 27: *El arte de volar* (133). Figure 28: *El arte de volar* (177).

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In addition, the sequences reveal a similarity in discourse that adds to the graphic symmetry, as displayed here in figures 27 and 28. Doreteo and Rita's physical posture -the finger pointed at Antonio that reminds the “alianza de sangre” made with the son, but that seems to designate more of a lecture-like tone in this case-, the content of their warnings to Antonio indicates that the transition to democracy has not been experienced as a rupture by the protagonist. The repetition of the “ahora,” which anchors the moment in chronological time, the reference to the regimes, the orders expressed in both panels shows that in spite of the undeniable political changes that have occurred between those two panels, the structures of both regimes demand for Antonio's docile participation. In other words, the weight of the “political body” understood as a structured organism in the sense of Deleuze and Guattari is still very much perceptible even after Franco's death.
The many parallels that are unveiled between the two sequences not only point to a sense of continuity between the two regimes. They also lead to believe that disenchantment had already hit individual trajectories long before the term desencanto was adopted to refer to the collective effects of the sociopolitical changes that took place after Franco's death. Indeed, what is underlined in the last chapter of El arte de volar is the same sense of confinement and helplessness that had already been displayed in chapters 1 and 3, despite the contextual changes that shape each period of time addressed in these chapters. Moreover, it is interesting to note that the barely perceptible shift to democracy in El arte de volar further reveals the acute sense of desencanto experienced before the transition precisely because the democratic turn is not something that the protagonist expects or longs for: he has already given up his ideals, as explained with figure 25.

The last portion of Antonio's life, as shown in the fourth chapter of El arte de volar is spent simultaneously within the confined space of the retirement home and within the broad national space emancipated from the authoritarian regime. The ambivalence of such a situation weighs down on a protagonist who is depicted in a somewhat isolated environment, surrounded by people his own age, with very little contact with the exterior -the spaces where emancipation can finally take place. Antonio and his peers, the members of his generation, those born at the beginning of the XXth century, who have fought the war and lived a great part of their adult life under the Francoist regime, become the marginalized, the forgotten, or even worse, the voluntarily silenced actors of a past too recent to actually be forgotten.

The political consensus to silence the past after Franco's death implies that to these men and women will be relegated to the margins, excluded them from the democratic
construction, in other words, it implies the reactivation of the sense of helplessness already experienced under the dictatorship. As a result, Antonio's advanced age at the time of the Transición intensifies his marginalization, which leads not merely to a sense of desencanto, but to a severe depression, as mentioned earlier, that announces his final gesture. In many ways, the last chapter of *El arte de volar* reflects cartoonist Carlos Giménez' work in the *Paracuellos* series, published at the beginning of the 1980's. Giménez' comics narrated the life of orphan children living in the houses of the Auxilio Social, an organization founded during the Civil War that was later recuperated by the Falange. Contrary to *El arte de volar*, *Paracuellos* depicts the daily life of children, and its plot is set during the postwar years. But like the graphic novel, Giménez' series is greatly autobiographical (it is based on the author's childhood) and was written and drawn retrospectively in black-and-white. Teresa Vilarós' reading of *Paracuellos* in *El mono del desencanto* already suggests that Francoist Spain -and more particularly the Falange- inscribed misery and oppression on the bodies of the comics’ protagonists (162). She also argues that *Paracuellos* marked, after Franco's death and in the context of the political consensus that blocked the collective processes of remembrance, “una voluntad de recuerdo:” “Carlos Giménez se empeña en desvelar poco después de la muerte de Franco parte de una historia y de una experiencia que siente que se escapa colectivamente” (163).

A history absent from the collective processes of memory, bodies scarred by the oppressive regime, old men and women, marginalized and “forgotten:” thirty years after *Paracuellos*, *El arte de volar* also proposes to work through memory by showing what individual stories have to say about Spain's history. The parallels between *Paracuellos* and *El arte de volar* suggest that the margins offer possible spaces of transmission. The voices
of the young and the old, condemned by historical circumstances to live in the confinement of an orphanage or of a retirement home, are here recuperated in comic book form. In that sense, comics as a medium could also be considered a marginal space: marginal because as mentioned in the first section of this chapter, its popularity and accessibility have tended to discredit its content.

Yet one of the major differences between both works is the fact that one of them *(Paracuellos)* is completely autobiographic while the other is not. With *El arte de volar*, the processes of transgenerational transmission and the actors of the trajectory of memory are represented and identified. In that sense, *El arte de volar* does not only narrate the contents of a legacy of memory, it also actively participates into the collective processes of remembrance, and incites the reader to do so. By engaging in an autobiographical/biographical narration, the authors of *El arte de volar* take a stance in the collective debates on memoria histórica, and challenge, along with many authors, the choices made after the fall of the regime by pointing at the usefulness of remembering collectively. And through the impulse of (auto)biography, to remember is also to *know*; it is to maintain a certain degree of closeness with the topic at hand, in other words to ensure that one has the authority to receive a legacy and to pass it on.

In *Epic and Novel*, Bakhtin elucidates the fact that “the source and power for the creative impulse” is memory in the case of epic, and knowledge in the case of the novel. In the epic, memory brings us back to an absolute past, “walled off absolutely from all subsequent times […] inaccessible to personal experience” that “does not permit an individual, personal point of view or evaluation” (15-16). In this context, memory is the factor that guarantees the preservation of the absolute past and its transmission as such. “In
the genre of the memorial, the poet constructs his image in the future and distanced plane of his descendents [...] In the world of memory, a phenomenon exists in its own peculiar context, with its own special rules, subject to conditions quite different from those we meet in the world we see with our own eyes, the world of practice and familiar contact” (18). In the case of *El arte de volar*, the sources and power for the creative impulse are, in fact, both memory and knowledge, which are interconnected and feed each other.

As previously elaborated, Antonio's son narrative voice, resembling the voice of the singer in the epic serves as our guide in the narrative, but contrary to the epic, his positionning shows a closeness that the epic does not allow: *El arte de volar*'s narrated past is neither absolute or inaccessible to personal experience. Fueled by the knowledge extracted from the close relationship between father and son, the world of memory depicted here is completely immersed in personal evaluation. If it is true that Antonio's circumstances differ from his son's, it is nonetheless obvious that the points of contact between father and son are numerous and that they are the condition for a possible transmission.

In many ways, the constitution of such a legacy relies on a series of literary and historical references, which establish the social frameworks that facilitate the transgenerational transmission of memories. The juxtaposition of narrative voices in the graphic novel, and the active role played by Antonio’s son in the transmission of a legacy of memory illustrates Maurice Halbwachs’ statement that both memory and historiography are enriched by social frameworks: “l’histoire ne se borne pas à reproduire le récit fait par les hommes contemporains des événements passés, mais d’époque en époque, le retouche, non seulement parce qu’elle dispose d’autres témoignages, mais pour l’adapter aux façons
Finally, the act of reading a graphic novel such as *El arte de volar* expands the trajectory of memory to the implied reader, and ultimately to real readers. The historical facts presented in the form of dates, the references to Spain's history and the graphic novel format, which allow to play with a wide series of genres and graphic styles, from biography and autobiography to *Bildungsroman* and adventure comics, from pictural realism to surrealism and *costumbrismo*, are as many discursive elements that “speak” to the reader, enabling the connection between Antonio's individual story and the broader collective to be passed on. Following Halbwachs, graphic novels, and by extension any type of text could be perceived as objects that connect us with the broader collective: “la lecture, […] met les hommes en rapport avec leur groupe de bien des manières: affiches, journaux, manuels d’école, romans populaires, livres d’histoire, etc., leur permettent de s’ouvrir en peu de temps à une quantité de courants de pensée collective” (53).
Chapter Two: Recuperating Unknown Voices: Trangenerational Legacy in Exilic Narrative

In the first chapter of this dissertation, the analysis of graphic novel *El arte de volar* by Kim and Altarriba led me to unveil the discourses that shaped Spain as a nation at the beginning of the XXth century, and how these discourses collide with one another. As a reader, one of the most striking aspects of *El arte de volar* is that through a combination of images and words the graphic novel shows how a diversity of ideological discourses affect individual lives, and how they impact the legacies that said individuals have left behind. To sum up, the graphic novel shows the struggle of a man trying to claim his own existence beyond events tainted by ideological –and collective- discourses.

As explored in the first chapter, what makes *El arte de volar*’s protagonist unique is his refusal to completely adhere to an ideology, and at the same time, refusal is what ends up shaping him as a human being. As a result, Antonio is far from being the Republican heroic figure praised by the vanquished since he maintains a feeling of mistrust of ideological discourses because he intuitively perceives the gap that separates the reality of human experience from the demands of ideology. As a legacy narrative, *El arte de volar* therefore constitutes a tribute to a single man, Antonio, much more than it is the praise of an ideology. Its reading reminds us that the Republican side was comprised of an eclectic group of people who followed left wing ideologies, and that these ideologies also clashed with one another because they were prompted by different political agendas that implied different political outcomes for the Spanish nation.
Parallel to the task of recuperating the memory of the vanquished, the graphic novel invites its readers to question ideology and the discourses that spring from it. In that sense, the narrative does not merely “resuscitate” the past, it also forces us to contemplate the present and to ponder our involvement with ideologies, and the inner tensions they can sometimes stir up with regards to how we choose to define ourselves. As mentioned above, it is Antonio's refusal to completely adhere to the anarchist ideology that shapes him as a human being. Yet our allegiance to certain ideologies also shapes us: not only can we identify with ideas, we can identify with groups of people who defend similar ideas, the memory-shaping intermediate collective level identified by Paul Ricœur.

Multiple questions can be drawn from these remarks. First, that the shaping of human identities relies on a back and forth movement between individual consciousness - an example of which is found in *El arte de volar* with Antonio's intuitive mistrust of ideology- and collectively shared ideologies. Second, there can be inner tensions between what is dictated by the ideology of the group and what the individual consciousness may or may not tolerate. Such tensions are not to be taken lightly: not only can they result in the unleashing of externalized tensions between individuals of the same group; but more importantly, the overcoming of these inner tensions will indicate where individuals are willing to draw a line with regards to the agenda of the group. As a result, such tensions can also determine what place individuals will occupy within a group of people who share the same ideology, and on a larger collective scale, they will define their place within society. In other words, the overcoming of such tensions will show how individuals react vis-a-vis the collective and will reveal to what degree individuals accept the authority of the group.
If the reading of *El arte de volar* gives us a sense of the significant topics addressed in memory narratives in Spain, we may wonder if the trends revealed through the analysis of the graphic novel are similar in other contexts of production. In what follows, I will examine the literary production of descendants of exiles in France and Mexico with two novels, Lydie Salvayre's *Pas pleurer* and Jordi Soler's *Los rojos de ultramar*. Two broad questions will lead my discussion of these novels: how does the experience of exile affect the constitution of a memory legacy? What do the legacy narratives have to say about their own context of production, and how they impact the present? Beyond these questions, I will explore how these narratives dialogue with Spanish literature in order to constitute a larger memorial network that surpasses national boundaries.

The question of looking at the literary production of exiles in relation to Spain has been addressed widely by scholars. First, it is often considered that the first generation of exiles who formed an intellectual elite left behind a cultural, artistic and scientific void when they left Spain. Their incorporation into a new nation -particularly Mexico- enabled them to escape censorship and to contribute to the intellectual scenes of their second homeland. Therefore, analysis of the artistic contributions of Republican exiles requires considering both the Spanish context and the context of the new homeland. For instance, in his study of Miguel García Posada and Antonio Muñoz Molina, José María Naharro-Calderón points out that considering the literary production of exiles as a specific category is hardly justifiable from a generational or a formal perspective.

In fact, many scholars agree that exilic literature needs to be examined within a broad frame that looks at both the discourses of “la España territorial y los de acogida exterior” (Naharro-Calderón). In short, it is crucial to look at the cultural spaces of
interexiles (*los espacios culturales de interexilio*, online). The necessity to identify such a cultural space is all the more fundamental because it enables challenging national discourses that have shaped the circumstances of exile. For instance, the literary production of Catalan author Pere Calders, exiled in France and in Mexico, corresponds to this notion of interexile, whose impact has been studied by such critics as Joan Melcion or Josep Bargalló both in relation to the literary movement initiated by the “Grup de Sabadell,” characterized by its use of satire and humor, and to magic realism.

The influence of first generation exiles on contemporary Spanish authors is also not to be overlooked. For example, Pere Calders’ influence on contemporary authors such as Quim Monzó, Jesús Moncada or Joan Pinyol requires taking into consideration exilic literary production as a network that reaches out to Spain and that involves several generations. Indeed, many scholars working in the fields of Peninsular literatures, Latin-American literatures and memory studies look at the production of second and third generations of exiles in their commentaries on literary works published in Spain. Scholars such as Elina Liikanen or Pablo Sánchez have tracked the transatlantic literary dialogues between descendants of exiles and Spanish authors (Liikanen, 2013 and Pablo Sánchez, 2007). Mónica Quijano Velasco argues that recent works by Mexican authors Jordi Soler (*Los rojos de ultramar*) or Margo Glantz (*Las genealogías*) address historical events by recuperating stories bequethed by exiles that shed light on individual and disseminated memories (Quijano Velasco, 2011). Although Quijano Velasco's focus is not transatlantic - her analysis includes Mexican authors of diverse origins and is not limited to descendants of Spanish exiles-, she shows that because such narratives rely on human experience they
challenge national discourses and therefore propose alternatives to institutionalized processes of collective remembrance.

For Elina Liikanen, whose main field of study is Peninsular literature, novels such as Jordi Soler's *Los rojos de ultramar* are directly connected to contemporary “novelas de investigación” (or “novelas de la memoria”, as she calls them) written by Spanish authors because they share thematic and formal aspects. In these novels, recuperation of memory is often presented as a quest undertaken by a first-person narrator who develops his/her investigation narratively. Building on the work of José Martínez Rubio, she argues that the “novela de investigación” has become the main modality currently used to address questions of memory since the publication of Javier Cercas' *Soldados de Salamina* (2001). Additionally, and following Gómez López-Quiñones, she points out that memory narratives are characterized by an “anti-fictional rhetoric” and by a desire for authenticity rooted in the narrator's subjectivity. As such, these novels contain strong autofictional components that are sometimes mixed with elements borrowed from the *bildungsroman* and the *roman noir*. Liikanen also acknowledges the importance of intergenerational aspects that guide the narrator's investigation:

Casi siempre, la pesquisa histórica del narrador se convierte en una búsqueda identitaria, en un viaje a las propias raíces. En el curso de la investigación, el narrador llega a identificarse con un personaje del pasado, testigo o protagonista de los hechos bajo escrutinio. Esta conexión intergeneracional hace que los acontecimientos pretéritos vayan recobrando vida y sentido para el narrador, que al final acaba reconciéndolos como parte de su propia memoria. El hecho de restablecer una conexión entre el pasado y el presente permite al narrador afirmar sus señas de identidad, así como su pertenencia a una comunidad específica. (81)

The memory genre extends to other media such as the graphic novel, as argued in the previous chapter on *El arte de volar*. Although *El arte de volar* does not dialogue with noir fiction, it builds on autobiography and *bildungsroman*. Moreover, as I have extensively shown in the first chapter, the investigatory component is absent from the graphic novel: it
is replaced by a merging of narrative voices that situates the transgenerational transmission in the body of its characters through the *alianza de sangre*. Lydie Salvayre's *Pas pleurer* also proposes an alternative similar to the investigation modality: indeed, her novel could be considered a middle ground between the *novela de investigación* and a graphic novel such as *El arte de volar* in the sense that the first narrative voice undertakes historical research in order to better translate her mother's personal experience.

In *Pas pleurer*, as in *El arte de volar*, the narrator is already familiar with her parent's story. The personal quest is linked to the act of writing the story of an ancestor almost as a therapeutic gesture -Salvayre worked for many years as a psychiatrist- much more than it is connected to a family secret that would have to be revealed narratively. In fact, it seems that Salvayre deliberately cuts short the noir fiction or investigatory elements in her text: the novel only evokes what could be exploited as a familial quest through a mysterious character who engages in a brief and passionate love affair with her mother and to whom she comically refers to as André Malraux, a literary *clin d'oeil* to Carme Riera's novel *La meitat de l'ànima* (2004). Moreover, Salvayre builds up a narrative tension around what the reader expects to be a family secret involving Diego, the narrator's father, and Josep, her uncle. Yet again, the narrative tension lacks a “satisfactory” climax since by the end of the narrative we realize that nothing specific happens regarding these two characters: in short, the reader is narratively teased. The mystery evoked by Salvayre

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36 In Riera's novel, a first-person narrator in search of her own identity explores the possibility that writer Albert Camus may be her biological father. Carme Riera's novel explores in depth the quest of her narrator who seeks to reclaim her identity by recuperating the story of her mother. In contrast, *Pas pleurer* does not focus on the investigation; rather, the novel aims to narrate the story of the narrator's mother.
operates to stimulate both the reader's interest and her/his imagination, but it is not what actually motivates the narrator's account.

Out of the three texts I have mentioned so far, Jordi Soler's *Los rojos de ultramar* is probably the one that dialogues the most with the novela de investigación because it does involve the quest of its narrator who aims to recuperate the story of his maternal grandfather. In other words, while *El arte de volar* and *Pas pleurer* favor testimonial aspects that serve to pay tribute to an ancestor, Soler's novel straddles homage and critique. In *Los rojos de ultramar*, the investigatory aspects are highlighted and discussed by the narrator, who also relies on the juxtaposition of two narrative voices, his – the inheritor’s own – and that of his ancestor. Here, the voice of the inheritor is more prominent than in *El arte de volar* or *Pas pleurer*. If Salvayre and Altarriba's texts refuse Manichean readings of the past that would heap praise on heroic Republican figures, they do not engage narratively the choices made by their ancestors. In Soler's case, the deconstruction of the Republican hero is taken one step further, more particularly in his novel *La fiesta del oso*: the accent put on the personal quest highlights the questions posed by the inheritor with regard to the story of the ancestor, thus allowing the narrator to settle accounts with his own legacy.

Despite their differences, the texts mentioned here clearly dialogue with each other; all are legacy narratives, as explained in the first chapter. Beyond the fact that they are told by several first-person narrative voices that are either merged or simply juxtaposed, the main feature of such narratives is that they are the result of processes of transmission that mobilize several generations. Moreover, whether or not the homage is emphasized in these narratives, they share a common desire to challenge national discourses and to reclaim processes of collective remembrance outside political institutions. As such, they shed light
on individual stories that tend to be overlooked and relocate memorial recuperation to alternate spaces. I will analyze in the following sections Salvayre’s *Pas pleurer* and Soler’s *Los rojos de ultramar*, two narratives in which the processes of transgenerational transmission play a central role. I seek to trace analogies between the legacy narratives of exiles’ descendants and contemporary Spanish writers.

When analyzing the literary production in the context of exile, the first thing that comes to mind is the massive artistic and intellectual exile that followed the end of the Spanish Civil War and the establishment of the dictatorial regime. This “cultural” exile mostly concerned artists, scholars, and journalists whose artistic and intellectual work had been cut short by the war. Over the years -particularly since the Transición in the case of Spain-, extensive studies have analyzed the productions of these men and women who left Spain to escape the war and the ideological grasp of the regime, and who continued to produce their work free from the Francoist censorship that muzzled artists and intellectuals. After the fall of the regime, exilic cultural production was finally included in the artistic panorama of those who had stayed in Spain. Exilic production benefited from a significant visibility, both at the time of its production and currently. Prominent artists and intellectuals affiliated with the Republican side included such figures as Rafael Alberti, Manuel Altolaguirre, Max Aub, José and Rafael Bergamín, Luis Buñuel, Pau Casals, Américo Castro, Luis Cernuda, Ernestina de Champourcin, José Gaos, Pedro Garfias, Ramón Gómez de la Serna, Jorge Guillén, Juan Ramón Jiménez, María Teresa León, Concha Méndez, Juan Negrín, Amparo Poch y Gascón, Jorge Semprún, Ramón J. Sender, Lorenzo Varela, Remedios Varo and María Zambrano, among others.
These artists and intellectuals left an important legacy for Spaniards—even though it was considered retrospectively-, as I have mentioned, as well as contributed to the artistic and intellectual scene in the countries where they settled. Yet, as has also been studied widely in history, sociology and literature- Republican exiles also included men and women who were not part of the artistic and intellectual elite, and who did not benefit from the same visibility. In fact, the “frontier” that separates groups of exiles who benefit from an important degree of visibility and those who don’t has led many scholars to distinguish different types of exiles, and to focus either on the intellectual diaspora or the working class, as in María Aránzazu Díaz-Regañón and Antonio Santos García's article “Wenceslao Roces: El exilio cultural republicano en México”. According to the authors, “dos corrientes tipificaron la diáspora: una de ellas fue esencialmente pequeño-burguesa e intelectual, que tuvo como destino América, sobre todo México, y la otra, de base más popular y sindical, se asentaría en países europeos, básicamente en Francia” (70). If such a categorization allows for looking at the specifics of each situation -we can assume that the situation of a unionized member of the working class greatly differed from that of a bourgeois artist or intellectual-, it also poses a number of questions when considering the global legacy of Spanish exiles. First, if what is mainly remembered today emanates from the intellectual and bourgeois diaspora because artistic and scholarly production have made it more visible, we may wonder if working class exiles constituted a legacy of their own, and if so, in what ways it is made visible.

Rather than looking at exilic production through a mere social class perspective, I will analyze in this chapter contemporary narratives that recuperate the legacies of the “invisible exile,” whether of the working class or the educated Republican bourgeoisie.
Over the past two decades, the legacies of the “invisible” have been put on the literary stage by second and third generation writers who inherited stories of exile from their ancestors, thus contributing to their visibility. In that sense, what Lydie Salvayre's *Pas pleurer* and Jordi Soler's *Los rojos de ultramar* have in common is that they recuperate voices of the unknown. The novels contribute to the constitution of an exilic network that sheds light on the experiences non-elite exiles who also fled Spain for political reasons but whose stories were often disregarded. What characterizes the two novels analyzed in this chapter is that they are written by two descendants of exiles (second generation in Salvayre's case, and third generation in Jordi Soler’s) who tell the stories of their ancestors and by doing so, expand memorial recognition to the anonymous. In order to get a more comprehensive overview of the legacy that is passed on through these narratives, I will look at the different geographical contexts of exile, particularly because the difficult conditions suffered by many Republican exiles are also recuperated in the novels.
Part One: Blending Legacies: Memory Integration in Lydie Salvayre's *Pas pleurer*

In November 2014, France's most prestigious literary award, the Goncourt Prize, was awarded to Lydie Salvayre for her novel *Pas pleurer*. The announcement of the Goncourt Prize was presented by the media as a surprise. Although Lydie Salvayre's literary production is abundant—she is the author of more than twenty novels and essays—the author was considered by many to be the underdog of the competition. Out of the four finalists—two women and two men—popular author David Foenkinos and Kamel Daoud, the other outsider who had focused the media's attention before the result was revealed, were the two favorite contenders. The surprise manifested by the mainstream media was really a reaction to Lydie Salvayre's former lack of visibility in the press, since her already significant literary career was rarely praised outside of literary circles.

The coverage of the Goncourt brought attention to Salvayre’s former work, at the same time that it shed light on the historic components of *Pas pleurer*’s plot: the beginnings of the Spanish Civil War and the libertarian insurrection that occurred in Spain the summer of 1936. The novel was considered as a powerful testimony because it tells the story of Salvayre’s mother, Montse, an exile who left her homeland during a first wave of migrations known as la Retirada. The many interviews that followed the conferral of the Goncourt were the occasion for the author to address not only Spain’s but also France’s history and the failures of collective memory in the Hexagon.

As in *El arte de volar*, *Pas pleurer* recuperates Montse’s memories by bringing together two narrative voices, that of Montse and her daughter. The text focuses mainly on the representation of the Spanish Civil War, and the difficult life conditions for young
women in rural Spain. Montse’s attempts to free herself from tradition will first lead her to Barcelona, where she will witness the libertarian revolution of the summer of 1936. Parallel to Montse’s memories, the novel explores the thoughts of a narrator—the daughter—who faces her inheritance and reflects upon it.

1.1 WORKING THROUGH MEMORIAL CHAOS

It is through the eyes of Montse, the narrator's mother, that the reader of *Pas pleurer* discovers the historical events that have shaped the family's journey, from the libertarian parenthesis of the summer of 1936 to the fratricidal conflict that would eventually lead to la Retirada. As in *El arte de volar*, *Pas pleurer* recovers familial stories marked by political events, but in Salvayre's novel the recuperation of the familial legacy occurs between mother and daughter. The plot of the novel revolves around a few characters: a young and old Montse, born to a family of peasants and raised in a rural village of Catalonia with her brother Josep; Diego, the son of the village's landowner; French writer Georges Bernanos, evoked through his pamphlet *Les grands cimetières sous la lune*; and Montse's daughter, the first narrative voice, who reads Bernanos and listens to her elderly mother reminisce about the summer of 1936 and the beginning of the Spanish Civil War.

The novel follows these characters as they affirm their political engagement—this is mainly the case with the male characters of the novel,—at the same time that it presents two complementary accounts of the first months of the war: while Bernanos' account focuses on the atrocities committed by the Francoist side, Montse's account mainly concerns the libertarian revolution of the summer of 1936 that she happily witnesses in Barcelona. Geographically speaking, the novel is set in four distinct spaces: Palma de Mallorca in the
Balearic Islands, where Bernanos resides at the time; Montse and Josep's Catalonian village; Barcelona, where brother and sister witness the libertarian revolution; and France, where an elderly Montse rehashes the events of 1936 -and of the years that follow- as her daughter listens to her. At the core of the plot, the reader finds something very similar to what is presented in Altarriba's *El arte de volar*. By retelling the memories of her mother, *Pas pleurer*’s narrator invites the reader to observe the intimate bond that unites mother and daughter. But as I will further develop in this chapter, this close bond is not the only aspect shared by Altarriba's graphic novel and Salvayre's text: *Pas pleurer* also guides the reader to delve into Montse's memories and to travel between past and the present of narration. But in *Pas pleurer*, the journey through time will be far more confusing for the reader: in contrast with the graphic novel that has a circular structure, Salvayre’s novel deliberately follows a *chaotic order* (oxymoron intended) that mixes several texts and temporalities as well as narrative voices and genres.

Indeed, as soon as the novel opens the reader gets a sense of the text's “chaotic order.” The first few sentences of the novel, narrated in the present tense, not only bring us back to the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, they also take us, from a literary perspective, to another textual testimony: that of *Les grands cimetières sous la lune*, written in 1938 by French conservative Georges Bernanos to denounce the massive extermination of Republicans at the hands of the Francoists, with the approval of the Catholic Church. The first words of *Pas pleurer* intriguingly resonate like a prayer: “Au nom du Père Du Fils et du Saint-Esprit, monseigneur l'évêque-archevêque de Palma désigne aux justiciers, d'une main vénérable où luit l'anneau pastoral, la poitrine des mauvais pauvres” (11) And before revealing who the “mauvais pauvres” are, the narrative voice instantly adds, with
three terse sentences: “C'est Georges Bernanos qui le dit. C'est un catholique fervent qui le dit. On est en Espagne en 1936. ” The mention of Bernanos, fervent Catholic and monarchist who had first embraced the Francoist insurrection but who changed sides as he witnessed the atrocities committed in Mallorca with the complicity of the Catholic Church, sets the tone and gives the narrative voice the authority to revisit the first months of the Francoist insurrection through Bernanos' reported voice.

Because she uses the present tense, the narrator manages, on the one hand, to bring a remote past to the present, and on the other, to let the reader appreciate whether the events reported in *Pas pleurer* are still current or not. In that sense, the reader is invited to dive into the history of the Spanish Civil War through two testimonies: that of Georges Bernanos through his pamphlet *Les grand cimetières sous la lune*, and that of the narrator's mother, who is presented as follows: “La guerre civile est sur le point d'éclater, et ma mère est une mauvaise pauvre” (11). With this sentence, the narrator partly reveals her identity: the reader now knows that she will intervene in the first person, as the possessive pronoun “ma” implies. Furthermore, we learn that she is related to what we can assume to be one of the characters of the novel, the mother, and that the story that is about to be told connects both characters to Spain's history.

Contrary to *El arte de volar* that opened with Antonio's last moments before taking the reader to a remote past, *Pas pleurer* starts with the evocation of past events. While the first couple of pages seem to indicate that the temporal framework of the narrative is the Spanish Civil War, the mention of the narrator's mother -“ma mère”- implies that the narrator, by telling the story of her mother, is reminiscing it from the narrated present. Because both texts are partly narrated by the descendants of their protagonists, Antonio in
the case of *El arte de volar* and Montse in *Pas pleurer*, they both mix temporalities. However, while Antonio's son clearly sets the framework of the narrative in the introductory chapter of *El arte de volar* and therefore facilitates the reader's understanding of the graphic novel, Montse's daughter deliberately loses the reader between narrative voices and temporalities by switching from one to the other without textual transitions. In fact, it isn't until the fourth page that the narrator occupies the “textual space” and situates with greater detail who the protagonist of the novel is: 

Ma mère s'appelle Montserrat Monclus Arjona, un nom que je suis heureuse de faire vivre et de détourner du néant auquel il était promis. […] Ma mère est née le 14 mars 1921. Ses proches l'appellent Montse ou Montsita. Elle a quatre-vingt-dix ans au moment où elle évoque pour moi sa jeunesse catalane dans cette langue mixte et transpyrénéenne qui est devenue la sienne depuis que le hasard l'a jetée, il y a plus de soixante-dix ans, dans un village du Sud-Ouest français […] Aujourd'hui elle est vieille, le visage ridé, le corps décrépit, la démarche égarée, vacillante, mais une jeunesse dans le regard que l'évocation de l'Espagne de 36 ravive d'une lumière que je ne lui avais jamais vue. Elle souffre de troubles de la mémoire, et tous les événements qu'elle a vécus entre la guerre et aujourd'hui, elle en a oublié la trace. Mais elle garde absolument intacts les souvenirs de cet été 36 où eu lieu l'inimaginable, cet été 36 pendant lequel, dit-elle, elle découvrit la vie, et qui fut sans aucun doute l'unique aventure de son existence (15-16)

The following passage depicts the protagonist of the novel from the perspective of the daughter, who is also the first narrative voice of the novel, as in in the introduction of *El arte de volar*. Here, Montse's portrait is drawn in the present of narration, as the word “aujourd'hui” indicates. And as in the introductory pages of the graphic novel, this portrait contains a key element that can facilitate our comprehension of the novel: the protagonist, an elderly woman, suffers from memory loss that prevents her from remembering anything other than the summer of 1936. The mention -almost casually, in passing- of her mother's medical condition is nonetheless extremely significant. Beyond the fact that it points to the question of memory, it also enables interpreting the “chaotic order” of the narrative that moves from one memory to another, mimicking an uncontrollable flow of memories bursting into the human brain. Indeed, contrary to Antonio's son in *El arte de volar*, who
structured the narrative of his father's life chronologically between chapters one and four, the narrative of Montse's life follows the flow of the protagonist's memories. In other words, both texts are structured in a way that carefully follows and respects the memories of the parents: in *El arte de volar*, the narrative is based on oral transmission, but also on a chronological account of Antonio's life contained in the protagonists notebooks, while in *Pas pleurer*, the daughter lets the erratic rhythm of her mother's memories build the structure of a rather chaotic narrative. In both cases, the structure of the narrative reveals the processes of transmission of the familial legacy: the first one, based on both oral and written testimony is a bit more chronologically contained than the second, which is based solely on oral accounts and reflects Montse's medical condition.

Another significant aspect that transmits a sense of chaos to the reader is the way Salvayre inserts dialogues within the narrative: the author does not resort to the habitual typographic symbols that indicate the boundaries of dialogues, structuring them, such as quotation marks and dashes. The dialogues are often transcribed as a mix of reported speech and dialogue, evident in the following passage that reveals the villagers’ perception of Diego, the landowner's son whose adherence to communism conflicts with the villagers' traditions:

[…]Ses réticences à assumer un patrimoine auquel presque tous aspirent […] font offense aux paysans de son village […] Qu’il soit odieux avec sa belle-mère et de caractère fermé, passe encore […] mais qu’il refuse de s’occuper des terres de son père qui sont de très loin celles qui donnent le plus, ça non ! Non! Et non! Les paysans sont unanimes, Diego fait du genre. Trop fier. Mais pour qui il se prend? De qui qu’il tient? C’est bien la question. Il paraît qu’il reste au lit jusqu’à 9 heures du matin à se curer les ongles et à lire des livres de Karl Marx! De qui? D’un prophète russe qui veut faire pendre tous les riches comme son père, si tu veux un dessin. Au lieu de se bouger le cul. Enfin ça nous regarde pas. […] (40-41)
The structure of this fragment mixes reported speech and dialogue, in fact, the narrator slides from one form to the other, as shown visually by the line breaks that indicate a change in speaker. The transition from reported speech to dialogue is simply introduced with the sentence “Les paysans sont unanimes,” the comma replacing here the quotation mark or the dash that conventionally marks the beginning of a dialogue. Instead, reported speech and dialogue are linked by this comma, and the absence of other typographic symbols eliminates the usual breaks that typically separate them. The absence of typographic separation reinforces the presence of the crowd in this passage. The peasants are shown as an indistinct mass of people: by refusing to mention how many they are, or even who they are, the narrator puts forth the voice of the group that opposes a single man, Diego, as a whole.

Simultaneously, the absence of break between dialogue and reported speech in the previous passage gives us a sense of the narrative rhythm that in some cases does not allow for catching one's breath, reflecting the urgency of telling Montse's story. Yet, what is striking about Salvayre's novel is that despite this feeling of chaos, the reader is still able to move forward through the narrative and to understand the different implications of the story that is being told. I would say that this is one of Salvayre's main achievements: she manages to work on a fine line between order and complete chaos. The author keeps her text balanced enough to convey the confusion experienced by all characters (Montse, Josep, Diego, Montse's daughter and Bernanos) while enabling the reader to make sense of the narrative content. To do so, the author uses verifiable historical facts, dates and quotes, notably from Bernanos' *Les grands cimetières sous la lune*. Moreover, Lydie Salvayre plays with the book's physical space, first by dividing the narrative into three chapters, and second by starting new paragraphs, or leaving blank spaces on the page when she switches
narrative voices, spaces or temporalities. Similar to the gutter in the visual organization of the comic, the blank space here signifies something to the reader: it symbolizes a break in the narrative, a pause, a respite that the reader is sometimes invited to take. In many ways, these blank spaces - like the absence of breaks in the previous example- contribute to the rhythm of the narrative, an erratic rhythm for sure, one that is not always easy to follow, but a rhythm nonetheless that the reader can hold on to in making her way through the text.

The separations between chapters serve a similar function. They indicate that a geographical movement has occurred. For instance, the end of chapter one and the beginning of chapter two marks Josep's return to the village after his stay in Barcelona, while the end of chapter two and the beginning of chapter three, lets us follow two characters -Bernanos on the one hand, and Montse on the other- as they leave Spain for France. Apart from symbolizing a geographical movement, the chapter breaks organize the text by distributing the narrative weight into three blocks that follow a chronological order. Chapters one and two are set in Spain and are both approximately of the same length. They present events occurring between the summer of 1936 until the end of 1937, while chapter three, set in France and extremely short -almost an epilogue-, opens with Bernanos' return to France in 1938 and addresses the circumstances of Montse's arrival in France during la Retirada.

Because of its chaotic structure, the experience of reading a novel like Pas pleurer can be off putting. While the first narrative voice -that of the daughter- guides the reader through the memories of the mother, it does not overinterpret them for us; in other words, the daughter does not try to contain her mother's memories, rather, she lets them be. But in addition to revealing the processes of transmission of the familial legacy, the chaotic
structure of the narrative also unveils the emotional impact of being on the receiving end of such a legacy, as shown in the following passage:

Ce soir, je l'écoute encore remuer les cendres de sa jeunesse perdue et je vois son visage s'animer […] Je l'écoute me dire ses souvenirs que la lecture parallèle que je fais des *Grands cimetières sous la lune* de Bernanos assombrit et complète. Et j'essaie de déchiffrer les raisons du trouble que ces deux récits lèvent en moi, un trouble dont je crains qu'il ne m'entraîne là où je n'avais nullement l'intention d'aller. Pour être plus précise, je sens, à leur évocation, se glisser en moi par des écluses ignorées des sentiments contradictoires et pour tout dire assez confus. (17)

As Montse's daughter explains, her narrative is the result of a collusion of two testimonies that complement each other. While Montse's memories focus on the events of the summer of 36 and those that precede and follow the libertarian revolution, Bernanos' account completes the portrait of the first months of the Spanish Civil War by revealing other aspects of the same historical period. And as the narrative voice shows, the confrontation of the memories of the mother with the reading of Bernanos creates a feeling of confusion for the narrator. In many ways, this sense of confusion, reflected by the chaotic structure of the narrative, and transmitted to the reader, also mirrors the sense of chaos that characterized the Spanish Civil War, with the confusion brought by the Francoist insurrection, on the one hand, and the internecine conflicts that shattered the Republican side, on the other hand.

1.2 TRANSMITTING MEMORIES THROUGH LINGUISTIC INTEGRATION

As argued, a sense of “chaotic order” is achieved through a number of narrative “tricks”: the intertwining of narrative voices and temporalities, intertextual references, and an erratic rhythm. Yet the chronological order used to describe past events ends up structuring the narrative, allowing the reader to move forward. Yet these are not the only narrative “tricks” Lydie Salvayre deploys to convey a sense of chaos. Her very particular
use of language plays a major role in producing this effect; indeed, her language was widely discussed after she won the Goncourt in 2014. The media highlighted Salvayre's mix of French and Spanish by observing that the Goncourt jury had awarded France's most coveted literary prize to a novel written in “Fragnol.”37 Furthermore, Salvayre's mastery of both languages is also reflected in her ability to mix several registers to characterize the different characters and narrative voices that compose the text. I argue that Salvayre's use of language conveys the processes of transmission, and enables pinpointing how legacy is transmitted between mother and daughter.

One of the first elements that catches the reader's attention is the presence of Spanish throughout the narrative although the novel is written in French. The narrator switches from one language to the other with the fluidity of a person immersed in two cultures, and with the spontaneity of someone who can pick between two linguistic domains to better convey a message. The use of Spanish also helps create a rhythmic break in the narrative, usually in scenes occurring in Montse's village or when Montse is speaking. The use of Spanish provides a link between language and space, establishing the atmosphere of the village while conveying more intensely the emotional state of the characters.38 For instance, in a passage that describes the generational gap that separates the peasants and their sons and the aspirations of the latter to break away from tradition, Spanish is used to visually emphasize the characters' thoughts: “Le père de Josep est

37 Like Spanglish, the word Fragnol is a compound word that unites the nouns “français” and “espagnol”. It designates a hybrid version of both languages.

38 Spanish and not Catalan is spoken in Montse’s village. According to my research, the book was originally written in French and Spanish. The author does not speak Catalan. After the author was awarded the Goncourt, a second edition of the book was released and Catalan names were translated into their Spanish form (Juan for Joan and José for Josep). I haven't been able to find out the reason why first names were translated, if this was a request from Salvayre's publishing house, or a decision taken by the author.
d'autant plus désolé que son voisin Enrique vient de lui annoncer que Josep faisait les cent coups avec des syndiqués, une bande de têtes brûlées qui se disent rebelles et se promènent dans le village avec, autour du coup, un foulard rouge et noir pour faire de l'épate ! Quelle honte ! […] Il a vu partir à Lérida un fils travailleur, respectueux, raisonnable, les pieds sur terre et qui marchait droit. Et il retrouve qui ? Un excité, un indocil medio loco con la cabeza llena de tonterías” (46). In such cases, Spanish is used to strengthen the voice of the characters, almost in place of quotation marks that would indicate a change of speaker.

In addition, the atmosphere of the village is rendered by switching registers, as a way to represent colloquial speech. The description of Josep and his friend Joan's political awakening in Lerida mixes two language registers: one literary, that structures the description, and the other, colloquial, that serves to emphasize feelings of hope and passion:

Josep et Joan se sont liés d'amitié à Lérida où, depuis l'âge de quatorze ans, ils travaillent tous les étés comme journaliers, accomplissant les mêmes besognes que les adultes. […] Ils sont nés tous les deux dans un village où les choses infiniment se répètent à l'identique, les riches dans leur faste, les pauvres sous leur faix […] Tous deux ont travaillé dans un monde lent, lent, lent comme le pas des mules […] Tous deux se sont heurtés à l'autorité des pères, sévères par tradition […] Et brusquement, à Lérida, tous deux découvrent des thèses qui s'opposent furieusement à cette vision immuable qu'ils pensaient être la seule concevable. Ils apprennent que les choses peuvent se chambouler, se défaire, se foutre en l'air. Que l'on peut refuser, sans que le monde croule, les discours coutumiers. […] Et tout balayer, putain, tout balayer, balayer toute cette misère qu'ils exècrent. (52-53)

In this fragment, the author plays with the contrast between literary words - besognes, faste, faix, immuable, se chambouler, exècrent- and colloquial expressions -se foutre en l'air, putain- that pierce through the description and catch the reader's attention. Not only do these colloquial expressions reinforce what has been introduced by the two adverbs “brusquement” and “furieusement,” highliting the radical effects of the two character's political awakening, but they also serve to reduce the distance between Josep, Joan and the narrator, who understands the causes of the young men's political engagement.
By extension, through the mediation of the narrator, the colloquial expressions used here end up reducing the distance between the reader and the characters: the impact of such a direct language channels the characters' world, as well as the experience they are undergoing.

The intertwining of different registers of language also participates in the narrative rhythm. Furthermore, the contrast between literary language and colloquial forms conveys a sense of realism for the reader who is suddenly presented with direct emotions that are not necessarily screened by a “literary” filter. The use of such a direct language to convey direct emotions is a crucial part of *Pas pleurer*’s style. Indeed, the colloquial register echoes the directedness of orality, and therefore serves as a constant reminder that the narrative is largely based on the stories that Montse transmits to her daughter, in other words, on oral testimony. Indeed, a third aspect of Salvayre's very particular use of language, and perhaps the most significant, lies in what could be identified as the second narrative voice: Montse's voice.

As in *El arte de volar*, where the voices of the son and the father merge at the beginning of the narrative, *Pas pleurer* presents a merging of two narrative voices, that of the daughter, who is the main narrator, and that of the mother. Yet, contrary to what we witness in Altarriba's graphic novel, mother and daughter do not become one. Their close bond is materialized through language, through the use of Spanish first, the language that was transmitted to the daughter by her mother, but more specifically through Montse's hybrid language that mixes French and Spanish, a French filled with Gallicized Hispanisms that are transcribed as such in the novel: “L'histoire ma chérie est faite de ces enfrontements, les plus cruels de tous et les plus infelices, et aucun des pères du village
n'en est prémunisé, pas plus le père de Diego que celui de Josep, la justice immanente n'obéissant pas aux décrets de la justice des hommes (dit ma mère dans un français sophistiqué autant qu'énigmatique)” (43).

In this fragment, Montse's narrative voice temporarily takes over, and her intervention is juxtaposed to her daughter's narration, included here in between parentheses. The passage illustrates, on the one hand, a merging of French and Spanish, with reshaped words such as “enfrontements” (from Spanish “enfrentamiento” and French “affrontement”), or “obédissant” (from Spanish “obedeciendo” and French “obéissant”). On the other hand, it reveals Montse's transformation of the French language that mixes grammatical approximations (“prémunisé” instead of “prémuni”) and hispanisms (“infelices” instead of “malheureux”) with more literary terms such as “immanente”. The contrast between the former and the latter creates a humorous effect; and in fact, the comical impact of Montse's interventions is often emphasized by the daughter, as is the case in this passage as she qualifies her mother's use of the French language as being “sophistiqué” and “émigmatique”.

What I have referred to as Montse's hybrid language can be linked to linguist Larry Selinker's conceptualization of interlanguage. In 1969, Selinker defined interlanguage as a linguistic system that differs from the native language of a speaker and the target language that said speaker is learning. This concept has been widely used in the field of sociolinguistics and second language acquisition to analyze the language productions of second language learners in contrast to their native language. In his book *Rediscovering Interlanguage*, published in 1992, Selinger goes over the main features of interlanguage:

[...] in attempting to express meanings in an L2 [second language] and in attempting to interact verbally with native (as well as with other NN [non natives]) speakers of that L2, people create a (partly) separate linguistic system. [...] Interlingual identifications and language transfer, in a selective way, are central
to the creation of that system, [characterized by selective] uses of the NL [native language], selective fossilizations according to linguistic level and discourse domain. [...] Interlanguage systems as cognitive systems are uniquely permeable, [and are] susceptible to the force of several types of universals, to the training and learning strategies that one adopts, to communication strategies, to simplification and complexification strategies and to backsliding. (250)

Throughout the narrative, Montse's interventions are marked by this humorous “interlanguage”, widely characterized by linguistic transfers, fossilizations, simplifications, and complexifications that reveal the permeability of French and Spanish and the creation of a distinct linguistic system. The textual reference to Montse's interlanguage emphasizes her visibility. By pointing out Montse's errors, the narrator reveals the different experiences that separate the mother and daughter with regards to exile. While Montse's mistakes highlight her origins and the fact that, as an exile, she is a second language learner of French, the daughter's use of the French language shows her as a second generation born, raised and educated in France, fully “integrated” as a native speaker of French.

The emphasis on the language gap between mother and daughter should not be read as way for the daughter to distinguish herself from her mother. Rather, it enables recuperating fully the story of the mother without excessively transforming it, literally, by respecting her voice. In other words, because Montse and her daughter do not use the French language in the same way, we know that their life experiences regarding exile are greatly different. Therefore, and contrary to what we see in El arte de volar, the two narrative voices cannot be merged, they can only be juxtaposed since mother and daughter have not lived the same events and have not experienced integration in the same way. Montse's origins are evident to anyone who hears her speak, because her language makes her visible -inside and outside the boundaries of the text-; her interlanguage is what characterizes her as a foreigner.
In that sense, Montse's interlanguage reflects the merging of two cultures that she also transmits to her daughter, since the latter is able to access her mother's interlinguistic system and to communicate with her. In fact, the humorous effect of Montse's interventions, emphasized by the daughter, does not convey contempt, mockery, or a sense of shame; rather it emphasizes the close bond between both narrative voices who are amused by each other's language. The mother also teases her daughter, as in the following passage: “Auparavant [Josep] est allé chercher son ami Joan qui habite tout en haut de la calle del Sepulcro, une rue en côte comme ça, dit ma mère en inclinant sa main, un raidillon dis-je, tu inventes des mots maintenant ? dit ma mère que ce mot amuse” (52). Montse's reaction to the word “raidillon” (for “steep path”), a more sophisticated term – less common, in any case- than “rue en pente”, indicates that both characters respond to each other's use of the French language. Beyond Montse's interlanguage, it appears that mother and daughter share a close bond based on humor, and that this sense of drollery creates an intimate space of transmission between them. In a sense, the mutual teasing with regards to language is a way to open up such an intimate space to the reader, who may otherwise be excluded from it. As a result, a francophone reader who doesn't have a knowledge of Spanish might not always understand Montse's interlanguage, but he/she can grasp the humor that lies beneath her words and more importantly, get a sense of the bond that unites both characters.

If Montse's “fragol” generates a greater sense of narrative chaos, we nonetheless see that the use of interlanguage is crucial to convey Montse's story. The transcription of her mother's interlanguage allows locating her voice in the text, as well as it transmits a sense of realism since it helps the reader materialize Montse's voice. Indeed, the use of
interlanguage almost operates as a sensory trigger, since it allows the reader to “hear” Montse's testimony, which highlights the oral component of the narrative. Furthermore, because Montse's interlanguage is juxtaposed to her daughter's narrative voice, and because the daughter has full access to her mother's interlanguage, this specific linguistic system opens a space for transmission, illuminating how Montse passes on her legacy to her daughter. Finally, and as already mentioned, the transcription of Montse's interlanguage reveals the daughter's choice with regards to the legacy she inherits from her mother: textually, the legacy contained in Montse's interlanguage appears as something raw, which has not been polished, or transformed by the daughter's mastery of the French language. Of course, such an assertion requires us to take a step back and consider the author's writing process: Montse's interlanguage may have been rearranged, or in any case transformed by Salvayre - the character's interlanguage could very well be different from Salvayre's mother’s actual interlanguage; in other words, what is presented to us as the mother's interlanguage is most likely an interlanguage fabricated by the author.

What is presented to us as “raw” legacy in Pas pleurer has certainly been polished by the author, as occurs in El arte de volar with the merging of two narrative voices and the partial textual “disappearance” of Antonio's son. Yet, it is still relevant to acknowledge that both Salvayre and Altarriba resort to narrative “tricks” that establish a sort of contract between the first narrative voices and the reader. As a result, the reader gets a greater sense of these second generation authors' determination to offer narrative space to their parents, as a way to pay them a tribute by bringing their stories back to life without seemingly mediating them too much. Although the critical reader will be aware of the necessary mediations that take place during the writing process, and that prevent Antonio and
Montse's legacies to remain unchanged, the inheritors' intention to transmit the legacy they received and to “faire vivre et détourner du néant”, to quote once again Salvayre's words, is what makes these legacy narratives so powerful.

As a result, such narratives expand the memorial network by opening intimate spaces -material as well as symbolic-, to a larger group of people who are not direct inheritors of these specific stories, but who can contribute to the processes of collective remembrance. Because it will most likely sound “real” to the reader who has already been in contact with “fragnol,” Montse's interlanguage may speak more particularly to a community of people who share a similar story of exile, and simultaneously, because it is often times humorous and is used to highlight the relationship that unites mother and daughter, it opens the space of transmission to others, regardless of their connection to the Spanish exile community in France.

1.3 FRANCE’S INTEGRATION AND THE SILENCING OF IMMIGRANTS

Moreover, the use of “fragnol” can also be interpreted as a way to challenge discourses of integration in contemporary France. The term carries a specific ideological meaning that reveals a tendency to present the Hexagon as an idealized “terre d’accueil.” The notion that the French nation has traditionally been a welcoming land for immigrants is not new; in fact it goes hand in hand with the Enlightenment legacy and the idea that France is “le pays des Droits de l'Homme,” an idea constitutive of the French nation and often repeated by politicians of all affiliations, even nowadays. Both the most prominent left-wing and right-wing parties (Parti Socialiste -PS- and Les Républicains -LR-) echo the same “values” supposedly supported by the French nation.
Since the 1980's, the accueil translates into policies of “integration” whereby successive governments have sought the successful incorporation of immigrants into French society. In a 2011 report on immigration titled “La France sait-elle encore intégrer ses immigrés?” commissioned by the office of Nicolas Sarkozy’s Prime Minister François Fillon, integration is defined as: “plus que la simple insertion matérielle des immigrés dans la société d'accueil, et moins que l'assimilation souvent entendue comme l'abandon de la plupart des spécificités culturelles liées à l'origine, l'intégration […] demande un effort réciproque à l'immigré et à la société du pays d'accueil, une ouverture à la diversité qui est un enrichissement mais aussi une adhésion et une volonté responsable pour garantir et construire une culture démocratique commune” (13). According to the members of the Haut Conseil à l'Intégration (HCI), who elaborated the report, the successful integration of immigrants therefore implies a reciprocity in the relationship between institutions, which guarantee that immigrants are given a chance to establish themselves in France, and the immigrants themselves, who have to show their willingness to embrace the values and principles of the nation.

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39 The term “integration” was actually favored over two terms: “assimilation” and “insertion”, a notion that appeared in the 1970's. While assimilation implied the abandonment of one's culture, insertion was the term commonly used to address the situation of immigrant workers -primarily male workers whose families were still in the homeland- who were expected to stay in France for a temporary period of time but not to settle. With the “regroupement familial” policies eventually permitted the reunion of immigrants with their families on French soil, the term “insertion” disappeared from political discourse in favor of “integration,” because it was considered to be the middle-ground between “insertion” and “assimilation”.

40 The HCI was a commission created in 1989 under François Mitterrand's presidency by then Prime Minister Michel Rocard. Its mains tasks were to report annually on the integration of immigrants in France. Since its creation, the HCI has been composed of politicians, artists, athletes, journalists and scholars -among whom was Edouard Glissant- asked to reflect on integration issues. The HCI was dissolved in 2012 and replaced by the Observatoire des statistiques de l'immigration et de l'intégration (OSII).
The report of the HCI is problematic in many different ways. First, it fails to examine what was actually entailed by the notion of “effort réciproque.” Second, it does not really analyze the “cost” of immigration from the immigrants’ standpoint, nor does it examine the specific situation of political refugees and exiles. Immigrants are considered as a rather homogeneous group, they are simply differentiated by country of origin. The result is a vague definition of the term “integration,” based on statements such as: “tous les étrangers, quelles qu'aient été les difficultés rencontrées, se sont progressivement intégrés jusqu'à se fondre dans la nation française, eux et plus encore leurs descendants” (21), which are quite revealing since they contradict the idea of “effort réciproque”. The use of the reflective form of the verb “s'intégrer” instead of its transitive form “intégrer” infers a lack of reciprocity in the relationship between immigrants and the authorities. It suggests that the weight of integration has been borne mainly by immigrants: it is not the French nation that has integrated them; they've had to integrate themselves. Worse, the authors of the report, afflicted by what can only be a severe case of blatant denial, conclude their review of a few success stories of integration with the following sentence: “Rappelons que nombre d'entre eux [d'immigrés] ont longtemps tu leurs origines pour diverses raisons, en particulier car ils souhaitaient être jugés sur leur seul talent” (22). Despite what the report –either cynically or naïvely- wants its readers to believe, one can hardly consider that silencing immigrants’ origins is a sign of the success of integration policies.41

Despite a biased premise that does not allow questioning the political consensus or the notion of integration and its interpretation, the report manages, if only between its lines, to point to the many obstacles that immigrants have had to deal with over the years. “Taire

41 These statements are made in the first chapter of the report, titled “L’intégration: ça marche.”
ses origines,” silencing one's origins: one would think that the implications of such a statement are serious enough to question the “modèle d'intégration à la française,” and to consider the voices of immigrants and the many individual stories that have led men and women to leave their homeland and to settle in France. Interestingly, the report shows that integration policies pushed by a consensus within the French political class have created their own kind of “silencing pact,” not only imposed on Republican exiles, but on all immigrants.

In her article *Immigration et opinion publique: regards croisés sur l'immigration espagnole en France*, Elodie Das Neves examines the case of Spanish exiles and immigrants during the years of Francoism and the early Transición. She shows that the perceived integration of immigrants by the general population tends to include other aspects, such as a presupposed cultural proximity based on biological factors—the immigrants’ skin color, for instance: “[en 1971], l'opinion de la société française sur l'intégration des travailleurs étrangers […] ne renvoie pas de fait à la capacité d'intégration sociale des immigrants, mais plutôt à leur degré de 'visibilité biologique' […] la proximité géographique et par là-même culturelle est considérée un avantage décisif à l'heure de s'adapter à la vie en France.” 42

Based on a series of polls on immigration and integration, Elodie Das Neves' study reveals that the perception of Spanish immigrants by the French population and their integration in French society is overall positive throughout the decades 1960-1980. Prior to Spain's entry into the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1986, Spaniards -and with them Italians and Portuguese- became the target of benevolent prejudice that

42 This statement refers to the migratory waves of the 1960-1970, but does not apply to the period of la Retirada. I will go back to the specific period of la Retirada in the following section.
coincided with the arrival of immigrant workers originating from non-European countries. As Spain became part of the EEC, the integration of Spanish immigrants was not a political issue anymore: the political focus and the “integration issue” were completely transferred to immigrants coming for the most part from African countries. Furthermore, by the mid-1980's, the integration of Spanish exiles and immigrants in France had also happened through the emergence of second and third generations born and raised in France.

Ironically, it could be argued that Spanish immigrants integrated themselves so well that they became invisible. Yet what made them invisible was not a deeper desire or “better capacity” than others to integrate themselves, it was simply a change of focus in France's political agenda combined with geopolitical changes in the European scene. Because of their “invisibilité biologique” and contrary to other groups of immigrants, second and third generations of Spanish immigrants are not questioned on their “Frenchness”: their Spanish origins were simply dismissed or forgotten. And because second and third generations of Spanish immigrants' origins were forgotten, the history of these generations' parents and grandparents is also easily disregarded. And in addition, through them, it is also a part of France's history that is denied.

For these generations, the question of transgenerational legacy clearly operates at Ricœur's intermediate level. As Elodie Das Neves further points out in her article, “[...] l'activité des centres et des associations d'espagnols […] représente dans son ensemble une lutte contre 'l'invisibilité' de la colonie. Forts de leur intégration, les Espagnols procédèrent ainsi à une réaffirmation de leur identité au sein de la société d'accueil dans le but notamment de la transmettre aux générations suivantes, réceptacles d'une double culture.”

The tight network of associations that once took care of newcomers transformed over the
years into a memorial network, with associations such as IRIS-Mémoires d'Espagne, Centre Toulousain de Documentation sur l'Exil Espagnol (CTDEE), Association pour le Souvenir de l'Exil Républicain en France (ASEREF), 24 août 1944, or Fils et Filles de Républicains Espagnols et Enfants de l'Exode (FFREEE) that in most cases work locally to preserve the memory of Spanish exiles. Parallel to the work done by these associations, Salvayre’s novel proposes to break invisibility and silence, notably through linguistic integration. Fragnol reasserts the linguistic and cultural roots of those who were asked to integrate themselves, but whose personal ordeals are masked consistently on the political scene. Linguistic integration as exploited by Salvayre is particularly interesting because it reveals what successful integration could be: the blending of two cultures, and the liberation from the intuition that one has to silence her/his origins.

So far, I have shown how *Pas pleurer* addresses the question of transgenerational legacy, and how the chaotic structure of the narrative symbolizes, among other things, the juxtapositions of voices and generations that participate in the network of memory. Moreover, a comparative approach has led me to draw a parallel between *El arte de volar* and *Pas pleurer* and to explore how both texts materialize legacies and pay their tribute to the previous generation. Each text, and for that matter, each medium has its own specific tricks -the graphic novel enables visualizing Antonio’s life through drawing and sequencing, while the novel allows the reader to “hear” Montse's voice through interlanguage- but what these texts clearly have in common is the engagement of narrative voices in the processes of transmission, as inheritors of their parents' legacy.

Pressing further my reading of *Pas pleurer*, I will now look into the different elements that constitute Montse's legacy -in other words, what the novel transmits to the reader. As in *El
*arte de volar*, *Pas pleurer* also contains autobiographical components, as well as reveals elements of testimonial narrative and *bildungsroman*. But more importantly, as will be developed in the following sections, the novel emphasizes different aspects of a legacy that is connected to the History of both Spain and France. The task of integrating all these aspects, revealed one by one throughout the narrative, is carried out by the daughter. But in addition to the historical legacy, *Pas pleurer* relies on a strong literary legacy that reveals, among other things, a dialogue with Spanish female writers as well as with a tradition of archetypal female figures that enable Salvayre to juxtapose biographical components with fictional elements.
Part Two: Historical Legacy and the Challenges of Ideology

One of the main strengths of these legacy narratives is that they challenge nationalistic discourses and ideology because they point to the voids, tensions and conflicts that are inherent to processes of collective remembrance. In the case of France, a novel such as *Pas pleurer* challenges the integration narrative while it preserves the memory of those who were forgotten by History. *Pas pleurer* mixes fiction and intertext with biographical elements that enable telling Montse's individual story, but it also makes reference to historical facts that allow situating the events relative to Montse's life. And while these historical facts paint the background of Montse's story, they also recuperate events that have been silenced and evacuated by national discourses and ideologies.

The first narrative voice, Montse's daughter, guides the reader through these historical events. The narrative is built, as I have already explained, around three voices - Montse's, her daughter's and Bernanos'- but it is also backed up by specific facts and quotes that allow reconstructing key historical events. The main narrator oscillates between different narrative styles, sometimes mimicking historiography by quoting her sources and through the mention of historical documents. The reader is guided on the one hand by the oral transcription of Montse's legacy, and on the other hand by the reflections of the daughter who digs into European history of the XXth century in order to unveil the many “trous mémoriels,” a term coined by historian Geneviève Dreyfus-Armand, left by ideology.
2.1 LA RETIRADA AND THE LIBERATION OF PARIS: HOW FRANCE “FORGOT” THE FIRST GENERATION OF EXILES

The invisibility of Spaniards in France can be traced back to la Retirada, the first migratory wave ensuing from the Civil War. La Retirada was precipitated by the fall of Barcelona, as pointed out by Cindy Coignard and Maëlle Maugendre in their article “La Retirada ou l'exil républicain espagnol d'après guerre,” published on the webpage of the Musée de l’histoire de l’immigration.\textsuperscript{43} Contrary to the following waves of migrants, the thousands of exiles who came in 1939 had to face particularly critical conditions that were not only the consequence of the Civil War:

Le passage de la frontière se fait dans des conditions particulièremment pénibles: les populations sont affaiblies par trois ans de combats et de privations, les cols sont enneigés, l'aviation franquiste bombarde les réfugiés sur les routes catalanes. Civils et militaires sont le plus souvent partis précipitamment, avec peu d'affaires, et ils arrivent en France dans le dénuement le plus complet. Partagé par la crainte de voir des 'hordes' de révolutionnaires 'rouges' déferler sur le pays et le respect des valeurs républicaines qui accordent asile et hospitalité aux persécutés, le gouvernement d'Edouard Daladier décide finalement d'ouvrir la frontière le 28 janvier 1939, mais aux seuls réfugiés civils. […]. Ces réfugiés ne bénéficient pas d'un accueil optimal. En dépit du soutien de la gauche et des tenants d'une attitude humaniste, la France de 1939 est loin d'être pour les Espagnols de la République sœur dont ils espéraient obtenir réconfort et soutien. Rongée par la crise économique, en proie aux sentiments xénophobes, repliée sur elle-même, la société française offre aux réfugiés un accueil plus que mitigé.

The authors pay particular attention to two major aspects of the history of Republican exile in France: the systematic imprisonment of male refugees in concentration

\textsuperscript{43} The Musée de l'histoire de l'immigration, opened to the public in 2007, and commissioned by former president Chirac in 2003, was created to fulfill two purposes. The first one, pedagogical, consisted of decreasing discrimination by educating French people on the history of immigration. The second goal was connected to questions of collective remembrance, the “devoir de mémoire.” Ironically, the site chosen for the museum, the Palais de la Porte Dorée, was built in 1931 by architect Alfred Laprade to host the “Exposition colonial.” This controversial exhibition -even at the time- aimed to present the myriad of cultures that formed the French empire, but it silenced the damages of colonization. The choice to host the Musée de l'histoire de l'immigration inside the walls of the Palais de la Porte Dorée -which after 1931 successively became the Musée des colonies, the Musée de la France d'Outre-mer and more recently the Musée des arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie- raises a lot of questions and points to the difficulties for the successive French governments throughout the XXth century to take a firm and coherent stance with regards to the colonial past.
camps in the south of France, and their forced participation in the Second World War in order to avoid repatriation. The French government’s feeble response to the dramatic political situation in Spain and toward political refugees was partly caused by the impact of the economic crisis of 1929, and by the political instability in a continent on the verge of the Second World War. As a result, Republican exiles were treated as felons by local authorities who incarcerated them in concentration camps with the government's approval, despite the fact that they had not broken any French law. The position of Daladier's government further contributed to the fear of and xenophobia toward Spanish exiles, feelings commonly shared within the French population even prior to la Retirada.

Although Cindy Coignard and Maëlle Maugendre's article on the Musée de l'histoire de l'immigration's website paints a realistic enough portrait of la Retirada, it is interesting to note that some crucial aspects of the history of Spanish exile, such as their participation in the Resistance under the German occupation and their crucial contribution to the liberation of France, particularly to the liberation of Paris, are not mentioned in depth in the online database. This lack in the museum's database reveals the memorial void – “trou mémoriel” - pointed out by Dreyfus-Armand, who specializes in the history of Spanish exile.

In 2009, on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of la Retirada, Geneviève Dreyfus-Armand interpreted the silencing of the participation of Spanish exiles to the liberation of Paris as a way for the French government at the time to regain political authority in the aftermath of the Second World War. In an article titled “Des étrangers dans la Résistance,”

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44 French authorities often separated families once they entered French territory. Men were detained and imprisoned in concentration camps that they had to build themselves. Most women, along with children and the elderly were sent to different geographic areas, where they would first settle in public buildings called “centres d'hébergement”.
she quotes General De Gaulle's famous speech delivered on August, 25th 1944 in a liberated Paris: “Paris ! Paris outragé ! Paris brisé ! Paris martyrisé ! Mais Paris libéré ! Libéré, par lui-même, par son peuple, avec le concours désormais de la France.” Dreyfus-Armand particularly examines De Gaulle's rhetoric and his mention of a “France vraie et éternelle.” These strong words, pronounced by De Gaulle in a moment of collective euphoria, were not fortuitous: they aimed to rebuild the national myth through symbols and discourse, a myth that had been weakened by losing the war, the subsequent German occupation and the collaboration of the Vichy government with Nazi Germany.

As Geneviève Dreyfus-Armand shows, the reconstruction of the French national myth happened, as is often the case, at the expense of all the foreigners -Spanish Republican exiles included-, who had fought to liberate France: “ce trou mémoriel s'explique par la manière dont la France fixe très vite, pour des années, sa propre histoire de ces années-là: les mémoires dominantes de l'après-guerre, générées par les courants gaulliste et communiste, méconnaissent ou minimisent la participation des étrangers à la Résistance; il s'agit de faire prévaloir l'image d'un large consensus national contre l'occupant nazi, soit derrière un chef prestigieux, soit derrière un parti d'avant-garde” (6). As a result, the history of the battalion that greatly contributed to liberate Paris was silenced for many years from official discourses because it was mainly composed of Republican exiles.45

45 This battalion, officially called “9e compagnie du 3e bataillon de marche du Tchad”, is commonly known as “la Nueve”. It was created in 1943 in Morocco, and gathered troops belonging to the “Régiment de Tirailleurs Sénégalais du Tchad”, a regiment created under the colonial empire. In 1944, the company was connected to General Leclerc's “2e Division blindée”, a division that fought along with American troops in Normandy and that orchestrated the liberation of Paris.
Out of the one hundred and sixty men that constituted the battalion, one hundred and forty six were Spanish Republicans. Yet, as Geneviève Dreyfus-Armand points out, “il faudra soixante ans pour que la Ville de Paris reconnaisse officiellement que le détachement de la deuxième division blindée (2e DB) du général Leclerc à entrer dans Paris, le 24 août 1944, est la 9e compagnie du 3e bataillon de marche du Tchad, la Nueve” (6). And in fact, the actions of the men who formed la Nueve were not officially recognized until the city of Paris celebrated the 60th anniversary of its liberation in 2004, when former Mayor Bertrand Delanoë inaugurated a plaque commemorating the Spanish republicans who had fought for the city. Six years later, three survivors of la Nueve, Rafael Gómez, Luis Royo and Manuel Fernández received the Grande Médaille de Vermeil award delivered by the city of Paris.46

Ten years later, current Paris Mayor Anne Hidalgo born in Spain and under Francoism, participated in the commemorative ceremonies of the 70th birthday of the liberation of Paris. The official day of ceremonies took place on August 25th and followed De Gaulle's speech, putting the emphasis on the liberation of Paris by Parisians, and thus despite the presence of two prominent figures of France's current political landscape – Hidalgo and Prime Minister Manuel Valls- who are of Spanish descent. A day before however, the association 24 août 1944 organized a special tribute to la Nueve, in the presence of Rafael Gómez, the last survivor of la Nueve, and Mayor Anne Hidalgo -Manuel Valls did not join the commemoration. 47 The tribute, that consisted of following the steps

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46 In 2012, Rafael Gómez was the only survivor of la Nueve to be awarded the French Legion of Honor, the higher distinction bestowed by the French nation.

47 During the commemorations on August 25th, the participation of foreigners and Spanish Republicans in the liberation of Paris was evoked but not emphasized: on that day no specific tribute to la Nueve was rendered.
of la Nueve as it entered Paris and made its way through the center of the city - the itinerary from the Place d'Italie to the Hôtel de Ville was followed by hundreds of people, according to the association -, was the occasion for Anne Hidalgo to directly address the men of la Nueve:

L'histoire joue parfois de très mauvais tours, parce que oubliés pendant longtemps dans ces combats et dans votre contribution à la libération de Paris et de la France, parce que vous ne vous êtes pas arrêtés à Paris et pour les derniers d'entre vous, vous avez poursuivi jusqu'au nid d'aigle d'Hitler, il y a eu un deuxième oubli: c'est que ce combat pour la république, pour les valeurs de la démocratie, pour vous il ne s'est pas arrêté là dans votre quête personnelle. Mais personne n'est venu aider les républicains espagnols pour faire en sorte que la dictature de Franco ne dure pas les 40 ans qu'elle a duré, personne n'est venu porter secours ou répondre à cela, personne ! Il aura fallu attendre 40 ans et le décès du dictateur de sa mort naturelle pour que la démocratie revive aussi en Espagne. […] Cher Rafael, cher Luis Royo, à tous les combattants de la Nueve, je voudrais vous dire: Vive les combattants de la Nueve, Vive la République, Vive Paris. Merci de nous avoir permis d'être debout, de regarder droit devant nous et de prendre en héritage cette force qui est la vôtre, de la porter. Nous la portons aussi avec fierté et avec l'humilité qui est la vôtre Rafael. Merci Rafael, merci aux hommes de la Nueve!

Anne Hidalgo's speech underlined the “memorial void” historian Geneviève Dreyfus-Armand pointed to. Her presence at the tribute, organized by an association and gathering descendants of exiles, symbolically enables the reunion of the different poles of transmission in the sense of Ricœur. Yet, since such a celebration occurred in the margins of official commemorations, it was not widely broadcast by the media, and its impact on the larger population was therefore minimal. In other words, the participation of la Nueve in France's history has yet to be made accessible to a public of non-initiated people in order to become common knowledge. So far, this task has been largely undertaken by a few specialized historians such as Geneviève Dreyfus-Armand or journalists like Evelyn Mesquida, as well as by associations of descendants of exiles. But the question of extending the memorial network to those who are not part of the Spanish immigrant community is
still crucial: since the history of Spanish exiles who fought in la Nueve is part of France's history, it concerns France's citizens as a whole.48

In such a context, the role played by artists in testifying regarding historical episodes that have been overlooked can be crucial: if a work of art gains visibility in the media, it can potentially reach a non-initiated public and contribute to spreading out the memorial network. To that end, Paco Roca's graphic novel *Los surcos del azar* has given visibility to la Nueve not only in Spain where it was first published, but also in France, where it was released under the title *La Nueve*. Although *Pas pleurer* does not address the liberation of Paris, it offers the testimony of a woman who belongs to the same generation as the men of the 9th battalion, and who also experienced the ordeal of la Retirada.

2.2 LEGACY NARRATIVES AND THE VOIDS OF HISTORY

Like *El arte de volar*, Salvayre’s novel points to crucial historical episodes that I have identified in the last chapter as the “contents of memory.” In *Pas pleurer*, the narrator reveals her own personal agenda, as she unveils the processes of propaganda while she gives visibility to the first wave of exiles. Because she is guided by her personal agenda, Salvayre's approach is that of the writer, not of the historian. Her closeness to the matter at hand and the fictional claims that emanate from the novel enable evacuating the assumed factual neutrality of the historian. As a result, the narrator does not hide the fact that she is

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48 This is particularly true if we consider that the participation of la Nueve in the liberation of Paris is not common knowledge to this day. In May 2014, a few months before the commemorations took place, the members of the association *24 août 1944* realized street-interviews of Parisians to assess their knowledge on this historical event. Of course, the video montage merely shows people who are not familiar with the story of la Nueve, but the video is nonetheless enlightening because it reveals very common historical misconceptions regarding this episode: most interviewees declared either that Paris was liberated by Parisians (probably in a reference to De Gaulle's speech, “Paris libéré par lui-même”), or that it was liberated by American troops.
a direct inheritor of Spanish Republican exiles. In fact, her textual engagement is reflected by the references to Bernanos, who in his own time was committed to denounce the atrocities perpetrated in the Balearic Islands by the Francoist side with the support of the Catholic Church.

Narratively speaking, *Pas pleurer*’s structure dialogues with what literary critic Marie-Jeanne Zenetti has named “factographies”: contemporary narratives based on heterogeneous facts and discourses that mimic processes of audiovisual editing. In her article “Les factographies: déplacements des discours de l’histoire,” Zenetti argues that factographies question the textual connection between narratives and facts, and explore alternatives in the processes of fictional writing that rely on historical facts. According to Zenetti, factographies are either based on the transcription of present events, in which case they contain elements that connect them to ethnographic writing, or they focus on the past and mimick the work of historians because they make visible the sources and archives that structure the text. Moreover, the transcription of these sources and archives often occupies the whole narrative, to the point that the voice of the narrator disappears: “Dans les œuvres d'Alexander Kluge et de Charles Reznikoff [...] pas un mot de commentaire de l’auteur sur ses recherches ou sur les faits exposés ne vient se superposer aux documents cités. A certains égards, ces œuvres pourraient évoquer un dossier en cours, encore non exploité, sorte de travail préparatoire à l'étude d'un historien” (6).

As Zenetti points out, some authors voluntarily cut short the narrative processes that enable making sense of what is told precisely because they don't interfere directly with the text through the presence of a strong narrative voice. In a way, factographies imply an apparent disengagement of narrative voices that normally guide the reader and help her/him
make sense of the story. Because of this apparent disengagement, the participation of the reader with regard to the processes of reading factographies is possibly greater because she/he does not dispose of the usual narrative tools that facilitate interpretation and production of textual meaning. By increasing the level of participation of the reader in the production of meaning, factographies offer a different perspective on historical archives: “l'oeuvre factographique crée un dispositif qui permet de réinterroger l'archive: non pas en proposant un discours sur l'archive, mais en créant les conditions d'une écoute alternative du document, sur le mode littéraire” (10).

Strictly speaking, *Pas pleurer* does not fit Zenetti's definition in the sense that it does not evacuate the presence of strong narrative voices, quite the contrary: Salvayre's novel relies on them, and in that sense the novel is much closer to autofiction than to factography, as I will develop further on. But what is significant for *Pas Pleurer* in Zenetti's definition of factographies is Salvayre’s mimicry of audiovisual processes: the author employs the narrative trick of materializing Montse's voice through interlanguage, enabling the reader not only to situate Montse textually, but also to hear her voice. Yet, contrary to what we see in factography as defined by Zenetti, the treatment of historical facts in the novel is mediated by the first narrative voice that explicitly indicates her engagement in the story she is telling by pointing to an important number of memorial voids that are revealed one by one throughout the narrative. This is what I believe to be one of the key characteristics of legacy narratives: they rely on the engagement of the narrative voice(s), embodied textually by first person pronouns that consciously guide the reader to what has been silenced somewhere else.
One of the most significant “trous mémoriaux” recuperated by *Pas pleurer* is the libertarian revolution that occurred in Spain in 1936, which the narrator addresses historically by summarizing the events that led to it. The following passage shows a switch in narrative styles that moves from the daughter's first person voice to a factual historical account. The different narrative styles are separated from one another by two paragraph breaks, and introduced as such:

Afin de ne pas m'égarer dans les récits de Bernanos et dans ceux de ma mère, plein de méandres et de trous, je suis allée consuler quelques livres d'histoire. J'ai pu ainsi reconstituer, de la manière la plus précise possible, l'enchaînement des faits qui conduisirent à cette guerre que Bernanos et ma mère vécurent donc simultanément, l'un horrifié et le cœur au bord des lèvres, l'autre dans une joie solaire, inoubliable sous les drapeaux noirs déployés.49

Voici ces faits: […]

The fragment that follows also introduces a change in narrative space: the narrator transitions from the symbolic space that concerns her familial legacy on the one hand and the literary archive on the other hand, to the broader space of collective history that also includes the reader. In this sense, the novel reminds us that the beginning of the Spanish Civil War was also a time that led to a libertarian insurrection and to what is often referred to as a collectivist “revolution” in the Republican zones, more particularly in Catalonia, Aragon and the Levante zone.

As historian Julio Aróstegui points out in “Revolución, contrarrevolución y guerra civil en España,” the use of the term “revolution” to refer to the events of the summer of 1936 is problematic because it echoes the anti-republican rhetoric of the nationalist side that served to justify Franco's military insurrection that marked the beginning of the Spanish Civil War. Additionally, Aróstegui points out that under the Segunda República, there was no consensus within the Frente Popular that would have actually enabled the

49 In the novel, there is a paragraph break between the two sentences that I haven't reproduced here.
success of a revolutionary project previous to the war. But in many ways, it was this lack of consensus within the majority that led to localized uprisings by sections of the working-class affiliated with unionized anarchists. In Aróstegui’s own words, “la deslegitimación del poder republicano que la sublevación produce hacía ya posible la desaparición de cualquier freno. El bloque social que detentaba el poder, representado por una frágil alianza entre la burguesía republicana y la parte más moderada del mundo obrero organizado, es decir, el socialismo, en el Frente Popular quedó también deslegitimado por su débil oposición a la rebelión en julio de 1936” (63).

In other words, the first months of the Spanish Civil War were marked by a void in Azaña's Republican government, which contributed to the relative reinforcement of anarchist ideas among CNT members. As a result, insurrections spread throughout industrialized zones that were historically connected to working-class movements. And in fact, during the summer of 1936, the feeble response of Azaña's government to Franco's insurrection was partly due to a lack of consensus within the Frente Popular, and to the fear of radicalization in the working-class movement. As Aróstegui points out: “Es sabido que uno de los problemas que permiten crecer a la sublevación y que bloquean el enfrentamiento a ella es la fatal indecisión del republicanismo español mostrada entre el intento de negociar con los sublevados y el miedo a dar armas a un pueblo al que se supone realmente dispuesto a la revolución social” (64).

It is the memory of these few months that Salvayre recuperates in Pas pleurer, the memory not merely of a portion of the Spanish working-class, but also of rural areas where leftist ideologies had grown and challenged the traditional order that maintained a disproportionate social gap between peasants and local wealthy landowners. As Montse's
daughter underlines, “le coup d'état franquiste mit ainsi debout un peuple qui ignorait sa propre force […] des milliers de paysans commencèrent à se partager, sans attendre la loi, les grands domaines agricoles des propriétaires fonciers […] A partir de 36, en effet, d'innombrables villages transformés en communes collectives libres et autogérées vécurent hors du contrôle du pouvoir central, sans police, sans tribunaux, sans patron, sans argent, sans église, sans bureaucratie, sans impôt, et dans une paix presque parfaite” (109). The last sentence quoted here seems to suggest that the textual mention of the libertarian episode glorifies the utopia embraced by the narrator's family, as the words “paix presque parfaite” indicate. Yet, the narrator does not fall into an ideological trap that would consist of presenting an idealized version of a historical period marked by ideological tensions among Republicans and intense complexity on the political stage.

As mentioned above, what makes *Pas pleurer* a legacy narrative is the fact that the narrator's closeness and commitment to the familial legacy is connected to the lived experience of the previous generation much more than it is to ideology. In fact, the narrator's engagement does not prevent her from condemning all atrocities perpetrated in the name of ideology and nationalism. Page after page, the novel challenges all sides, explores the internal conflicts that consumed the Republican side - for instance through the characters of Josep, the anarchist, and Diego, the communist - and questions all ideological dogmatisms and their consequences. For instance, the reader follows Josep's evolution, from a hoped for social change to bitter disenchantment. To some extent, Josep is to the Republican side what Bernanos is to conservatism: they are both characters who distance themselves from their own side because at some point they have the ability to reject the violence and cruelty perpetrated in the name of ideology. Like Bernanos, who condemns
the murder of Republicans perpetrated by the Francoist side, Josep questions the murder of Catholics at the hands of members of the Republican side: “Il est terrassé, comme Bernanos est terrassé au même moment à Palma, et pour des raisons similaires. […] On peut donc tuer des hommes sans que leur mort occasionne le moindre sursaut de conscience, la moindre révolte ? […] Mais dans quel égarement, dans quel délire faut-il avoir sombré pour qu'une 'juste cause' autorise de telles horreurs ?” (134).

Parallel to the historical events recuperated in the novel that refer to the context of the Spanish Civil War, *Pas pleurer* examines the paths that lead men and women to blindly follow ideologies, no matter what these ideologies defend and convey. In that sense, the narrative offers an exploration of the human mind as it unveils, beyond questions of ethics and morality, the thin boundaries that separate sanity and insanity. In a way, the chaotic structure of the novel also symbolizes the chaos that characterizes madness. Josep and Bernanos' “sursaut de conscience,” to quote *Pas pleurer*'s narrator, primarily points to a burst of lucidity that allows both men not to sink into the collective insanity of their time. The historical legacy contained in the novel therefore serves to interrogate broader notions that are not simply linked to the past, but that are still relevant in the present.

One of the notions questioned by the first narrative voice is nationalism, and the narrator's questions are triggered both by her mother's testimony and her reading of Bernanos. In fact, by questioning notions that go beyond the context of Spain, the narrator also expands the relevance of the novel's legacy to France. The narrator, who is the inheritor of two cultures, sets the record straight regarding integration and the supposed values of the French Republic as a “terre d'accueil”; she looks at the the French attitude toward Spain and Spanish exiles at the time. The novel refers to the August 1936 decision by the
governing Front Populaire - a coalition of leftist parties similar to Spain's Frente Popular, not to intervene in the Spanish conflict: “le lendemain, le Conseil des ministres du gouvernement français décide la non-intervention en Espagne, tout en déplorant extrêmement extrêmement la guerre effroyable qui ravage ce beau pays” (135). The notable sarcasm employed by the narrator, reflected in the repetition of the adverb “extrêmement” points to the feeling of betrayal that resulted from Léon Blum's government decision, further summarized by Montse a few lines below: “Toutes les paroles sont faibles, me dit ma mère, pour exprimer le desengaño, la déception mezclée de ire que Josep ressent en s'informant de ces nouvelles” (136). In this passage, the juxtaposition of the voice of the daughter, who refers to historical facts, and of the mother, who experienced the consequences of such facts clearly highlights the connection between individual stories with specific historical contexts.

Similarly, both Montse and her daughter rely on sarcasm when they address the events that concern la Retirada and the detention of Republican exiles under Daladier's leftist radical government, a government that passed the law that would lead to the systematic imprisonment of Spanish refugees: “Il fallait voir comment on acclamait le maréchal Putain dans les premières années de mon tourisme en France excuse l'humour (allusion aux années 39-40 au cours desquelles ma mère et Lunita voguèrent de camp de concentration en camp d'internement, pour le plus grand profit de leur savoir géographique, pérégrinations dont ma mère gardait encore, exceptionnellement, le souvenir)” (177). The reference to the maréchal Pétain, who would become the head of Vichy's government a couple of months later, and by extension, the symbol of France's collaboration with Nazi Germany, together with the play on words with his name and the swear word “putain,”
point to a historical period that greatly contradicts the myth of the French Republic as the cradle of human rights, which to this day transpires in most political discourses.

Parallel to the history of Spain, the novel invites the reader to take a closer look at an obscure period of France's history, which clashes with the consensus of its political class toward the Republic’s supposed values. The sarcastic tone adopted by the narrative voices does not merely serve to criticize France's governments’ decisions in the past, it also questions the present by recuperating facts that are usually overlooked because they reveal a reality far more complex than what today's polished political discourses actually transmit. The recuperation of the historical legacy is therefore based on connecting Spain’s and France's history, on integrating both nations within the same memorial network that escapes national boundaries. For this task to be effective, the novel mixes two first-person narrative voices that guide the reader through history as well as through human experience. As a result, more than a simple factography, the novel relies on other narrative techniques, as I examine below, which enable expanding the scope of the novel's legacy to literature.

2.3 AUTOFICTION AND THE RECUPERATION OF FEMALE ARCHETYPES

As I have already mentioned, *Pas pleurer* brings together two juxtaposed narrative voices, those of Montse and her daughter. The narrative space is shared by two voices who speak in the first person, and who focus on past events directly experienced by only one of them, Montse. If we were to consider the novel in relation to autobiography, we would look at the same questions we asked of *El arte de volar*, with the added complication that in *Pas Pleurer* the daughter's voice has greater presence in the narrative. Contrary to *El arte de volar*, *Pas pleurer*, does not propose a merging of narrative voices: it maintains the two
“je” throughout the text, making it difficult to categorize the novel as an autobiography as defined by Philippe Lejeune in *Le pacte autobiographique*. “L’identité de nom entre auteur, narrateur et personnage,” a major feature of autobiography, only concerns the daughter in *Pas Pleurer* (she is named by the mother at the very end of the narrative “Une petite anisette, ma Lidia”).

Yet, it could easily be argued that the mother's narrative voice is secondary in the text, and that her interventions in the first person need to be read as separate monologues, or as part of the dialogues between mother and daughter, allowing for the legacy to be passed on. Since Montse's interventions in the narrated present are marked by the use of interlanguage, it is not hard to assess how much narrative “space” she actually occupies, enabling us to conclude that her daughter's voice is prominent in the text. But if we consider Montse's daughter as the main narrative voice and follow Lejeune's definition, we face another issue: since the events narrated in the past have been experienced by the mother, and not the daughter, the novel cannot be the latter’s autobiography. Perhaps we should consider the novel a biography of the mother with autobiographical components.

Moreover, even if we were to consider Montse's narrative voice as secondary based on the “amount” of narrative space she occupies, we see that her presence in the text is significant enough to be maintained throughout the text, and even to conclude the novel: the last “je” of the novel belongs to her, and not to the first narrative voice. The juxtaposition of these two narrative voices clearly shows that just like *El arte de volar*, *Pas pleurer* goes beyond the strict definitions of autobiography. In fact, the notion of autobiography applied to Salvayre's novel is challenged even before the reader discovers that it is told by two juxtaposed narrative voice: the categorization, “roman,” appearing on
the cover just below the title, presents a pact between author and reader that differs from
the “pacte autobiographique” as understood by Lejeune. And as a matter of fact, such a
pact could very well be a “pacte d'autofiction”: in other words, a contemporary approach
to autobiography that allows a greater degree of fictionalization.

The term autofiction was coined in the late 1970's by Serge Doubrovsky following
the publication of his novel *Fils* (1977). For Doubrovsky, autofiction differed from
autobiography in that it exceeded the limitations of the autobiographical pact. The
autofiction narrative is therefore partly based on the autobiographical pact: while on the
one hand the memories told in autofictional texts match Lejeune's characteristics, the
narrative justifications for telling such memories are on the other hand, fictional. More
recently, Doubrovsky argued that autofiction was “une variante postmoderne de
l'autobiographie et composée de critères définitoires tels que l'identité onomastique de
l'auteur et du héros narrateur, le sous-titre roman, le primat du récit, ou encore une stratégie
d'emprise du lecteur” (103).

As a result, autofiction blurs the lines between fiction and fact, at the same time
that it reveals the narrative processes that aim to “hook” readers. In the case of a novel like
*Pas pleurer*, we have seen that formal aspects, such as Montse's interlanguage, also show
these processes; and in addition to the formal aspects the text presents archetypal elements
that shape the atmosphere of the novel. But contrary to Doubrovsky's first definition of
autofiction, the archetypal elements - in other words, the elements that are most likely
fictional - are here used to build the background of Montse's memories much more than
they configure the context in which her memories are being told. Indeed, very little is said
about the narrated present, and the justifications for telling her mother's memories are briefly presented by the daughter as follows:

"J'écoute ma mère et je lis *Les grands cimetières sous la lune* [...] J'y consacre, depuis quelques mois, la presque totalité de mes jours. Je n'avais jamais eu, jusqu'ici, le désir de me rouler (littérairement) dans les ressouvenirs maternels de la guerre civile ni dans les ouvrages qui lui étaient consacrés. Mais j'ai le sentiment que l'heure est venue pour moi de tirer de l'ombre ces événements d'Espagne que j'avais relégués dans un coin de ma tête pour mieux me dérober sans doute aux questionnements qu'ils risquaient de lever. L'heure est venue pour moi de les regarder. Simplement de les regarder (104).

In fact, the novel does not describe the narrated present: it doesn't elaborate on the circumstances that characterize the encounters between mother and daughter, and that lead Montse to remember her younger years.

The scenes that describe everyday life in Montse's village at the beginning of the war are the fragments that carry most of the fictional “weight”. The village is represented as a traditional and secluded space that offers very little hope for younger generations. As in *El arte de volar*, *Pas pleurer* points to the generational gap that opposes the elders, who live almost completely in the margins of modernity, and the younger generations who strive for freedom and change. Moreover, the novel also insists on social disparities by picturing a world that opposes the group of villagers to a local wealthy landowner, don Jaume Burgos. In the narrative, the beginning of the war is associated with Montse's conflictual encounter with the Burgos family, when she is considered for a maid’s position:

Le 18 juillet 1936, ma mère accompagnée de ma grand-mère, se présente devant los señores Burgos qui souhaitent engager une nouvelle bonne, la précédente ayant été chassée au motif qu'elle sentait l'oignon. Au moment du verdict, don Jaume Burgos Obregón tourne vers son épouse un visage satisfait et, après avoir observé ma mère de la tête aux pieds, déclare sur ce ton d'assurance que ma mère n'a pas oublié Elle a l'air bien modeste. Ma grand-mère le remercie comme s'il la félicitait, mais moi, me dit ma mère, cette phrase me rend folle, je la réceptionne comme une offense, comme une patada en el culo, ma chérie, une patada en el culo qui me fait faire un salto de dix mètres en moi-même, qui ameute mon cerveau qui dormait depuis plus de quinze ans et qui me facilite de comprendre le sens des palabres que mon frère Josep a rapportées de Lérida [...] (13)
The passage briefly describes the village's atmosphere by bringing together all the elements that characterize its population, and by emphasizing the breach brought by leftist ideologies that suddenly challenge the social order accepted by the previous generations. As in *El arte de volar*, the promises for change come from the outside, in this case from Lérida, the town where Josep has been in contact with the anarchist movement.

Because they are typical representations of rural Spain at the beginning of the XXth century, these elements provide space for fictionalization: the Burgos patronym, for instance, can be interpreted as a reference to the Spanish city of Burgos, base of the Francoist government during the last two years of the Civil War. And in fact, as the name clearly states, the Burgos family symbolizes the conservative ideology promoted by the Francoist side. This reference is particularly developed through the characters that compose the Burgos family, particularly the women, doña Sol (don Jaume's wife) and doña Pura. The latter, who is also don Jaume's sister, recovers the archetype of the religious spinster who represents patriarchal authority, as represented by Andrea’s Tía Angustias in Carmen Laforet's *Nada*, or by Natalia’s Tía Concha in Carmen Martín Gaite's *Entre Visillos*. But in *Pas Pleurer*, the archetype is pushed to its extreme: doña Pura becomes a caricature of the religious female figure, her name strongly highlighting the injunctions of patriarchal ideology. The long description of doña Pura, narrated over almost ten pages, radically stands out in the text. Separated from Montse's memories by two paragraph breaks, it is introduced by a title that emphasizes the caricature:

**HAGIOGRAPHIE DE DOÑA PURA SURNOMMÉ SANTA PURA**

Célibataire à cinquante ans, […] élevée entre une mère dévote et les sœurs de l'école du Sacré-Cœur, [doña Pura] avait été trempée dès le plus jeune âge dans la religion catholique. Et les principes religieux, qui l'avaient profondément ennuyée lorsqu'elle était enfant, avaient pris, avec les événements de juillet, un caractère frénétique. Doña Pura s'était mise à défendre, avec une ferveur tout eucharistique, la Santa Guerra délivrée par Franco, son Caudillo vénéré, son Génie absolu, son Sauveur envoyé par le Ciel, l'Artisan valeureux de la Nouvelle Espagne et le défenseur
de causes grandioses au premier rang desquelles figuraient: 1. La lutte contre les impies, 2. L'extermination de la gangrène démocratique [...] (82-85)

Not only does the caricature of doña Pura reflect one of the female archetypes of the Spanish novel, it also serves to question the role of the Catholic Church and its followers in the Spanish Civil War. Her anguishing presence in the text points to the negative hold of religion on women, and more broadly, she represents the fears of the conservatist class whose members rejected the disappearance of social privileges with the advent of the República, and who justified their social position by reaffirming their affiliation with the Catholic Church. In the long portrayal of doña Pura, religious dogmatism is ridiculed by invoking the “solterona” archetype, which in turn opposes another key figure in the novel: George Bernanos. In fact, doña Pura's description, characterized by its sarcastic and vigorous tone, is directly followed by a fragment that describes George Bernanos' attitude toward the massacres perpetrated by Francoists with the support of the Catholic Church.

In the narrative, Bernanos is presented as an “anti-doña Pura”: a fervent Catholic who was able to maintain his moral compass and who had the courage to denounce the crimes perpetrated by the people he originally supported: “Bernanos sait parfaitement que ces vérités ne sont pas bonnes à dire et qu'on va les lui reprocher […] Et bien qu'il lui en coûte de les dénoncer, il lui coûte plus encore d'en être le voyeur muet” (91). The fictional elements revealed through the caricature of doña Pura bring into relief Bernanos' choice, and in fact, the section that concerns him and that follows doña Pura's “hagiography” is characterized by a radical change in tone: the narrator switches from sarcasm to sobriety, as a way to highlight the gravity of the facts condemned by Bernanos. As a result, by opposing two figures, one archetypal, the other heroicized, the narrator reinforces the
hombre. Through Bernanos and the intertextual dialogue between Pas pleurer and Les grands cimetières sous la lune, Salvayre expands the memorial network to those who, regardless of background and origins, resisted dogmatism and denounced crimes committed in the name of ideology.

Similarly, doña Pura's archetypal figure serves to oppose Montse, the narrative's protagonist. By using the archetype of the “solterona”, Pas pleurer also engages with Spanish postwar female writers who challenged roles assigned to women by the patriarchal authority, an authority that was reinforced under Franco's regime. Through literature, authors such as Carmen Laforet, Carmen Martín Gaite or Ana María Matute managed to propose models that tore apart the rigid figures appropriated by the regime that aimed to promote a female ideal connected to domesticity and maternity, as I explain below. As historian Immaculada Blasco Herranz points out in her article “Género y nación durante el franquismo,” the construction of the national myth under the regime relied on the attribution of specific gender roles and on the recuperation of cultural symbols such as Teresa of Avila and Isabel the Catholic that represented the “great Catholic nation.” As a result, the national discourses of the XXth century put women at the center of the Francoist ideology (Blasco Herranz, 54): the female role in the construction of the nation was crucial because it depended on the participation of women to ensure the perpetuation of the national values and ideology through maternity and education.

[...] el régimen erigió a la familia en uno de los pilares de la nación, con lo que aquélla se transformó en uno de los ámbitos a través de los que podía realizarse la fidelidad a la nación. Por lo tanto, en los proyectos nacionalistas durante el franquismo, la concreción de la misión nacional en las mujeres no significó exclusivamente un impulso hacia la participación en el espacio público, sino que también incluía, junto al activismo sociopolítico, el énfasis en la maternidad como misión asignada a las mujeres en la nueva nación española. Sucedía, como en otros fascismos, que el impulso nacionalizador de la población femenina y la politización de la esfera privada se reforzaron mutuamente (Blasco Herranz, 54).
The “mobilization” of women, who were assigned an educational role, constituted a way to control the domestic sphere, and to further spread the authority of the regime by eliminating the boundaries between public and private spaces. The tremendous burden on women, who were trapped between nationalist discourses that gave them the mission to bear the children of the regime and a repressive Catholic ideology, is also reflected in *Pas pleurer* through another archetypal figure. This second archetypal figure constitutes a literary counterpart to the “solterona”: the angel of the house. This self-denying, loving and educated bourgeois figure, inherited from the XIXth century, had already limited women to the domestic sphere in which they acted as caretakers, ensured the well-being of men and the proper education of children. *Pas pleurer*’s doña Sol, don Jaume's wife and Diego's stepmother, has all the features of the “ángel del hogar”: she is married to the wealthy male conservative figure, and as such she is relegated to the domestic sphere where she desperately tries to fulfill her role as a caretaker.

However, doña Sol is barren, and her mission to raise Diego, don Jaume's son, is frustrated by her stepson's rejection: “[…] Enfant [Diego] est sombre, renfrogné, refusant farouchement tous les gestes de tendresse comme si une force terrible les lui interdisait […] Mais comme il n'ose exprimer sa violence envers son père, il la tourne contre sa belle-mère dont il a tout de suite deviné dans ses yeux la faiblesse, quelque chose de brisé. […] T'es pas ma mère, lui lance-t-il, les yeux impitoyables, à la moindre de ses remarques” (38). Doña Sol's mission as “el ángel del hogar” is frustrated not only because it is impossible for her to biologically ensure don Jaume's descendants but also because her role as an educator is complicated by Diego's implacable rejection, and by his eventual adherence to communist ideology.
By proposing an “aborted” version of the “ángel del hogar,” *Pas pleurer* symbolically frustrates any possibility to narratively bring to life the conservative project. As with Antonio’s son in *El arte de volar*, who chooses to inherit his father's legacy at the expense of his mother's, *Pas pleurer* also shows that there is some room for choice in the processes of transmission, and that for legacies to be passed on, it is necessary that all actors in the memorial network participate in such processes. It is interesting to note that these two legacy narratives that transmit Republican memory also narratively frustrate the transmission of the Falangist ideology's conservative roots. Moreover, in both texts, we see that male characters are given the possibility to inherit or turn down the legacy of previous generations: while Antonio's son identifies with his father, Diego rejects the conservative ideology connected to his wealthy origins. But if male characters are offered such a choice, what happens then with female characters? Are they narratively limited by archetypes, and bound to represent the patriarchal authority - like doña Pura-, or to ensure the transmission of the conservative ideology - like doña Sol?

*Pas pleurer* offers an alternative for female characters, as do various Spanish precedents: Laforet's *Nada* or Martín Gaite's *Entre visillos*. This alternative is rooted in Montse's protagonism, which takes the reader beyond the two above mentioned archetypes embodied by doña Sol and doña Pura. Indeed, these archetypal female figures function in *Pas pleurer* fictional elements that enable a contrast with the depth of experience in Montse's protagonistic figure. Because her development as a central character of the novel is based on lived experiences, it is possible for the reader to perceive a complex reality that can hardly be conveyed by stereotypes. Moreover, Montse's struggles reveal the condition of Spanish women at the beginning of the XXth century in Spain.
As Pilar Nieva de la Paz points out in her book *Roles de género y cambio social en la literatura española del siglo XX*, the first decades of the XXth century were marked by transformations leading to the progressive emancipation of women and the appearance of new feminine models that would question the role of the “ángel del hogar” inherited from the XIXth century. The growing access to higher education, the possibilities for professional development and the integration of women in political life allowed them to detach gradually from the domestic sphere as their visibility slowly increased in the public sphere. Such a redefinition of female identities, which gave rise to the figure of the “mujer moderna,” was enabled during the Segunda República by the extension of voting rights to women in 1931, the legislation of civil marriage and the possibility to divorce, and the sanction of abortion in 1936 (11).

The defeat of the Republic in the Spanish Civil War was a terrible setback for the emancipation of women: the rights granted under the Segunda República were revoked, and the figure of notable “modern women” were expunged from the public sphere. As Pilar Nieva de la Paz points out, “muchas de esas 'mujeres modernas' que habían abierto camino durante los años 20 y 30 murieron durante la Guerra, fueron encarceladas y reprimidas en la posguerra o tuvieron que partir hacia el exilio” (12). As a result, the generation of women born from the 1930’s on was deprived of role models that could offer an alternative to the feminine roles assigned by the regime:

[las mujeres modernas] fueron el 'eslabón perdido' que fue silenciado y negado a las jóvenes generaciones de posguerra. Las españolas nacidas a partir de los años treinta se educaran en plena dictadura, ignorando los avances protagonizados por sus inmediatas antepasadas, y sometidas al férreo adoctrinamiento ideológico de la Iglesia Católica y la Sección Femenina de Falange. […] Los cambios en los roles de género que habían empezado a producirse entonces se detuvieron en seco, para dejar un lugar de hegemonía total al modelo de la servicial ama de casa de la posguerra […] La educación de las jóvenes españolas se completaba con la lectura 'ejemplar' de vidas de santos, las recomendaciones sobre 'savoir faire' social y las lecturas de novela rosa […] (12)
As explained earlier, Salvayre recuperates and transforms the main genres that constituted the “acceptable” literature for young women during the postwar period in two ways. First, she proposes a caricature of the “vidas de santos” with doña Pura's hagiography. Second, she frustrates doña Sol's chances to have a happy marriage, the ultimate goal proposed to women in the “novela rosa” genre. Moreover, through the character of Montse, the novel also proposes alternate female figures that can be connected with the “mujeres modernas.”

Based on the events she experiences, and given the fact that Montse goes through a series of profound transformations during this period of time, *Pas pleurer*, like *El arte de volar*, borrows from the *bildungsroman*. As the novel opens, Montse's personality is already going through a transformation linked to her condition as a member of the exploited working class who refuses to accept the life she is expected to have. Because the young woman has already been initiated by the leftist ideologies that her brother has brought back to the village from Lérida, she is able to recognize and name the exploitation that awaits her if she is hired to work as a maid by the Burgos family. At the beginning of the novel, the reader witnesses Montse's individual act of rebellion. Her first outburst of anger is mentioned in the opening lines of the novel: “Une mauvaise pauvre est une pauvre qui ouvre sa gueule. Ma mère, le 18 juillet 1936, ouvre sa gueule pour la première fois de sa vie. Elle a quinze ans” (11).

However, Montse's outburst of anger is not merely caused by her social condition and by exploitation. It is triggered by a male gaze: it is don Jaume's gaze, followed by a definite and contemptuous remark (“Elle a l'air bien modeste”) that pushes the young woman over the edge. Montse's ensuing reaction points both to her social status and to her condition as a woman: she rebels against don Jaume because he symbolizes the oppression
of the working class by the wealthy and because he represents the oppression of women by patriarchy:

Elle a l'air bien modeste, tu comprends ce que ça veut dire ? Ça veut dire, je bouillais ma chérie je bouillais, ça veut dire que je serai bien bonne bien bête bien obéissante ! [...] Ça veut dire que je présenterai toutes les garanties d'une perfecte idiote, que je ne rechisterai jamais contre rien, que je ne causerai aucune moleste d'aucune sorte ! Ça veut dire que don Jaume me payera des, comment tu dis ? des clopinettes, et qu'en plus il me faudra lui dire muchísimas gracias avec cet air modeste qui me va si bien. Seigneur Jésus, murmure ma mère la mirade alarmée, plus bas, on va t'ouir. Et moi, je grite encore plus fort: Je me fous qu'on m'ouit, je veux pas être bonniche chez les Burgos, j'aime mieux faire la pute en ville ! (14)

This passage reveals Montse's inner tensions, at the same time that it reflects the social impositions on young women of her time. Two generations are present in this fragment, the young generation, portrayed by Montse, who dares to rebel against tradition and the village's immutable order, and the previous generation. Of course, Montse's rebellion against tradition can be read as a characteristic of adolescence -after all, Montse is fifteen at the beginning of the novel-, much more than as a direct consequence of the broader changes in women's condition that were taking place in Spain at the time. Yet, her outburst of anger is all the more significant because it spontaneously breaks apart the state of submission and self-effacement expected of women. By speaking up and manifesting her anger, Montse makes herself visible as an individual, and by asserting herself, she tears down the image projected by don Jaume's gaze. In other words, she does not allow patriarchy to define who she is: through her reaction, she instantly redefines herself.

Montse's anger is subversive because it occurs in public space, in plain sight and possibly in front of other villagers who most likely know who she is, as inferred by her mother's reaction. In fact, from the perspective of patriarchy, Montse's outburst is almost a provocation: it highlights the difficulties for uneducated women of the working class to become independent. Indeed, the options for women living at Montse's time were meager:
Montse's declaration of independence reveals that the alternative to working as a maid is prostitution (or in any case, anything that might have been perceived as prostitution). In fact, as Montse's monologue continues, we see that it is the village's traditional order that she rejects, along with the foreseeable fate that awaits the young girls of her generation, which her mother points out: “alors ma mère pour me pacifier me rappelle à voix susurrée les bénéfices considérables qui m'espèrent si je suis engagée: que je serai logée, que je serai nourrie et que je serai nettoyée, que j'aurai une vacation tous les dimanches pour aller danser la sardane sur la place de l'Église, que je toucherai un petit salaire et une petite prime annuelle avec quoi je pourrai me constituer un petit trousseau, et même mettre de côté. A ces mots, je clame: Plutôt morir !” (14).

In many ways, Montse's aspirations are similar to Antonio's dream in El arte de volar. Both characters belong to a young generation of men and women born and raised in rural areas of Spain, who wished for something better than what their villages had to offer. The weight of tradition, the oppressive feeling of confinement that characterizes everyday life in a small town where everyone knows one another are the elements that trigger both characters' need for a change, and such a change comes, in both cases, from the city. It is the paradoxical effect of rural life that pushes both characters to look for something more: while rural life institutes a significant level of visibility, it also increases the social pressure upon which the traditional order is based, therefore denying any possibility for the villagers to deviate from the established norm. In fact, in both narratives, we see that both characters' contact with urban areas serves to emphasize their individual quest.

In Montse's case, it is a journey to Barcelona, where she follows her brother Josep, which constitutes a key aspect of the character's development. The decision to leave the
village is, for both Montse and her brother, mainly triggered by the sense of oppressive confinement I have already mentioned. Yet, if both male and female characters share similar aspirations of breaking free from the oppressive confinement of rural life, the oppression exerted upon women is quite different. While Montse follows Josep, she is not as invested politically as her brother: during her stay in Barcelona, Montse witnesses the libertarian revolution but seems distanced from it; in fact, what Montse experiences in Barcelona is another type of revolution, more intimate yet nonetheless significant politically. The young woman is on the one hand seized by the effervescence and the sensation of freedom that followed the libertarian revolution, but on the other, it is the contact of the big city and what it has to offer that fascinates her: “Rien n'a préparé Montse à cette expérience […] si bien que tout ce qui survient lors de ce séjour en ville a pour elle la soudaineté d'un séisme, et sa puissance […] Et tout ce qu'elle vit, tous les événements minuscules qui font le tissus banal de la vie, l'eau chaude coulant du robinet, la boisson d'une bière fraîche à la terrasse d'un café, deviennent soudain autant de prodiges” (123).

If modernity and the material comfort of the city impact Montse, she also perceives what urban spaces have to offer to women. In Barcelona, Montse grasps the alternatives that she could not have imagined from within the boundaries of her village: “deux jeunes filles en pantalon, les ongles peints en rouge, leur offrent, avec des airs crânes, des cigarettes blondes, et Montse découvre avec stupéfaction que des femmes qui ne sont pas des salopes peuvent fumer comme les hommes, que j'étais bête quand j'y pense” (112). And in fact, Montse's political engagement is connected to the realization that her condition as a woman can evolve, because she now has the possibility to interact with women who do
not fit the categories she is familiar with. In other words, Montse's journey to Barcelona partially frees the character from the village's traditional order.

From a literary perspective, while Montse escapes the archetypal figures mentioned earlier, she can nonetheless be connected to the "chica rara" tradition in the postwar Spanish female novel. The term, coined by Carmen Martín Gaite in an essay on Carmen Laforet's *Nada*, refers to female characters who are “en abierta ruptura con el comportamiento femenino habitual en otras novelas anteriores escritas por mujeres.” Although Montse does not belong to the same social class as the bourgeois “chica rara”, and despite the fact that *Pas pleurer*'s time of narrated events precedes *Nada*'s description of the postwar period, Salvayre pushes further the dialogue with Spanish female writers by pinpointing the roots of Montse's rebellion in the domestic space as well as in her attempt to escape the social pressure transmitted to her through her parents. But Andrea and Montse’s circumstances differ. On the one hand, Andrea's disillusionment grows as she experiments an atmosphere of confinement, misery and violence in her grand-mother's flat, an ambiance that matches the hardships of the postwar years. Montse, on the other hand, leaves the village's oppressive atmosphere and finds herself projected into a modern and bourgeois universe -she is hosted in the flat of a bourgeois family where her sister Francisca works as a maid.

Yet, considering her origins, Montse's outburst of anger and her decision to follow her brother are characterized by non-conformism, and it is precisely this absence of conformism that connects Montse to the “chicas raras” as defined by Carmen Martín Gaite: su comportamiento está presidido por el inconformismo. El componente más significativo de estos brotes de inconformismo debe buscarse en una peculiar relación de la mujer con los espacios interiores. Y como consecuencia, con el grupo familiar que se solidifica y se defiende dentro de tales espacios. Una característica común a estas heroínas más o menos hermanas de Andrea, es la de que no aguantan el encierro ni las ataduras al bloque familiar que las impide lanzarse a la calle.
La tentación de la calle no surge identificada con la búsqueda de una aventura apasionante, sino bajo la noción de cobijo, de recinto liberador. Quieren largarse a la calle, simplemente, para respirar, para tomar distancia con lo de dentro mirándolo desde fuera, en una palabra, para dar un quiebro a su punto de vista y ampliarlo.

In Montse's case, her lack of conformism makes her a “chica rara” who extracted herself from the domestic space where she was born and raised and from the predestined fate that awaited her had she not left the village. The geographical distance that separates Barcelona from her village also allows her to distance herself from tradition, to reconsider her old beliefs and to open her mind to new alternatives. However, in a context marked by the effervescence of the libertarian revolution of 1936, Montse’s refusal to conform to the norm is not connected to existential anguish; it is experienced as an adventure: “Montse a le sentiment de découvrir à quinze ans la vie qu'on lui avait cachée. Et elle s'y jette. Et elle s'y ébroue. Et c'est une joie pure. Ce qui l'amène à déclarer, soixante-quinze ans plus tard, avec une emphase tout ibérique, que si la guerre des armes a été perdue par les siens, l'autre (guerre) reste à jamais invaincue, escúchame!” (123). The other war that Montse refers to, and that she tells her daughter about seventy-five years later is precisely a war fought for emancipation, and this war is intimate as much as it is ideological: Montse's adventure in Barcelona also leads her to experience love and sexual intimacy with a French anarchist.

Montse's testimony, her legacy, is therefore based on bursts of rebellion that reveal her refusal to conform to what is expected of her. In fact for Montse, the summer of 1936 marks both a transition and a parenthesis from the immutable order she is bound to follow: her emancipation ends with a pregnancy and her decision to return to her village, where she will end up marrying Diego Burgos, don Jaume's son. In many ways, Montse's story reflects the complex history of women's emancipation at the beginning of the XXth century in Spain, a history cut short by the dictatorship and by the ideology of the regime. The
character's return to her hometown also marks her retreat to a life of confinement, both in
her village and later within the domestic space in the Burgos' residence, with once again
very little to hope for:

De retour au village, il ne fallut pas deux jours à Montse pour constater que l'air y était encore plus
irrespirable qu'elle ne l'avait appréhendé. Au tumulte joyeux de juillet avait succédé un climat de
méfiance qui imprégnait tous les rapports et jusqu'aux plus intimes [...] Et elle qui avait ressenti de
façon si intense le bonheur d'être libre, elle retrouva l'enfer des étroitesses. Elle pensa que le
contrôle de tous par tous qui s'exerçait depuis toujours dans le village, mais à présent avec fureur,
la ferait dépérir. Elle pensa que, quand bien même elle passerait ici sa vie entière, elle ne
s'acclimaterait jamais plus aux commérages poussés à de telles extrémités que le seul fait pour une
jeune fille d'allumer une cigarette était commenté des semaines entières. (158-159)

This passage reveals that in spite of her return, which seems to definitely close the
parenthesis of Montse's stay in Barcelona, the summer of 1936 still constitutes a transition
in Montse's life in the way she experiences womanhood. And if the protagonist's initial lack
of conformism is shattered by tradition and by the patriarchal order to the point that she
complies with her mother's wishes and accepts to marry Diego, it is the events of the
summer of 1936 that are still intact in the character's shaky memory, and that are
transmitted to the first narrative voice: “Ne persiste dans sa mémoire que cet été 36, où la
vie où l'amour la prirent à bras-le-corps […] cet été radieux que j'ai mis en sûreté dans ces
quelques lignes puisque les livres sont faits, aussi, pour cela” (279).

With this sentence, the first narrative voice reminds the reader of her goal to keep
her mother's memories alive. In Pas pleurer, the need to recuperate these memories is
motivated both by Montse's medical condition, which prevents her from remembering
anything other than the summer of 36, but also by the necessity to support the trajectory of
memory and fight collective amnesia. As seen in this section, the familial and domestic
space play a crucial role in the processes of transmission, but such spaces can also be
subverted, revealing the complex dynamics that lie at the core of transmission, where
individual choices meet external demands. In comparison to *El arte de volar*, *Pas pleurer* shows to an even greater degree the ideological pressure exerted upon family as a symbolic space to transmit tradition, values and principles that will ensure the permanence of social structures. Through the novel and its different female characters, we get a deeper understanding of family as a space where languages, behaviors and habits are transmitted, and that all these elements constitute an important part of the legacies that are passed on.

Like *El arte de volar*, *Pas pleurer* unveils how the processes of transmission unfold within the familial circle, and how such a circle is constantly permeated by external elements that have an impact on it. What is particularly enlightening with these legacy narratives is that they point to the tensions and conflicts that individuals face either when their desire to transmit a legacy is frustrated by fate or by rejection -as is the case of Antonio's wife and doña Sol-, or when they refuse to inherit something that is transmitted to them -as is the case with Antonio and Montse. In other words, these texts reveal that processes of transmission involve many actors, and as such, many dynamics that cannot be fully controlled, either by individual willpower or ideologies. In that sense, the processes of transmission are as fallible as memory itself, and the necessity to preserve -or “mettre en sûreté”, in *Pas pleurer*’s narrator's own words- memories is all the more significant because many elements escape both the processes of transmission and human willpower.

Salvayre’s *Pas pleurer* recreates a complex legacy, composed of linguistic, historical and fictional elements that are brought together in a deliberately chaotic fashion. As a result, the narrative manages a textual integration of its own by bringing together elements that belong to the culture and history of Spain on the one hand, and to the culture and history of France on the other. Yet, what is particularly significant is that far from
reinforcing the vacuous discourse of integration as understood by the French political class, *Pas pleurer* offers a textual integration that allows expanding the memorial network of Republican exiles in France, by making visible invisible stories that have been dismissed over the years.
The two legacy narratives that I have analyzed so far have shown how individual experience may sometimes conflict with ideologies. Both *El arte de volar* and *Pas pleurer* question collective memory by focusing on individual stories, therefore enriching our readings of historical events by placing human experience at the center of the texts. The stories of Antonio, Montse and her brother Josep remind us that individuals are not limited to ideology. In other words, what these legacy narratives recuperate is not merely a sort of “ideologized” memory, it is also the memory of human experience. While it is doubtful that such a level of “memory recuperation” could be attained by institutionalized acts of remembrance, it is nonetheless achieved in legacy narratives because it relies both on processes of transmission and on the actors that take part in such processes.

If in the context of France, the very specific issues faced by Republican exiles echo the difficulty of the government to maintain a clear migratory agenda that fit the country's supposed values, we may wonder whether similar conclusions can be drawn in the context of Mexico. The text analyzed in the following section, Soler's *Los rojos de ultramar*, can also be characterized as a legacy narrative. Written, to a certain extent, by two first-person narrative voices, the novel tells the story of Arcadi's exile, the main narrator’s grand-father. In this case, the novel takes the reader from Spain to Mexico, while it expands the memory network to the third generations.
3.1 SEARCHING THE FAMILIAL ARCHIVE

Like Salvayre’s, Soler’s novel addresses the author's family history by recuperating the memories of his ancestors, notably of his grand-father Francesc -whose fictional counterpart is named Arcadi. As with Antonio Altarriba and Lydie Salvayre, Jordi Soler is the direct inheritor of the story of his grand-father, and like Salvayre is the “product” of exile. Soler's family was part of a community of Catalan refugees whose exile resulted in a temporary change in social status, as the author explains in an interview to the literary blog "Un dia en les carreres:"

en el exilio, como en la vida, hay clases sociales, y mi familia era de exiliados de tercera categoría. Los de primera categoría quedaban en el D.F., […] porque ahí inmediatamente se enchufaban. Los que eran maestros se enchufaban en la universidad, los que eran escritores inmediatamente tenían un cenáculo de escritores donde podían dialogar y conseguir oportunidades. […] Si tenías un cierto pedigrí intelectual o científico, lo que tocaba era ir al D.F. […] Pero mi abuelo, que era un soldado, un muchacho que había estudiado para ser abogado en Barcelona, de pronto llegó la guerra, se inscribió en el ejército republicano y nunca pudo continuar su carrera. Mi abuelo llegó como un personaje sin ninguna categoría.

Soler's grand-father story reflects many characteristics of Republican exile in Mexico although, as Soler points out, his family wasn't part of the intellectual exile. Despite his Barcelonian middle-class background, Francesc’s incorporation in Mexican society was not facilitated by the same networks that benefited many artists, intellectuals and scholars. Since Francesc’s education was cut short by the war, his “new start” in the province of Veracruz, Mexico, consisted in founding a coffee plantation named La Portuguesa, along with four other Catalan exiles.

Despite the specifics of the Mexican context, analyzed in the following section, Soler's novel shares narrative features with El arte de volar and Pas pleurer. What makes all three texts legacy narratives is both their preoccupation with the recuperation of familial legacy, and the literary techniques they rely on to carry out the task at hand. The most
striking of these features is the organization of the narrative around two generations, that of Arcadi and that of his grandson. The novel also presents two narrative voices; although Arcadi’s voice is considerably limited in comparison with *El arte de volar*, or even *Pas pleurer*. The text also borrows from autofiction and other narrative genres to retrace Arcadi’s story and transmit the familial legacy.

The narrative is divided into six chapters that zigzag geographically (from Spain to France and Mexico) and chronologically. As in *El arte de volar*, *Los rojos de ultramar* seemingly follows a circular movement, but in Soler’s text circularity is achieved differently than in Altarriba's work. In the latter, the visual elements and the repetition of panels gave the impression of a circular trajectory. In Soler’s novel, the first and last chapters share the same title, “La guerra de Arcadi,” which implies a return to the beginning when we reach the end of the narrative. At the beginning of the novel, the reader is propelled into Arcadi's life story through the ambiguous phrase “Había una vez una guerra que empezó el 11 de enero de 1937” (9), thus locating the narrative in a hybrid space that mixes fiction, and more particularly the fantasy tale, with historical events.

The juxtaposition of the phrase “había una vez” and the date “el 11 de enero de 1937” create a distanciation with the fantasy tale since such texts are usually devoid of precise temporal markers. The reference to the year 1937 clearly indicates that “La guerra de Arcadi” announced in the title is most likely the Spanish Civil War. As arbitrary as it may seem, the reference to children's literature serves several purposes. This unexpected juxtaposition allows catching the readers’ attention while presenting elements of Arcadi’s story that do not make it a fantasy tale. For instance, it is probable that reading the phrase “había una vez” will trigger very specific fantasy tale expectations regarding the plot of the
narrative: a common expectation could be that the protagonist of the novel will go through a transformative journey, and another one that said journey will end in the best way possible in spite of all obstacles encountered. Yet, the concluding chapter of *Los rojos de ultramar* does not satisfy the reader's expectations with regards to a happy ending. Instead, it leaves us contemplating a very much transformed protagonist, but completely isolated from his community and burdened by the weight of his memories:

El repliegue de Arcadi tenía que ver con su capitulación, con su retirada, era la representación de la derrota, en el fondo se parecía al repliegue de los miles de individuos que vivieron la guerra y que, puestos frente a la memoria de aquel horror, decidieron, como él, replegarse, darle la espalda, perder aquel episodio incómodo de vista, pensar que esa guerra había sido peleada por otros, en un lugar y en un tiempo remotos (234)

If, in the final chapter, the reference to a remote time and place echo the opening phrase of the novel, the description of the protagonist’s story greatly clashes with the heroes of fantasy tales. Rather than portraying a triumphant character, the last page of the novel reveals an anti-hero, a protagonist who is not only identified as vanquished, but who is also characterized by his surrender, incapable of being blessed by a fortunate denouement. But the last chapter does dialogue with the fantasy tale genre in the sense that it portrays a metamorphosed Arcadi. Consequently, there is narrative continuity between the first and last chapters, and this continuity relies on features of the fantasy tale that refer to the modification of character. While the first page of the novel presents Arcadi as a Republican soldier (‘‘Cada soldado tiene su guerra, y la de Arcadi empezó ese día. Se alistó como voluntario en la columna Maciá-Companys y salió rumbo al frente’’), the last chapter portrays him as a profoundly religious man, “un santón de la selva” (234). His spiritual transformation, described as a “viraje vital” (228), radically conflicts with Republican ideology.
In light of these remarks, *Los rojos de ultramar* can be understood as an attempt by Arcadi’s grandson, the narrator, to make sense of his grandfather's transfiguration by engaging in a transcription of his ancestor's life, based both on the familial “archive,” composed by taped interviews of Arcadi, and on notebooks filled with the protagonists’ memories. The reference to children's literature and the fantasy tale also points to the mode of transmission of Arcadi's story that mixes oral tradition and written word. The narrative space of *Los rojos de ultramar* is therefore shared by Arcadi and his grandson. In order to distinguish both narrative voices, the narrator refers directly to his grandfather’s journal. Since Arcadi’s voice is visually present in the text through the use of italics, it is quite easy to see that Arcadi’s direct narrative voice does not carry the same narrative weight as that of Antonio and Montse in *El arte de volar* and *Pas pleurer*. In *Los rojos de ultramar*, the narrative voices are not merged: they are simply juxtaposed, but in a way that differs from Salvayre's text. As can be seen in the passage below, the italics mark a separation between both voices:

\[\text{Esa noche mi abuelo durmió en la misma habitación que su hermano. Era la primera vez en meses que dormía en una cama. Recuerdo la acogedora sensación que me produjo el contacto con las sábanas limpias, violentamente contrastado con el tremendo hedor de las heridas de mi hermano, escribe Arcadi en una de sus páginas (29)}\]

As a result, Soler's novel cannot be limited to an account of Arcadi's life; rather, it emphasizes the role of the narrator in his attempt to make sense of the family’s legacy.

In comparison with the other two texts, *Los rojos de ultramar* offers a different perspective on transmission. While Altarriba and Salvayre’s works showed a deliberate desire of Antonio and Montse to transmit their life story to their descendants, Soler's novel incorporates Arcadi’s silences, thus pointing to the difficulties in sharing painful memories. Consequently, it seems that in *Los rojos de ultramar*, Arcadi is not the main actor of
transmission: it is his omission of certain aspects of his life that compels his grandson to dig into his past. Therefore, the narrator's account is based on three consecutive features: his own childhood memories of his grandfather, which constitute moments of unintentional or spontaneous transmission; Arcadi's war and exile journal; and the series of recorded interviews requested by the grandson:

En aquella instancia intenté, durante tres días, grabar los pasajes que necesitaba para rellenar los huecos que tenía la historia, si es que existían esos pasajes […] La tarea de grabar a Arcadi fue un tira y afloja, cada vez que echaba el magnetófono él cambiaba el tema o se sumía en un mutismo del que era muy difícil sacarlo. Grabé aquellas cintas casi contra su voluntad, aun cuando él había accedido a aclararme, o a contarme bien y con detalles, algunas partes de la historia, y a pesar de que me había hecho jurarle que no iba a usar ese material hasta que él estuviera muerto […] De todas formas, y de eso me enteraría años después, Arcadi no me contó toda la historia, omitió el complot que él y sus socios habían planeado en los años sesenta, un capítulo crucial que ni siquiera menciona en esas cintas (14)

As we see in this passage, the desire of the narrator to get a better sense of his grandfather’s legacy contrasts with Arcadi’s resistance, thus reaffirming the role of descendants in the processes of transmission.

As a legacy narrative, Los rojos de ultramar could be described following three distinct elements: first, it shows both a preoccupation with familial transmission and the recuperation of silenced voices; second, it allows greater narrative space for including aspects of the descendant's life; and third, it is built upon the quest of descendants who investigate the story of an ancestor that could not be shared with them. Contrary to the two other texts that do not show this last aspect, Los rojos de ultramar dialogues more closely with contemporary Spanish novels that connect the recuperation of the past with the noir and mystery genres. Although contemporary texts published in Spain do not always combine an autofictional or familial perspective, authors such as Eduardo Mendoza, Antonio Muñoz Molina, Antonio Soler, Rosa Montero, Agustí Vehí, or Andreu Martín have already explored the representation of Francoism and the Spanish Civil War via the noir
genre. Liikanen (quoting fellow critic Martínez Rubio) points out that in such texts the emphasis is not primarily on the resolution of a crime or mystery. Rather, these novels highlight the investigation processes as a way to uncover the motivations of their protagonists, and how their behavior is influenced by broader historical circumstances (Liikanen 2013). She also points out that some texts directly connect the investigation processes to the unavailability of specific historical facts: “En el género negro, el crimen funciona como motor de la acción, mientras que en las novelas de la memoria es el olvido o la ignorancia de un suceso histórico lo que da comienzo al proceso de investigación.”

In Los rojos de ultramar, and in accordance with Liikanen’s point, silences and gaps in the familial legacy function as the driving force that generates the narrator’s investigation. The dialogue with the noir genre is built around a mysterious episode of Arcadi’s life that the narrator attempts to unveil (the complot mentioned in the previous quote), a conspiracy orchestrated by the five founders of La Portuguesa to put an end to the Francoist regime by murdering its leader in the 1970’s. The conspiracy functions as a major piece of the narrative puzzle: it is mentioned at the beginning of the novel and is revealed towards the end. Throughout the text, readers follow the narrator as he digs into his grandfather's past, first by going through the materials he inherited from Arcadi -his journal and taped recordings-, and secondly by travelling to France and exploring official archives that allow him to retrace his ancestor's journey. The revelation of one of the most crucial elements of Arcadi's life is narrated in the penultimate chapter, resulting in a slow climaxing process that maintains the narrative rhythm and allows readers to identify with the narrator.

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50 According to interviews with the author, Soler's grandfather participated in a Republican conspiracy that aimed to kill Franco shortly before his death.
If the conspiracy appears as the driving force of the investigation, it is necessary to read it in conjunction with other aspects of Arcadi’s legacy, also contained in *Los rojos de ultramar*. While the narrator undertakes his inquisitive journey, subsequent episodes of Arcadi’s life are presented, some of which arguably offer a broader insight on collective memory and processes of remembrance than the conspiracy. In fact, narratively speaking, the conspiracy almost serves as a decoy that maintains the reader hooked to the story while the narrator explores different episodes of Arcadi's life. Simultaneously, the narration of Arcadi’s journey is punctuated by the narrator’s comments and reflections on historical events and on the importance of transmitting them. Thus, in the chapters that precede the narration of the conspiracy, Arcadi’s exilic journey is retraced, with a particular focus on the period spent in France in the concentration camp of Argelès-Sur-Mer. By reading these episodes, readers engage with Arcadi's personal memories through his grandson, while they are reminded of, if not educated about, historical facts that have marked many Republican exiles.

The atrocious survival conditions imposed on Spanish exiles within the concentration camps as well as the repression perpetrated by French officials are detailed in the chapters preceding the revelation of the conspiracy. By shedding light on silenced parts of history, that concern Arcadi as well as thousands of Republican exiles, the novel temporarily detaches from Arcadi’s individual memories and engages the recuperation of Republican memory from a broader perspective. As the investigation leads the narrator to Argelès-Sur-Mer, he finds himself contrasting the dire history of Republican exiles with the transformation of the village and its environs into a coastal resort, oriented to mass tourism and entertainment:
Caminé media hora sin detenerme acompañado por el vaivén del mar […] buscaba vestigios, una presencia, cualquier rastro de los cien mil republicanos de aquel territorio, trataba de no distraerme con los clubes de playa y con los campings que alteraban el entorno con sus letreros estentóreos, uno detrás del otro se sucedían, parecía un complot para terminar de sepultar los vestigios que yo buscaba, Aqua plage, Espace Surf, Club Mickey Tayrona, Central Windsurf, Le Jump, Club Center Plage […] Me detuve a mirar un letrero donde se explicaba que desde 1989 […] en esa playa se aplicaba un tratamiento revolucionario de limpieza: se trataba del Meractive […] cuyo resultado era un sable parfaitement nettoyé, una arena perfectamente limpia […] Mi playa de Argelès-Sur-Mer era un lodazal infecto donde abundaba el excremento, la tifoidea, la tuberculosis, los miembros gangrenados, los cuerpos en descomposición y en general el desconcierto, el desamparo, la desesperanza y la derrota. (184-183)

Before the narrator uncovers the conspiracy imagined by his grandfather and the group of Catalan exiles of La Portuguesa, this passage introduces yet another conspiracy –“un complot”- directed against collective memory and the remembrance of the confinement of Republican exiles in French concentration camps. By contrasting exilic experiences of Argelès with the village's reality in the narrated present with terms borrowed from the noir genre, the passage marks Los rojos de ultramar as a “novela de investigación” in the sense of Martínez Rubio and Liikanen.

As mentioned earlier, the silences imposed on the collective level are transposed to the individual level through the character of Arcadi. However, to conclude that Los rojos de ultramar merely portrays the processes of transmission as a result of the narrator’s investigation would not reflect other elements of the novel that are also crucial for understanding how memory is passed on. In fact, as is highlighted in the second chapter of the novel, Los rojos de ultramar does not merely recuperate Arcadi's memories; it also explicitly digs into the narrator's childhood in La Portuguesa. Understood as a space of transmission, the coffee plantation where the narrator grew up is portrayed as the symbolic space where the two trajectories of memory connect. If, at times, the second chapter of Los rojos de ultramar, seems to divert readers' attention from the main plot by focusing on other aspects of human life, it nonetheless anchors the narrative, both geographically and
symbolically, allowing further exploration of questions of collective memory and its transmission. *Los rojos de ultramar* is, after all, a novel that equally “takes after” the contemporary Spanish novel and the Latin American novel.

### 3.2 LA PORTUGUESA AS A SPACE OF TRANSMISSION

Through its descriptions of life in La Portuguesa, *Los rojos de ultramar* explores the ambiguity and the inconsistencies of ideology confronted with human experience. In that regard, the novel links memory recuperation to human experience beyond mere ideology. Far from recuperating the heroic Republican figure, the plot explores the contradictions of the human mind through the character of Arcadi. The location of the coffee plantation in rural Veracruz evokes the Mexican government's migratory policy toward Spanish exiles, it also exposes the social implications of Spanish refugees’ settlements in rural areas of the country. First, the foundation of La Portuguesa by the group of Catalan exiles points to the paradox of occupying a social position that conflicts with leftist ideology. Second, the establishment of a coffee plantation managed by Spaniards exacerbates deep-seated social inequalities inherited from colonial times. These elements are referred to specifically in the second chapter of the novel, where La Portuguesa is presented as follows:

*La Portuguesa era una comunidad de blancos rodeada de nativos por los cuatro costados, el típico esquema social latinoamericano donde blancos y morenos conviven en santa paz, siempre y cuando los morenos entiendan que los blancos mandan y que, de vez en vez, lo manifiesten, para que los blancos no se inquieten, para que no empiecen a pensar que la cosa se está poniendo del cocol, que los criados empiezan a trepáseles por las barbas, ¡pinches indios!, les da uno la mano y luego te agarran el pie. Este estilo convivencial vigente desde el año 1521 que se sigue aplicando en México en todos los rincones de la cotidianidad, en la calle, en una tienda, adentro de la casa con las criadas y el chófer. Ahí estábamos mi hermano y yo, el par de blancos, mirando cómodamente el televisor desde nuestro sillón verdoso, a tres metros escasos de esos nativos que se apelotonaban en la ventana, éramos el ejemplo vivo de ese encuentro entre dos mundos que lleva siglos sin poder consolidarse (48-49)*
In this passage, the evocation of the year 1521, brings the reader back to colonial times and exposes a social structure that has maintained the same inequalities over the centuries. Through the narrator’s obviously sarcastic tone, the passage presents a reality that differs greatly from the ideological discourses put forth by the government at the time. Rather than being facilitated by a sense of fraternity, the integration of Spanish refugees in specific layers of Mexican society was eased by structural inequalities inherited from the colonial society that the Mexican Revolution had not managed to overcome. Far from denying this crucial aspect of the familial legacy, the narrator situates himself as an inheritor of a paradox that includes both the Republican ideology and the consequences of casticismo on Mexican society.51

Considering the location of La Portuguesa as a space of transmission is particularly enlightening because it refers to the most unknown aspects of Spanish Republican exile at the same time that it reveals a persistent gap between political discourses and social inequalities in Mexico. Contrary to France, postrevolutionary Mexico soon became an emblematic “welcoming land” for Republican exiles, due to the nation's migratory policies and to President Lázaro Cárdenas' support of Spain’s Segunda República. As a result, in the months that followed la Retirada, Mexico opened its borders to a large proportion of Spanish Republicans, many of whom belonged to the cultural and intellectual elite. Read in the broader historical context that connects Spain and Mexico, the decisions of the Mexican government of the time to support Spanish Republicans can be interpreted as a

51 The term, derived from the noun “casta,” refer to the cultural, political, religious or linguistic elements that constitute Spain’s supposed “essence.” In the context of colonial Latin America, the term “castizo” was used to designate the descendants of Spaniards and mestizos. The castizos were, as a result, associated with the criollos (the descendants of Spaniards born in the colonias) and they occupied a privileged position in the social hierarchy.
way for Cárdenas' government to implement foreign policies that were coherent with revolutionary ideals, as historian Margarita Carbó points out in her article “...Alrededor del 10 de junio llegará a Veracruz el vapor Sinai...”:

La administración cardenista debió capotear también la oposición de ciertos grupos que temieron la competencia profesional y laboral que podía significar aquella nueva e insólita invasión pacífica, y afirmar una y otra vez sin aspavientos, que México actuaba de conformidad con los principios de solidaridad hacia los derrotados y los perseguidos que le habían caracterizado, y que las afinidades ideológicas y políticas entre el México posrevolucionario y los españoles que ahora llegaban a sus playas, ofrecían la ocasión de una recomposición de la relaciones entre ambos pueblos, de una reconciliación histórica de la que todos saldrían ganando.

The positioning of Cárdenas' government greatly contrasted with that of France's Front Populaire. Mexico actually sought to support Azaña's government throughout the Spanish Civil War, thus enabling Cárdenas’ government to establish new diplomatic relations with Spain based on common values. In other words, if it was possible for Mexico to welcome Spanish exiles it was precisely because they were Republicans, in short because they had turned their back on monarchism. The rejection of monarchism was one of the arguments set forth by Ignacio Téllez García, Cárdenas' secretary of internal affairs, to justify the protection of Spanish exiles: “México ha brindado su ayuda leal y desinteresada al Gobierno legítimo del Presidente Azaña, respondiendo a los sentimientos de comunidad de ideales que animan a los dos pueblos y que ahora, desaparecida la España monárquica y feudal que estaba divorciada de las repúblicas liberales de América, han podido manifestarse en forma espontánea y perdurable.”

The political and economic circumstances that characterized the postrevolutionary period therefore greatly contributed to shape Cárdenas' foreign policies with regards to Spanish exiles. As shown by Margarita Carbó, during the months preceding the arrival of Spanish refugees, the Mexican government prepared and facilitated the reception of thousands of men, women and children, providing visas, food, clothing, and coordinating
their settlement in the nation. As Carbó explains, the correspondence exchanged between Ignacio Téllez García and Lázaro Cárdenas at the time reveals that the Mexican government expected a massive arrival of members of the working class, farmers for the most part, and had arranged distributions of land to Spanish exiles, as part of the broader agrarian reform that had been set forth by the Mexican revolution and that was put forth by Cárdenas.

Yet under Cárdenas, the dismantling of large estates that eventually led to the redistribution of 18 million hectares of land to communities of farmers grouped in “ejidos” did not quite achieve the modernization of most rural areas. For the Mexican government, the inclusion of newcomers to the agrarian reform was intended to develop such areas, and it resulted in the government's decision to distribute pieces of land to Spanish exiles, in the hope that they would bring with them new ideas and propositions leading to a reorganization of the workforce and improved productivity. The expectations of the Mexican government and its eagerness to promote the agrarian reform was so strong that news traveled fast among Republicans that Mexico was massively welcoming farmers. Since the reception of Spanish refugees in France was far from being fraternal, rumors were promptly spread in French concentration camps that the Mexican government was delivering visas, particularly to those who declared themselves as farmers.

As Margarita Carbó points out, the reality did not quite match Cárdenas’ expectations:

en Francia, en los campos de concentración y en general entre quienes se hallaban en busca de algún país a donde ir, se corrió la voz de que si uno se declaraba campesino la cosa estaba hecha y se te aceptaba con gran beneplácito y sin más averiguación. Fot-li pagés [Ponle campesino], se aconsejaban entre sí los catalanes según numerosos testimonios orales escuchados por quien ésto escribe. Fue un engaño premeditado y doloso, es verdad que ampliamente justificado en función del momento y de las circunstancias en qué se cometió, pero un engaño al fin, como muy pronto lo comprendieron las autoridades mexicanas sin resentimiento, enojo, rencor ni agravio.
In the end, eight out of every ten exiles who embarked to Mexico came from urban areas, and in fact, the majority was part of the educated middle-class. As a result and for the most part, their incorporation into Mexican society did not involve taking part in the agrarian reform.

Since the Mexican context greatly differed from the French context, it can be assumed that the exilic experience in Mexico, notably in relation to the question of visibility of exiles, was nothing like the ordeal undergone by Republicans in France. In Mexico, Republican exiles benefited from the ideological outcomes of the Mexican Revolution that only a couple of decades earlier had put an end to thirty-five years of Porfiriato. As historian Pablo Yankelevich notes in his book *México, país refugio: la experiencia de los exiliados en el siglo XX* (2002), successive governments of the twentieth century developed contradictory foreign policies with regards to migrants based on their social and ethnic origins. If postrevolutionary Mexico became in many instances a welcoming state, the country maintained a restrictive migratory policy that favored immigrants with higher education levels and technical skills for the greater part of the century (10). In many ways, the application of Mexico's foreign policy contradicted itself: even though the term “political asylum” was not included in common law until the 1990s, asylum was granted to many European and Latin-American refugees who were persecuted in their countries for political reasons. In addition, the sympathy towards persecuted foreigners greatly contrasted with the management of internal affairs, characterized by social inequalities and episodes of violent repression perpetrated against Mexicans. As Pablo Yankelevich points out: “En materia de asilo nadie recuerda que el gobierno de Gustavo Díaz Ordaz, antes, durante y después del conflicto estudiantil otorgó asilo político
a intelectuales, políticos y dirigentes universitarios acusados de comunistas por la dictadura brasileña” (10).

Examples of the contrast between Mexico's foreign policy and the management of internal affairs are rife since the Revolution. Although the revolutionary experience initiated in 1910 did not manage to overcome deep-seated social inequalities, it ideologically influenced the successive governments to build the national myth around an ideal of solidarity with those who were persecuted by oppressive regimes. For Yankelevich, the experience of the Revolution was significant in that sense, particularly because it was motivated by the rejection of a dominating upper-class that maintained its privileges over the masses:

Los actores de la lucha revolucionaria dotaron de legitimidad a una sucesión de gobiernos emanados de la gesta de 1910. Así, los reclamos que en otras latitudes eran considerados disruptores del orden social, en México pasaron a formar parte de un paisaje político pletórico de promesas en torno a la construcción de una sociedad más igualitaria […] Esa política exterior asentada en el hecho revolucionario operó a manera de constante histórica que, en lo esencial, se mantuvo inalterada a lo largo del siglo pasado (10).

In short, the sympathy expressed by successive Mexican governments for those who were persecuted in their homeland derived from the need for Mexico's political class to maintain the national project inherited from the 1910 Revolution -if not always in actions, at least through discourse.

In *Los rojos de ultramar*, we see that the settling of the narrator's grandfather in a rural zone of the Veracruz province not only sheds light on the stories of the few exiles who did somehow participate to the agrarian reform, it also places the focus on spaces where racial segregation is particularly visible. In the passage quoted above (p.76-77), social inequalities are emphasized by the access to modernity: the section brings together two temporalities, that of colonial times and its segregationist social system, and that of
modernity, characterized by television. The presence of a television set in their home marks the boys’ inherited social status, as well as symbolizes the possibility that the narrator and his brother will have contact with the world beyond La Portuguesa. The scene described at the end of the passage is structured as a *mise en abîme*: the reader is led to visualize the native children of the area looking through the window inside the home, while Arcadi's grandchildren are looking at another “window” of sorts –the tv set- that connects them to the outside world. The fact that such a scene happens in a rural area only highlights social inequalities: the value gained by the television is connected to its rarity in La Portuguesa, which by the same token maintains the gap between “blancos”, whose access to modernity is facilitated, and “nativos.”

In his presentation of La Portuguesa, the narrator therefore emphasizes the colonial structure prevalent in the community, while he points to the fact that Spain's vanquished and persecuted become -willingly or not- the perpetrators of social inequalities that completely reverse the power dynamic. His description of La Portuguesa, which fully occupies the novel's second chapter, explores this dynamic by further equating the Catalan settlement to a colonial encomiendo, especially because it focuses on the relationships that bind the founders of the community and the people who work for them, both on the coffee plantation and in the domestic space: “Lauro era hijo de la criada. La criada tenía la edad de mi madre y sus historias son un círculo perverso. Cuando mi madre tenía doce años iba al mercado acompañada de Teodora, la criada, cuya misión era cargarle las canastas. Esta escena, que tiene escasos cincuenta años de antigüedad, parece extraída de la época de la colonia: la india cargada de bultos detrás de la rubia que carga su cartera por las calles de Galatea” (52). Once again, in the sentences that follow this passage, the narrator examines
the invisible frontier that separates the universe of the “blancos” and that of the “nativos”: while Laia, the narrator's mother, is given the opportunity to leave La Portuguesa for Mexico City to attend college, Teodora is doomed to remain in a limited space where history repeats itself, in other words where the descendants of the working class are kept at the bottom of the social pyramid. In a way, there is a parallel between Teodora's situation and the social conditions experienced by Antonio and Montse prior to the Spanish Civil war, since those characters were also burdened by tradition and destined to reproduce the order in place in their own villages. Yet, the difficulty for Teodora to overcome her situation is all the more considerable since what separates her from Laia is not limited to their respective social statuses, it is also rooted in racial segregation.

In this chapter, the narrator shows that the weight of social inequalities and racial segregation is transmitted to younger generations, leaving little hope for a change in the power dynamic described. As a consequence, Teodora's son Lauro inherits a future that follows the colonial order: “Lauro nació tres años antes de que mi madre se decidiera a tener hijos. Mis abuelos, en un gesto que no por típicamente latinoamericano deja de ser confuso, sutilmente siniestro, le permitieron a Teodora que siguiera sirviéndolos y con el tiempo reclutaron a su criatura para que también los sirviera.” 52 El círculo perverso no tardó en cerrarse: Lauro se convirtió en el mozo de la casa, su trabajo era servirnos y entre sus obligaciones estaba cargarnos las canastas cuando íbamos al mercado” (53). The narrator’s description of La Portuguesa as a space of transmission focuses both on his grandparents and their employees. The contrast between both groups gives the reader a better sense of the legacy inherited by the narrator, a legacy that is not simply connected to the Republican

52 Here, contrary to what is implied by the adjective “latinoamericano”, the mention “mis abuelos” refers to the narrator's maternal grandparents, in other words, to the Catalan side of the family.
ideology and the Spanish Civil War, but that is expanded to other aspects of human life. In short, the narrator of *Los rojos de ultramar* inherits a determined social status in a sociopolitical context that has very little to do with his grandfather's affiliation with the Spanish Republicans.

Moreover, by disclosing his complete genealogy -Spanish Republican on his mother's side and criollo ancestry on his father's side-, the narrator brings together both groups and reveals how they become equated with one another socially. The brief presentation of his father's family, also characterized by its sarcastic tone, acknowledges the narrator's criollo ancestry:

Mi madre se casó con mi padre, un abogado de buena familia, es decir, una familia mexicana donde no había indios. Nunca en mi vida he tocado a un indio ni a un negro, decía el padre de mi padre, que era un viejo rico descendiente de españoles que poseía una plantación de caña en San Julián de los Aerolitos, una protuberancia selvática, salpicada de pedruscos enormes, que estaba entre Galatea y Tritón, en plena jungla veracruzana (53)

Although Arcadi is not described in the same way as the narrator's paternal grand-father, both sides of the family are brought together first by the union of the daughter and son, and second by the economic activity carried out by both grandfathers.

In fact, in the passage that follows, it is through the reported voice of Lauro, Teodora's son, that Republican exiles and criollos are explicitly equated: “Con los ojos inyectados y una voz donde campeaban veinte años de rencores y resentimiento, [Lauro] dijo que estaba cansado de tantas humillaciones y que Arcadi era, como todos los españoles, un explotador hijo de la chingada” (58). As a result, and despite their lack of cultural proximity with the criollos of the Veracruz province, the group of Catalan exiles who founded La Portuguesa was automatically assimilated to the ruling class established in Mexico since colonial times because they benefited from and maintained the same privileges associated to their ethnicity. In the narrator's own words: “En La Portuguesa había un equilibrio social
precario que no podía alterarse sin enfrentar el riesgo de que las comunidades vecinas se dieran el gustazo, siempre latente, de prenderle fuego a las casas de los catalanes” (67). In short, the establishment of the group of exiles in rural Veracruz only emphasized the presence of the ruling class for the inhabitants of the surrounding villages.

La Portuguesa is a space of transmission where several legacies intersect. In his description, the narrator does not separate the criollo heritage from the Republican legacy, nor does he erase that of other characters such as Lauro's, who do not share the same genealogy. In the second chapter La Portuguesa appears as a relatively porous space where Republican exiles interact with distinct layers of Mexican society while remaining separate from the vast majority of Spanish exiles who settled in urban spaces.

3.3 DESTIERRO, TRANSTIERRO AND THE CONSTITUTION OF A HYBRID LEGACY

Soler's novel also unveils the distinct levels of visibility experienced by Republican exiles in Mexico. As in France, Mexico constituted a myth of “un país refugio,” to quote Pablo Yankelevich. The criteria by which immigration was measured were racial and cultural assimilation, a consequence of the belief that some groups of immigrants would easily blend into Mexican society because their culture, ethnic origins or religion was perceived to be akin to those of Mexico. In short, postrevolutionary Mexico's migratory policies were designed to ensure a certain degree of racial and cultural homogeneity in order to preserve an existing idea of mexicanness. As a result, and as Pablo Yankelevich points out, Mexico did become a “país refugio” throughout the twentieth century, but mainly regionally, by welcoming citizens of Guatemala, Brazil, Nicaragua or Chile.
Following this idea, the protection received by Spanish exiles can be explained by factors such as ideological fraternity, but also political and economic interests, and a perceived cultural proximity that undoubtedly found its roots in the remains of the colonial period, and in the common use of the Spanish language.

The perception of cultural proximity had a double effect: first, as explained above, it contributed to reinforce the link between Spain's Segunda República in exile and postrevolutionary México by projecting an idealized image of two governments united by a sense of fraternal solidarity. Second, it led to new -and controverted- ways of envisioning exile, notably with José Gaos' conceptualization of “transtierro,” a neologism based on the term “destierro” and intended to better capture the experience of Republican exiles in Mexico. As philosopher Antonio Monclús Estella points out in *El pensamiento español y la idea de América* (1989), the term coined by José Gaos also revealed the way in which Spanish *transterrados* conceived the relationship that united Spain and Latin-America as a whole. Despite the paradigm shift derived from the necessity to incorporate Republican exiles to the nations of Latin-America, rather than the incorporation of American territories to the Spanish crown as was the case during colonial times, Gaos' notion unveiled a vision of transatlantic relations embedded in Hispanoamericanism. In this vision, Spain and Latin-America were united linguistically and culturally to the extent that reflections on national identity implied taking into consideration the history of Latin-America as a whole. As Monclús Estella explains, through the notion of “transtierro,” Gaos looked for “el sentido de la identidad que siendo española es también americana” (34). And in fact, Gaos' vision justified a conceptualization of hispanoamericanism that would enable defining a -perceived- common identity:
At first glance, Gaos' hispanoamericanism is problematic because the emancipation of Latin-American nations throughout the nineteenth century was precisely meant to mark a definite rupture with Spain. In addition, because it placed on the same level different political and historical contexts, such a conceptualization tended to mask the processes of colonization of American territories by Spain, as well as it erased the specific circumstances of each region.

Yet in many ways, Gaos' vision reflected the concerns of Spanish intellectuals in the prewar period -Gaos had been a close disciple of Ortega y Gasset. At the same time, it revealed his own ideological affiliation with the Republican side, as the sentence quoted above, “España es la última colonia de sí misma que queda por hacerse independiente, no sólo espiritual sino también políticamente,” infers. Since Spain's political emancipation had been cut short by the war, it was crucial to maintain the Republican “spirit” alive after the defeat, and in that sense, hispanoamericanism and the experience of transtierro could possibly allow materializing the Republican ideals that were soon to be buried by Franco's regime. In fact, as explained by exiled philosopher Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez in A tiempo y destiempo (2003), Gaos saw in México, and more broadly in Latin-America, the emergence of the “sueño ilustrado: liberal, democrático, independentista” that could not come true in Spain. For Sánchez Vázquez, if José Gaos felt the need to come up with a term that would describe the experience of Spanish exiles in Latin-America it was because their experience
there was so specific that it had to be distinguished from the one lived by other groups of exiles originating from different European countries.

If it is true that Spanish exiles benefited from the effects of Cárdenas' government policies, and if there was indeed a linguistic -and to a certain extent, cultural- proximity that undoubtedly facilitated the incorporation of Republican refugees into Mexican society, we can nonetheless wonder whether all exilic experiences in Mexico can be characterized as “transtierro.” In other words, can Gaos' perceptions be extended to all Spanish exiles? In *A tiempo y a destiempo*, Sánchez Vázquez argues that Gaos' term did not manage to actually reflect the reality experienced by many Spanish exiles precisely because it revealed an idealized vision of Latin-America that responded to the “sueño ilustrado” once wished by Spanish liberals. Sánchez Vázquez' argument is notably based on the poetic production of exiled poets such as Luis Cernuda, Pedro Garfías, Enrique Díez-Canedo or Juan Rejano, whose texts constitute testimonies of “el modo de sentirse el exiliado como desterrado, y no como transterrado” (596). These poets expressed feelings that opposed Gaos' transtierro:

Vivir el exilio como destierro no significa sólo verse forzado a abandonar la patria, sino también a sentirse sin raíz ni centro en la tierra que le acoge. Por ello, lo que el desterrado valora no es lo hallado, sino lo perdido; no el presente, sino el pasado que vivió y que ahora reaparece en sus sueños hecho futuro. Vive por tanto, transitoriamente, en vilo; es decir, entre la nostalgia del pasado que se cerró e inmovilizó un día y la esperanza obsesiva del retorno, tras el paréntesis doloroso del exilio que, en los primeros años, se considera breve. Cerrado éste, se recuperará la España que se perdió, o se verá realizada aquella con la que tanto se soñó desde el exilio (596).

Contrary to what the term “transtierro” implied, destierro reveals an impossible continuity and a constant reminder of what was and what could never be. In fact, as Sánchez Vázquez further points out, the hope to recuperate what had been lost politically in the aftermaths of the Spanish Civil War led to an important outburst of antifranquist activism in the context of exile, more particularly in Mexico (601). In other words, the feeling of destierro
experienced by many Spanish refugees cultivated political engagement: in some cases, the experience of exile magnified Spanish refugees' political engagement because the former made the latter even more necessary.

Sánchez Vázquez' reading of these exilic experiences does not merely lead him to oppose destierro and transtierro: he considers both terms as a trajectory that unfolds chronologically. If destierro was, according to the philosopher, the perception that prevailed in the first years that followed the end of the Spanish Civil War, transtierro can be understood as a continuity of destierro, in other words, as the experience that came after destierro. Indeed, Sánchez Vázquez concludes his analysis by proposing a second definition of transtierro that can be compared to the French notion of “integration” because it implies putting down new roots in the new land (605). By proposing a definition that relies on the adaptation of exiles to a new life, Sánchez Vázquez presents transtierro as a dynamic process, which leads him to state that “en suma, el destierro se convierte, sin dejar de ser totalmente tal, en transtierro” (605).

Through this brief definition, it appears that both notions are not fixed, but more importantly, that they can manifest simultaneously, since “el destierro se convierte, sin dejar de ser totalmente tal”. Furthermore, Sánchez Vázquez' definition proves to be particularly enlightening when adopting a transgenerational approach to exile, since such an approach implies a chronological continuity. Keeping in mind these aspects, I concur with Sánchez Vázquez' definition, particularly with regard to destierro and transtierro as dynamic processes, but I argue that what makes these notions crucial when analyzing the experience of exile (particularly in the context of Mexico) is the fact that they can - and in fact, in many cases they do - happen simultaneously. The latter is not simply the
transformation of the former in time; rather, they are two sides of the same coin. In other words, I believe that destierro and transtierro reveal some of the inner tensions experienced by exiles, and that these tensions can exacerbate one feeling or the other depending on the context. Following a transgenerational perspective, I would therefore refrain from categorizing both concepts by assimilating destierro to first generations, and transtierro to the following generations. First because both notions are directly linked to the lived experience of exile, which does not apply to second and third generations, and second because, as explained above, both notions are enriching particularly when they are taken simultaneously, and not differential in time. As such, I argue that destierro and transtierro can become a legacy for following generations, something inheritors intuitively recognize even though they have not directly experienced it themselves -or if they have, not in the same context as their ancestors in any case.

In *Los rojos de ultramar*, life in the coffee plantation is characterized both by destierro and by an alternative sense of transtierro. On the one hand, the Catalan settlement in the environs of Galatea seems disconnected from the Republican exilic network established in other areas of the country, thus emphasizing the effect of destierro. On the other hand, the automatic access to the privileges reserved for the upper classes consolidates the feelings of transtierro, understood here not as a continuity with regards to the “sueño ilustrado” as proposed by Gaos, but rather as a facilitated integration into Mexican society. In short, this altered version of transtierro refers to the continuity of the colonial structure that characterizes life in La Portuguesa much more than it echoes Republican ideology.
As a consequence of destierro and transtierro, La Portuguesa is also presented as a hybrid space where the narrator and his brother navigate several cultural identities:

Joan y yo éramos mexicanos y punto, habíamos nacidoh ahí, en la plantación de cafés, nunca fuimos al colegio Madrid, ni al Luis Vives, ni al Orfeo Catalá, ni a ninguna de las instituciones que frecuentaban los hijos y nietos de los republicanos. [...] Vivíamos una vida mexicana y sin embargo hablábamos en catalán y comíamos fuet, butifarra, mongetes y panellets, y los 15 de septiembre, el día de la independencia, permanecíamos encerrados en casa porque los mexicanos de Galatea y sus alrededores tenían la costumbre de celebrar esa fiesta moliendo a palos a los españoles (46-47)

As can be inferred in this passage, the family's identity is not fixed; in fact, understanding it seems to depend on the perception of specific groups in specific contexts. Indeed, at the beginning of this passage, the narrator presents his brother and himself as solely Mexican -“mexicanos y punto”-, yet this assertion is somewhat contradicted by what is described at the end of the passage. The character's “mexicanness” is actually evaluated according to two criteria: first, the fact that the boys led a “Mexican life” in the coffee plantation, and second because they did not share the same networks and experiences as other descendants of Spanish exiles. But as the narrator points out, the “Mexican life” as experienced by the family was punctuated by other aspects that did not pertain to Mexican culture, such as Catalan language and food. In addition, their assimilation to the criollo upper class also contributed to marginalizing Arcadi's descendants from the collective events shared by the rest of the villagers, as the reference to the commemorations of the 15 de septiembre implies.

As a result, if on the one hand the feeling of transtierro can be associated with the assimilation of the family to the ruling class, the feeling of destierro transmitted by Los rojos de ultramar can be connected, on the other hand, to the family's apparent separation from collective groups that shape given communities and that constitute networks of collective remembrance. For Arcadi and his relatives, the act of remembering the homeland
is not linked to the collective commemorations organized by groups of Spanish exiles. Rather, remembrance takes a more spontaneous form, through language and food but also through the establishment of family “rituals.” One of the most significant acts of remembrance is “religiously” performed every Sunday afternoon. The passage that follows the previous quote describes the family gathered around a slide projector, facing a screen on which appear shots of Las Ramblas, starting and ending with two emblematic monuments of the Barcelonian promenade: the Canaletes fountain and the statue of Columbus.

The screening of these photographs mimics a symbolic Sunday stroll that takes the family back -both in time and geographically- to the homeland. The sense of intimacy conveyed in the scene is emphasized by the silence observed by most family members: “la mayor parte de esas sesiones transcurría en silencio, aunque a veces, cuando Arcadi estaba de vena, comentaba algo sobre alguna fotografía y, en ocasiones excepcionales, sacaba una de su lugar para mostrarnos un detalle directamente en el negativo” (47). Taken as intimate moments of remembrance, the screening sessions surpass commemoration acts connected to ideology: indeed, it is not directly the loss of the Segunda República that is remembered by the family here, but the latter's geographical roots. Futhermore, the scene symbolically highlights the journey of the family from Barcelona to Mexico, as well as it reflects La Portuguesa's cultural hybridity. First, the monuments cited, physically located at both ends of Las Ramblas, represent both the longed for return to Barcelona, and the journey to the Americas.53 Second, the abrupt conclusion of the family ritual brings the characters back

53 The emblematic Barcelonian promenade features two landmarks: the fountain of Canaletes, and the monument to Columbus. A famous plaque affixed to the fountain of Canaletes shows the following inscription: “Si beveu aigua de la font de Canaletes sempre més sereu uns enamorats de Barcelona, i per lluny que us n'aneu, tornareu sempre”, implying connection between the fountain and a return to
to La Portuguesa, in a way that emphasizes the overwhelming nature environs of the coffee plantation:

El paseo de diapositivas por la Rambla terminaba siempre de la misma forma, arrasado por las fuerzas de la naturaleza. El zumbido permanente del sistema de ventilación del aparato, que era similar al que producen los élitros de un grillo macho, iba seduciendo, gradualmente, a las chicharras que cantaban en la selva, afuera de la casa. Una a una iban entrando por la ventana, y […] se iban posando primero encima del proyector y luego […] en cualquier superficie cercana que estuviera libre […] El paseo dominical terminaba invariablemente antes de llegar a la estatua de Colón era un paseo incompleto cuyo final consistía en Arcadi apagando furibundo el proyector y espantándose con el garfio media docena de chicharras que insistían en posarse sobre su cabeza […] En cuanto se apagaba el proyector, como por arte de magia, las chicharras regresaban a la selva (47-48)

The irruption of the jungle into the symbolic stroll brings together the urban space projected on the screen and the chaotic nature that ends up frustrating the family ritual, or better yet that expands it to the environment that surrounds the characters. Through this ritual, La Portuguesa as a space for transmission reveals the connections of distinct legacies that become intertwined with one another in Los rojos de ultramar, and whose roots are located both in Spain and in Mexico.

From a literary point of view, the second chapter of Los rojos de ultramar revisits a trope of Latin American literature –particularly of the telluric novel- that represents nature as an overbearing force. In fact, the descriptions of La Portuguesa and its profuse natural environment echo Carlos J. Alonso’s reading of José Eustasio Rivera’s La vorágine. In his study of the novela de la tierra entitled The Spanish American Regional Novel. Modernity and Autochthony (1990), Alonso elaborates on the specificities of the Latin American
novel, and on critical readings that construe the telluric genre as an expression of the subcontinent's cultural autochthony. The notion of cultural autochthony proposed by Alonso refers to texts that revealed a preoccupation with national and regional identities and that attempted to capture the “essence” of the region’s culture. For Alonso, the telluric genre—or regional novel—deals with the expression of cultural autochthony because it aims to transmit specific elements of Latin American geography, languages and culture.

Alonso's analysis does not merely consist of listing the most salient elements of the genre; rather he shows how foundational novels such as La vorágine, Romulo Gallegos' Doña Bárbara and Ricardo Güiraldes' Don Segundo Sombra have contributed to shaping discourses of cultural autochthony in Latin America (163). Yet for the author, such discourses are not specific to the regional novel, since he argues that they should be read in conjunction with the narrative genres that followed, namely, the literature of the “Boom”:

regardless of the obvious differences, many of the novels of the “Boom” were still as immersed in the topic of the exploration of Latin American identity and its literary representation as was the case with the novela de la tierra. […] This continuity dictates that if the novela de la tierra is perceived nowadays to be out of contention for critical favor it is essentially because the terms in which it articulated a cultural ontology for Latin America are not deemed adequate at present (165-166).

As Alonso further points out, the concern for cultural autochthony in the novela de la tierra is expressed through textual representation of Latin American geography, with nature often depicted as an autonomous force that shapes the identity of its inhabitants (60-61). In other words, the telluric genre creates a relation between cultural autochthony and Latin American landscapes, as shown notably in texts such as La vorágine. If some texts had depicted the relationship between nature and humankind as harmonious, Alonso indicates that La vorágine tends to emphasize its dissonant aspects. Indeed, following
Alonso’s reading of Rivera, human beings’ interactions with their geographical surroundings are portrayed as a battle that leads to the partial destruction of both parties. Ultimately, Rivera’s text characterizes nature by its “inexhaustible ability to replenish itself, while men engage in a feverish and senseless activity of exploitation that ravages them physically and in the end also corrupts them to the core” (138).

A similar stance is taken in Los rojos de ultramar, where the nature surrounding La Portuguesa also displays the “ability to restore itself” and seems to be ruled by a powerful force capable not only of shutting down the family ritual mentioned earlier, but also of contributing to Arcadi’s transformation. In Los rojos de ultramar, nature’s presence is revealed by extensive descriptions of the local fauna that seems to take over human life, as further shown in the following passage:

El primer trabajo que encontró Arcadi fue de ayudante de zapatero en un taller que era un bohío rebosante de plantas y de pájaros enjaulados […] El taller estaba en la avenida Negro Yanga, que era en realidad un terregal largo con casas en la orilla por donde circulaban vehículos de vez en cuando y animales todo el tiempo: gallos, perros, vacas, totoles, toches, tejones, tlacuaches y tepezcuintles. Toda esa fauna que trasegaba y triscaba y a veces sesteaba a mitad de la avenida corría despavorida cuando aparecía un tigrillo, o cualquiera de las seis especies de víboras mortales que sembraban el pánico entre el resto de los seres vivos que habitaban Galatea: la coralillo, la cascabel, la mazacuata, la cuatro narices, la ilamacoa, la palança. Cada vez que cualquiera de ellas cruzaba relampagueando el terregal de la avenida, gallinas, totoles y pijules huían envueltos en una escandalera más vistosa que eficaz, con lujo de graznidos fragorosos, polvareda espesa y plumas al viento (39-40)

The sense of chaos conveyed in this passage by the quantity of species mentioned, by the adjective “despavorida” and the nouns “pánico” or “escandalera” is here counterbalanced with the meticulous list established by the narrator; in fact, his listing of animals common to the area could be interpreted as an attempt to order what cannot be ordered. Moreover, this passage presents a considerable number of nouns derived from Nahuatl such as “totoles,” “tlacuaches,” “tepezcuintles” or “ pijules,” thus emphasizing the specificities of the area. In many ways, this passage can be linked to another aspect of the novela de la
tierra, because it articulates geography and language in order to represent a “self-contained linguistic space that is identified with the boundaries of a homogeneous autochthonous order” (139), in Alonso’s own words. By describing his childhood life in the coffee plantation in these terms, the narrator of Los rojos de ultramar appropriates other aspects of his legacy beyond the Republican inheritance, allowing him to assert his mexicanness. Because it dialogues with the notion of cultural autochthony put forth by Carlos Alonso, the second chapter of the novel frames the protagonist's reflection on identity within tropes characteristic of the Latin American novel, thus expanding the novel’s literary legacy.

Throughout the two first chapters of this dissertation, I have shown how the texts analyzed dialogued with various literary genres, and how these genres may inform the way we unpack the legacies they transmit. In its own way, each work blends a familial legacy with a complex literary/visual heritage that opens the space of transmission outside of familial bounds as well as outside of “national” bounds. As has been widely presented in the first chapter and in the first part of this chapter, these legacy narratives reflect on individual and collective identities at the same time that they reject nationalistic discourses, either by questioning the myth of the two Spains in El arte de volar, or by exposing the consequences of such discourses on gender roles in Pas pleurer. Both Salvayre's novel and Altarriba's graphic novel use their own personal legacy to reflect on identity beyond the boundaries of their narrator’s self, thus constituting a hybrid blend of biography and autofiction that centers the reflection on identity on a family member.

Something similar can be observed in Los rojos de ultramar, although Soler's novel proposes its own take on these questions. In Soler’s case, the reflection on identity is carried out by exploring both the transformation of a family member -Arcadi- and by representing
elements of the narrator’s childhood that serve to ground the novel in its Latin American “roots.” Simultaneously, the novel clearly identifies dynamics of power in the small community of La Portuguesa, opening a critical reflection on what the narrator characterizes as “typical” not only in Mexico, but in Latin America, thus allowing the narrator to question his familial legacy. Contrary to what can be observed in El arte de volar and Pas pleurer, where the descendants’ voice offered most of the narrative stage to their ancestors as a way to pay them a tribute, Los rojos de ultramar proposes to narrate Arcadi’s story with apparent impartiality. Throughout the novel, the distance between the narrator and his grandfather is maintained, and it is rendered textually by proposing a strong, and at times critical, narrative voice that belongs to the grandson.

Ultimately, it could be argued that the generational gap that separates Arcadi and his grandson opens the door to a more distanced appraisal of the familial legacy. While the other two texts analyzed focused on the intimate relationship between first and second generations and drew from the emotional bond that unites them, Los rojos de ultramar as a legacy narrative addresses the representation of memory transmission by exploiting the inconsistencies of former generations. Of course, this comparison only concerns the narrative choice employed in those three texts and is not meant to imply that Montse’s daughter and Antonio’s son lack the ability to distance themselves from their own legacy, or that Arcadi’s grandson does not have an emotional bond with his grandfather. Nevertheless, the texts do approach the question of memory transmission differently, thus complicating readings that would consider legacy narratives merely as tributes rendered to one’s ancestors.
Because it gives so much narrative space to autobiographical elements relative to his childhood, the approach chosen in Soler’s case brings to the discussion in a more explicit way the question of roots in connection with memory and identity. The second chapter of the novel and its detailed description of everyday life in La Portuguesa may seem, at first glance, to “derail” the plot from its narrative track, yet as explained earlier, it serves to connect different aspects of the familial legacy as well as openly engage with notions of transtierro and destierro. For La Portuguesa is, at the same time, the geographical space where Arcadi attempts to plant new roots, and the place where the narrator’s roots are planted. By focusing in great detail on La Portuguesa as a space of transmission, Soler’s novel reveals part of the subtext that permeates legacy narratives because it relates questions of memory and transmission to a possible (re)connection with one’s geographic, cultural and/or linguistic roots.

Of course, in the case of exiles and more particularly in Mexico, where a relocation of Republican exiles’ roots was facilitated both by the government’s migratory policies and by inherited casticismo, notions of uprooting and “rerooting” have particular significance, which partly explains why they remain so explicitly prevalent in *Los rojos de ultramar* in comparison to *Pas pleurer*. If it is true that Soler’s novels directly connects the transmission of Republican memory to uprooting and “rerooting,” we may wonder whether this connection is not at the core of other legacy narratives, even beyond exilic experiences. In *Le monolinguisme de l’autre ou la prothèse d’origine*, Jacques Derrida engages in a reflection on identity that brings together notions of uprooting and processes of remembrance: “la rupture avec la tradition, le déracinement, l’inaccessibilité des histoires,
l'amnésie, l'indéchiffrabilité, etc., tout cela déchaîne la pulsion généalogique, le désir de l'idiome, le mouvement compulsif vers l'anamnèse” (116).

In their exploration of familial legacies, the texts analyzed in this dissertation all have in common a desire for anamnesis pushed forward by a “genealogic drive” that attempts to repair the damages of coerced amnesia, uprooting and unavailability of stories (and histories). Taken beyond the Mexican context and beyond exilic experiences, notions of destierro and transtierro therefore need to be reassessed in order to reevaluate how they may enrich our understandings of the Republican ordeal. If geographical uprooting also took place in Spain as a consequence of inner exile in the aftermaths of the Spanish Civil War, we may also wonder if other types of uprooting were at stake under the regime. Keeping these ideas in mind, the following chapter will further explore the Republican memorial network by exploring the cases of uprooted children, through the analysis of two filmic texts that actively engage in recuperating a very particular aspect of Republican memory. In an attempt to mirror the circular trajectory of El arte de volar and Los rojos de ultramar, the last chapter of this dissertation will take its readers back to Spain, where it will follow the trail of children born of Republican parents, who were separated from their families by the regime. The following section will contrast the approach of Juan Carlos Medina’s fiction film Insensibles (2012) with a documentary by Montserrat Armengou and Ricard Belis, released a decade earlier and explicitly entitled Els nens perduts del Franquisme.
Chapter Three: The Lost Generation of Francoism:
Retracing the Genealogy of Second Generations

The combined analyses of *El arte de volar*, *Pas pleurer* and *Los rojos de ultramar* indicate that family plays a major role in the recuperation of memory and its processes of transmission. Despite formal and thematic differences, these three texts share an emphasis on transgenerational transmission, which led me to identify the trajectories of memory between members of familial groups both within and beyond Spanish borders. In addition, the three texts highlight the impact of historical circumstances and events on individual lives. While *El arte de volar* can be read as the account of a man’s life throughout the twentieth century in Spain, *Pas pleurer* and *Los rojos de ultramar* present experiences of exiles that focus on different historical contexts.

I argued that these texts are legacy narratives because they share narratives processes, and because they connect the recuperation of individual memories and their transgenerational transmission to the broader socio-historical contexts in which such memories were made. To better understand this connection, I limited my analysis to works that frame the recuperation of memory within familial relations. Each in their own way, these texts show that silenced moments of history can be voiced not only in intimate spaces shared by family members, but also in “literary” spaces that pass on the familial legacy to the readers. Consequently, *El arte de volar*, *Pas pleurer* and *Los rojos de ultramar*, may be considered as symbolic spaces of transmission, as textual objects containing a narrated -and thus materialized- version of individual memories.
Literary critics such as Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer have characterized books and other objects as the materialization of vestigial traces of the past. The authors link such objects to what Roland Barthes called the *punctum* in *Camera Lucida*, described as details from the past that call out to the *viewer* in the present (Hirsch and Spitzer 2006, 353). According to Hirsch and Spitzer, books can be envisioned as “testimonial objects that carry memory traces from the past and embody the process of its transmission” (353). In “Testimonial Objects: Memory, Gender and Transmission,” the authors also emphasize transgenerational aspects of memory; they rely on the notion of “points of memory,” defined as various intersections between “past and present,” but also between “personal remembrance and cultural recall.” Moreover, the authors argue that points of memory highlight the junction of spatial and temporal elements in texts (358), at the same time that they reveal cultural practices of remembrance. Hirsch and Spitzer’s conceptualization particularly echoes Soler’s *Los rojos de ultramar*, in which past and present descriptions of Argelès-Sur-Mer support the narrator’s statements on collective memory. Reading this passage in conjunction with Hirsch and Spitzer’s points of memory is particularly compelling because the text explicitly invites readers to visualize both versions of Argelès, as if they were looking at two photographs.54

Drawing on Hirsch and Spitzer’s definitions and their conceptualization of books as testimonial objects, it seems that distinct types of relations stem out of legacy narratives: one that connects individuals through the processes of transmission; and others that tie the notion of points of memory to the representation of reality, as the reference to Barthes’ *punctum* suggests. Hirsch and Spitzer’s notion is enlightening because it allows expanding

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54 I analyzed this passage in chapter two, p. 74-75
the definitions of legacy narratives to texts that do not necessarily address explicitly questions of memory and transgenerational transmission: their article concerns recipe books put together by survivors of the Holocaust, in other words, texts whose “primary” goal is not to offer a reflection on individual and collective memory. Yet, as the authors show, recipe books also pass on cultural information that goes beyond their primary goal: they contain cultural practices—in this case, related to cooking—that can be transmitted between individuals. Following this idea, the term “legacy narratives” may therefore be expanded to texts that do not necessarily address in a direct way questions of memory transmission.

Moreover, the notion of points of memory can be crucial to determining whether a text constitutes or not a legacy narrative. If the points of memory that emanate from the book-object mark the junction between past and present, they necessarily point back to events that have happened, and that readers will identify as a representation of reality. Yet, and contrary to what Hirsch and Spitzer propose, we may wonder whether these points of memory, taken as constitutive elements of reality represented textually, are not a manifestation of Barthes’ *studium* rather than a sign of the *punctum* in the case of texts which directly address questions of memory and transgenerational transmission (such as *Los rojos de ultramar*).

In *Camera Lucida*, Barthes frames the notions of *studium* and *punctum* from the viewer’s perspective, in an attempt to identify which elements of photographs capture their attention. For Barthes, the *studium*, described as a general curiosity for people and things, contains most of what triggers the viewers’ interest for a photograph. Additionally, the *studium* is also what possibly connects the viewers to the photographer’s intentions; it is,
in other words, what links reception and enunciation (49-51). “Reconnaître le *studium*,” Barthes argues, “c’est fatalement rencontrer les intentions du photographe, entrer en harmonie avec elles, les approuver, les désapprouver, mais toujours les comprendre, les discuter en moi-même, car la culture (dont relève le *studium*) est un contrat passé entre les créateurs et les consommateurs” (51).

Following this definition, the *studium* therefore implies two related aspects: first a recognition of the artist’s intentions from the viewer’s perspective, and second a transmission of knowledge through the representation of reality. If Barthes’ *studium* were expanded to our understanding of written texts, the examples taken from the descriptions of Argelès in *Los rojos de ultramar* would fall under the definition of the *studium* since they imply a transmission of knowledge. As a result, the juxtaposed images of past and present Argelès in Soler’s novel are an illustration of Hirsch and Spitzer’s points of memory as much as they echo Barthes’ *studium*, because the scene transmits information on past and present Argelès to the readers.

As a counterpoint to the *studium*, Barthes opposes the *punctum*, a notion that moves away from the question of enunciation and refers back to the viewer: “un [le] second élément vient casser (ou scander) le *studium*. Cette fois, ce n’est pas moi qui vais le chercher (comme j’investis de ma conscience souveraine le champ du *studium*), c’est lui qui part de la scène, comme une flèche, et vient me percer” (48-49). For Barthes, the *punctum* is not a direct manifestation of knowledge, or even an intention of the photographer; rather, it is a “sensitive point”, one that unexpectedly triggers an emotional reaction within the viewer. The *punctum*, understood as a random detail that catches the viewer’s attention thus stimulates individual subjectivities: “donner des exemples de
*punctum*, c’est, d’une certaine façon, me livrer” says Barthes. Moreover, the power of attraction of the *punctum* creates a breaking point that derails the viewers’ attention because it distracts them from the knowledge contained in the *studium*: “un détail emporte toute ma lecture; c’est une mutation vive de mon intérêt, une fulguration. Par la marque de quelque chose, la photo n'est plus quelconque. Ce quelque chose a fait tilt, il a provoqué en moi un petit ébranlement” (80-81).

Considering both the *studium* and the *punctum*, and going back to the example of a legacy narrative like *Los rojos de ultramar*, one may wonder, beyond the variation of *puncta* possibly perceived by readers, whether the *punctum* is a key element to consider the textual representation of memory and its collective practices. When considering autofictional texts, which frame questions of memory and transgenerational transmission by making explicit references to experienced historical events, it is therefore necessary to rethink the definition of Hirsch and Spitzer’s points of memory. If the points of memory can indeed be linked to Barthes’ *punctum* in testimonial texts whose primary goal is not the representation of memory and its transmission, it seems that they also become a part of Barthes’ *studium* when tied to narratives like *Los rojos de ultramar*.

My analysis of *El arte de volar*, *Los rojos de ultramar* and *Pas pleurer* highlighted the points of memory, and the *studium* contained in these legacy narratives. Looking at these texts exclusively through the lens of Barthes’ *punctum* could seem like a narrow and rather pointless enterprise, or at least of very little academic value because it could mask what the texts have to say both thematically and formally. In that sense, such a reading would not allow establishing a solid enough foundation for meaningful textual analysis beyond the readers’ projections. Nevertheless, to argue that the *punctum* does not play a
part in our reading of texts would also be misleading, for our most visceral and immediate responses to details of an image or a text are most likely the “starting points” that generate a more analytical approach.

If, according to Barthes, studium and punctum are simultaneous expressions of a viewer’s engagement with a text, we may wonder how aesthetic and formal aspects of a text may modify the manifestations of both notions. In other words, as readers or viewers, do we engage with an autobiographical novel in the same way that we engage with a horror film? How can two extremely diverse genres and media impact the way we receive them? In short, considering Barthes’ notions will lead to addressing the underlying question that will guide the last chapter of this dissertation: how does an aesthetic and formal shift from autofiction to documentary film and the horror genre inform our readings of legacy narratives?

Keeping these questions in mind, in this last chapter I will explore further the questions of transgenerational memory and its transmission following aesthetic conventions that have not been analyzed so far. The chapter will focus on cinema, and will bring together two films that vary in format and genre: the first one is a documentary by Montserrat Armengou and Ricard Belis titled Els nens perduts del franquisme (2002) and the second one, Insensibles (2012) is a fantasy horror movie directed by Juan Carlos Medina. These films will require expanding our understanding of processes of transmission since they specifically address an aspect of Spain’s history that has not been discussed yet: they examine the stories of Republican families torn apart by Francoism. More particularly, the films focus on the experiences of children born in Republican families, who were
abducted by the regime, and who were either placed in public institutions or adopted by Francoist families.
Part One: Documenting a Lost Generation in

*Els Nens Perduts del Franquisme*

For the past decades, the topic of abducted children under Francoism has been explored either implicitly or explicitly in literature, notably in Benjamín Prado’s *Mala gente que camina* (2006) and in cinema with films such as Guillermo del Toro’s *El espinazo del diablo* (2001), Juan Antonio Bayona’s *El orfanato* (2007), Augustí Villaronga’s *Pa Negre* (2010) or Mikel Rueda’s *Izarren argia* (*Estrellas que alcanzar*, 2010). Of all historical elements gathered in this dissertation, the abduction of children by the dictatorial regime may be less commonly known by the general public although it was a direct and very concrete consequence of the application of the National-Catholic ideology promoted by Franco and the Falange.

The relative ignorance that surrounds these historical facts raises a series of interrogations both on the collective and the individual levels of memory transmission. Collectively, this ignorance further interferes with processes of reparation, and it marks the “urgency” to give voice to the innocent victims of the regime. On the individual level, the silencing of these stories points to genealogical breaks in the familial lineage of the victims of abductions. As a consequence, this specific aspect of Spain’s recent history brings us to reassess the processes of memory and its transmission within familial bonds, and ultimately to explore *if*, and *how*, the memory network can be expanded beyond them.

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55 These works address this specific issue in very different ways. While Benjamín Prado’s *Mala gente que camina* was inspired by Armengou and Belis’ documentary, as the author explained in a 2006 interview to *El País*, del Toro’s films evoke this topic in a more implicit way in his films.
When considering the case of abducted children through the scope of transgenerational transmission, is it crucial to acknowledge the regime’s use of such concepts in order to establish its authority. In addition, the analysis of *Els nens perduts del Franquisme* and *Insensibles* point to other spaces of transmission beyond the familial home. As evoked earlier, *Els nens perduts del franquisme* and *Insensibles* propose rather different perspectives on a specific historical issue. The first film is a documentary based on a series of testimonies that echo the first-person narrations that was central in *El arte de volar, Pas pleurer* and *Los rojos de ultramar*. The second text is a fictional motion picture that partly follows the conventions of the horror genre, thus breaking away from a realist aesthetic, at the same time that it dialogues with contemporary trends in Spanish cinema.

In order to assess the aesthetic characteristics of the films analyzed in this chapter, it will also be necessary to take a closer look at the specific language of cinema. First, we may wonder whether a distinction between fictional film and documentary sustains any generic validity; and if so, it is crucial to pinpoint their differences and analyze their impact on memory transmission. In fact, the distinction between fiction and documentary is an ongoing debate between scholars in the field of cinema studies. Like Thierry Groensteen’s stance on comic books, who describes them as “unidentified cultural objects,” film critic Guy Gauthier qualifies documentary films as “[des] objets filmiques mal identifiés” in the introduction of *Le documentaire: un autre cinéma* (1995). With this catchphrase, Gauthier points to the difficulties of establishing satisfactory distinctions between fiction films and
documentaries, as will now be analyzed with the opening scene of *Els nens perduts del Franquisme*.\(^{56}\)

### 1.1 HISTORICAL REENACTMENT AS A DOORWAY TO THE PAST

![Figure 29: Corridor, *Els nens perduts del Franquisme*.](image)

© Montserrat Armengou and Ricard Belis.

A high angle, long shot of what looks like a prison hallway – or is it a psychiatric institution? - shows a man walking down the corridor and toward the camera.\(^{57}\) Above the man’s head lies a massive metal grate that supports the camera. The lens captures its surroundings and sets the ambiance: the coldness of the space is only intensified by the blueish light and the symmetric placement of neon fixtures. Resting on metal grates, the camera shows a broader perspective than would be perceivable by the human eye in this specific space. The camera is, in fact, located in a place that does not seem to be intended for human wandering. On both sides of the metal grate and as seen in figure twenty-nine, appear two additional hallways separated from the grate by metal railings.

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\(^{56}\) The documentary was first released on Catalan television, where it was divided in two parts. Both parts follow a similar structure and open with a historically reconstructed scene.

\(^{57}\) As the man walks down the corridor, we are able to distinguish that he wears what looks like a doctor’s gown, leading one to assume that the building may be a mental health facility.
As the film opens, the visualization of the metal grate and railings, along with the high angle shot and the presence of a camera in a space apparently inaccessible to individuals, instantly evoke the confinement of prisoners and the authoritarian power that submits them. With a single shot, Bentham’s panopticon and Foucault’s *Discipline and Punish* come to mind, as the camera embodies the ongoing surveillance implemented under Franco’s regime. Yet at this point, the audience does not know exactly which type of institution is shown on screen. In fact, the first shot of the film is still to be located in space and in time. If it is quite obvious that this shot does not belong to the category of archival images, the time period it represents is however unclear. As a result, two questions rise from the documentary’s first image: where is this corridor located? And what historical reality does it represent?

After a couple of seconds, the sound of the man’s shoes starts to resonate as he walks down the hallway. The loud, echoing, stomping noise that evokes the sound of military boots seems to reaffirm the statement that is made visually. Before we can even identify who is walking, a sense of authority is transmitted through image and sound. In the second shot the camera switches angle: this time, it is an eye-level, full shot, that allows the audience to get a better sense of the man. The movement of the camera from the upper level of the building to the level where the man is located catches him entering into a room, once again from behind a gated door. The impressions communicated by the first shot are also reinforced by the following image: the camera seems to be observing the man from a distance, as if it were omnipresent in the building, spying on its inhabitants. The second shot allows for the audience to get a better glimpse of the man: the white gown he is
wearing indicates his status, and informs the viewers that he most likely occupies a position of authority within the institution.

As the man enters a room, the camera captures him and gradually reduces the distance. The sound of the shoes can be heard, followed by the noise of a door opening. The next shot shows that same man, in a room that looks like an office, sitting down behind a desk. As he moves behind the desk, a male voice bursts out and reads: “De conformidad con su mencionada propuesta, autorizo la creación del gabinete de investigaciones psicológicas cuya finalidad primordial será investigar las raíces bio-psíquicas del marxismo. Remite, el Generalísimo Francisco Franco Bahamonde.” These words, written by Franco to Antonio Vallejo-Nágera, are juxtaposed on a series of shots that now show the man sitting at his desk and reading a telegram. 58 As the camera zooms out from the bottom of the telegram to a wider frame that gives a better sense of the desk, a second voice, female this time, explains:

El 23 d’agost del 1938, el comandant i psiquiatre Antonio Vallejo-Nágera rebia un important telegrama. El contingut de la missiva significava l’impuls definitiu a la seva carrera. Des d’aquell dia, tenia via lliure per fer els seus experiments psiquiàtrics amb els milers de personas que començaven a omplir presons i camps de concentració.

58 Antonio Vallejo-Nágera (1889-1960) was appointed head of the Military Department of Psychiatry by Franco. He actively contributed to the repression of political prisoners in the early postwar period.
A Vallejo-Nágera li semblaven un material excel·lent per confirmar les seves tesis: el marxisme era una malaltia. Tal com passaria a l’Alemanya Nazi, el nou règim tindria una excusa científica per aixafar sense misericòrdia als vençuts.

Figure 31: Man at desk, *Els nens perduts del Franquisme*. © Montserrat Armengou and Ricard Belis.

The switch in voices and the switch in languages now clearly indicate that the documentary opens with a historically reenacted scene. As we start getting a better glimpse of the office and the objects placed on the desk, it becomes evident that the man in the white coat is not an expert who is being interviewed for the purposes of the documentary. The telegram he holds between his hands, the absence of a phone or a computer, the crucified statue of the Christ that stands next to a small red and yellow flag -and possibly even the presence of an ashtray- indicate that the opening scene of *Els nens perduts del Franquisme* is supposed to take place at the time of Francoism, and that the man we see on screen is an actor playing the role of Antonio Vallejo-Nágera.

Such an opening scene raises several remarks, as it seems to blur the distinction between documentary and fiction. Going back to Guy Gauthier’s studies on documentary films as “objects filmiques non-identifiés,” it appears that the opening scene of *Els nens perduts del Franquisme* points to the porous boundaries between genres. In *Le documentaire: un autre cinéma*, Gauthier attempts to identify the elements that
characterize documentary films, by listing a series of statements and debunking them. Gauthier shows that the boundaries between fiction and documentary are not based on concepts such as “truth” and “reality”: first because truth is not a reliable enough notion, and second because the representation of reality, in both fictional and non-fictional texts, requires a *mise-en-scène* that separates the content of the text from reality (6).

Following this idea, Gauthier presents acting as an aspect of documentary film that seems to distinguish the genre from fictional cinema. Contrary to what we see in documentaries, says Gauthier, fiction films rely on the presence and participation of actors—indeed, of individuals whose character on screen differs to at least some degree from their off-screen self. As Gauthier puts it: “Qu’est-ce qu’un acteur, en l’occurrence ? Quelqu’un qui simule quelqu’un d’autre, qui s’interpose, qui fait « écran » entre l’écran et le spectateur” (7). Yet, the analysis of the first scene of *Els nens perduts del Franquisme* disproves Gauthier’s argument, because the man we see on screen is obviously not the “real” Antonio Vallejo-Nágera. And in fact, in the following pages of his book, Gauthier refines his definition of documentary films by refuting the idea that the presence of actors on screen is exclusive to fictional films. The author debunks his own statement notably by pointing to the performative nature of the social self; in short by arguing that in social settings, individuals act in ways that resemble what actors accomplish on screen.

What is it, then, that distinguishes documentary films from fiction? Gauthier’s conclusion derives both from the notions of *mise-en-scène* and acting, as he highlights one aspect of human existence that cannot be performed: death. In what he presents like a humorous detail, Gauthier proposes to ask the following question in order to establish a convincing enough distinction between documentary and fiction: “les morts se relèvent-ils
à la fin du tournage ?” In other words, is the audience looking at human existence as it is off-screen, or are the actors merely mimicking it? The relevance of such a statement is taken one step further in the author’s demonstration: “Les morts se relèvent-ils à la fin du tournage? Dans la fiction clairement revendiquée, oui : Michel Piccoli et Gérard Depardieu peuvent évoquer plaisamment leur mort-au-cinéma (Les 101 nuits, Agnès Varda, 1994).

Dans le vrai documentaire, non : l’accusation la plus forte –ou la plus sournoise- que l’on peut lui adresser consiste justement à douter des morts” (7).

Although the phrase “vrai documentaire” raises some questions –the term “vrai” is problematic precisely because the documentary genre is not easy to define-, Gauthier points to crucial aspects of documentary films, which constantly play with notions of simulacrum and representation. As the author shows, strictly –and semantically- speaking, documentaries are concerned with processes of documenting. This idea implies that documentary films are necessarily rooted in the present: the author argues that filmmakers cannot actually represent the past or the future, since they can only film from the present (8). The necessary connection to the present is, according to Gauthier, one of the main restrictions of the genre: with historical documentaries, which obviously involve a concern with past events, documentary filmmakers adapt their filming techniques to include historical reenactments, thus bringing back the questions of fictionalization and the presence of actors on screen. As Gauthier puts it:

Le documentariste ne peut pénétrer là où la caméra était inexistante (avant le XXe siècle), ni là où elle est ou était interdite, ni tout simplement là où elle était absente. Il ne lui reste pour cela que les vestiges et les témoins pour raconter ce qu’ils ont vécu. Si la vérité n’est pas forcément au rendez-vous, on peut au moins se demander si vestiges et témoins sont authentiques, ou s’ils sont reconstitués pour les premiers, interprétés pour les seconds (8)
Following Gauthier, the first scene of *Els nens perduts del Franquisme* therefore relies on historical reenactment because it “penetrates” the past and mimics the authority of the regime through the constant presence of the camera. Moreover, we see that two distinct temporalities are juxtaposed with the combination of image and sound. As Montserrat Armengou’s voice confirms the temporal dichotomy, the lens keeps zooming out as a way to highlight the temporal distance between the events narrated and the time of footage.59 Of course, opening a documentary with a fictionalized scene serves several purposes. One may argue that the first scene of *Els nens perduts del Franquisme* makes a statement on the blurred boundaries between testimony and fiction through historical reenactment, but it also serves to fulfill an educational purpose. By visually reconstructing the past, the audience is invited to interact in a more direct way with the sequence of shots that appear on screen.

One could counter that the educational goal of the documentary may be achieved with greater “faithfulness” through archival photographs and footage. But here, two problems would arise: the first one being that such images might not be available –there might not exist, for instance, archival footage of Antonio Vallejo-Nágera in his office-, and the second one being that any archival footage of the time would be marked by the seal of Francoist propaganda. As a result, making one’s own images through historical reenactment allows adding an implicit commentary to what is being shown. The Francoist paraphernalia displayed on the desk in figure thirty-one (p. 284 above) was not placed on the desk to glorify the regime as would be the case in archival footage, –it is used to mark two different temporalities. By reenacting the moment in time when Vallejo-Nágera was

59 Montserrat Armengou reads the voice off comments in the documentary.
officially granted the approval to experiment on Republican prisoners, the documentary explicitly confronts the audience with Spain’s recent history.

As the present day camera symbolically enters the nation’s past through historical reenactment, the documentary powerfully manifests the critical gaze that can now be laid on past events perpetrated by a regime that did not allow opposition and criticism. While the placement of the camera reminds the audience of the constant surveillance of citizens, we see that the opening scene proposes to invert this dynamic: the gaze of the viewer is directed at Antonio Vallejo-Nágera through the lens. The placement of the camera should therefore not be associated with the watchful eye of the dictatorship: rather, it is the critical eye of democratic Spain that now follows Francoist officials. As a result, the opening scene of the documentary allows reaffirming Armengou and Belis’ take on the subject. The angle of the camera mirrors the angle through which both journalists tackle the topic of abducted children under Francoism: by focusing on testimonies that attest to the horrifying consequences of National-Catholic ideology and its implementation in the post-war period. The placement of the camera constitutes a strong symbolic statement that echoes the filmmakers’ ethical and political gaze. Because the filmmakers do not surrender control of the camera to archival images in the opening scene, Armengou and Belis orient the documentary to memory transmission. The goal of Els nens perduts del franquisme is clearly to revive stories that have been silenced, and to offer a space of expression for the victims of the regime, as attested by the testimonies of twenty-four men and women gathered in the film.
1.2 DOCUMENTARY AND THE TRAJECTORY OF MEMORY: THE FILMMAKER AS A MEDIATOR

According to Guy Gauthier, testimonies and the presence of “authentic” witnesses are some of the fundamental elements of the documentary language. In fact, following the author’s remarks in *Le documentaire: un autre cinéma*, it could be argued that the presence of witnesses is what defines the documentary genre. For Gauthier, witnesses -taken in a broad sense- are not limited to the individuals who appear on screen: the filmmakers and the audience can also be considered as such, the former because they document the stories being told, and the latter because they are the recipients of such stories. The camera and the screen therefore appear as objects that mediate the transmission of such stories, and connect the different “witnesses” to each other. In addition, if the degree of *mise-en-scène* is relatively low, the contract between these agents will rely on authenticity. In other words, if filmmakers do not challenge the testimonies via montage or voice off commentaries, the latter will be perceived by the audience as being authentic.

*Els nens perduts del Franquisme* contains the “authentic” testimonies –in the sense of Gauthier- of María Villanueva, Juana Doña, Carme Riera, Teresa Martín, Julia Manzanal, Petra Cuevas, Tomasa Cuevas, Balbina Torres, Antonia Radas, Trinidad Gallego, Teresa Morán, Carme Figuerola, Soledad Real, Unexu Álvarez, Francisca Aguirre, Susana Aguirre, José Murillo, Antonio Prada Girón, Emilia Girón, Teresa Prada Girón, Oliva Rapp, Florencia Calvo, María Lucas García and Vicenta Flores. The stories they tell imply a disruption in the generational lineage due to the experiments conducted by the regime on Republican prisoners. The documentary takes on a transgenerational perspective since it compiles interviews of mothers and children who were imprisoned after
the war. In some cases, the women saw their children perish in confinement due to atrocious unhygienic conditions and lack of proper nourishment. In other cases, the children were taken away from their Republican mothers in an attempt to control the “spread” of leftist ideology: the film presents interviews of adults who were once recuperated by the regime and placed in institutions such as the Auxilio Social, or with nationalist families.

What is particularly compelling about Armengou and Belis’ documentary is that it symbolically reconstructs broken genealogies because it weaves together the testimonies of mothers and children. Els nens perduts del Franquisme therefore brings together distinct poles of transmission and different levels of interaction, and proposes a symbolic reparation which is sometimes undertaken at the familial level, as attested by the testimonies of the Girón family, or by Florencia Calvo and María Lucas García, two sisters who were separated as children and reunited after sixty years. Moreover, the documentary engages with the broader level of transmission, because it transmits above all the atrocities committed by the regime.

As a result, the film broadens the scope of memory transmission because it connects individuals who belong to distinct familial groups. As in the other texts analyzed in the first two chapters of this dissertation, the documentary presents multiple narrative voices that allow retracing the trajectory of memory. The strategy employed to facilitate transmission relies on different modes of representation, which film theorist Bill Nichols identifies in Representing Reality (1991). The author classifies four modes of documentary representation that slightly modify the terms of the “contract” exchanged by filmmakers, witnesses and the audience. The first mode, called “expository documentary,” exemplified
by filmmakers such as John Grierson and Robert Flaherty, is characterized by the explicit interaction of documentarians through voice-over and commentary (32-33).

The second one, referred to as “observational documentary,” as seen in the works of Richard Leacock, Donn Pennebaker or Fredrick Wiseman, differs from the expository mode by “erasing” as much as possible the presence of filmmakers in the documentary: “the absence of commentary and the reluctance to use images to illustrate generalizations encourages an emphasis on the activity of individuals within specific social formations such as the family, the local community or a single institution […]” (40). As Nichols points out, this mode was achieved at a moment in time when technical progress allowed filmmakers to record images and sound simultaneously, when recording equipment became easier to carry (33).

A third mode of representation, called “interactive documentary,” breaks with the apparent detachment from the subject matter proposed in observational documentary and makes filmmakers’ presence more explicit on screen. Prominent filmmakers that engage in the interactive mode are Jean Rouch, Connie Field or Emile de Antonio. This mode of expression differs from expository documentary in the sense that it traces the presence of filmmakers visually in the scenes being filmed, beyond the juxtaposition of voice-over and images. As Nichols explains, with interactive documentary “interview styles and interventionist tactics arose, allowing the filmmaker to participate more actively in present events” (33).

Finally, the last category, “reflexive documentary,” with filmmakers such as Jill Godmilow or Raul Ruiz, renders apparent the processes of representation of reality. This mode reveals the most manufactured aspects (such as montage and mise-en-scène) of an
art that challenges the seal of immediacy that is commonly associated with documentary films (33). While the four modes of representing reality mark a change in the filmmaker’s positioning, they all imply a contract between the three different agents – filmmakers, witnesses and the audience – previously mentioned. In Nichols’ own words: “all documentaries, not only reflexive ones, take up a specific relationship to their own commentary or perspective” (119).

This remark leads to explore further the central role of the filmmaker in the documenting processes. The filmmakers’ interventions can be “quantified” by an attentive audiences through their presence or absence on screen, with voice-over commentaries, but also through the use of titles. As Nichols shows, these elements constitute “an ethics, and a politics, of considerable importance to the viewer” because they allow acknowledging that the shot sequences stem from an encounter between social actors who interact explicitly on screen and implicitly off-screen (77). This statement reinforces the idea that the testimonial aspect of documentaries goes beyond the witnesses being filmed, since the filmmakers offer a testimony of their own to the audience. As Nichols puts it: “The viewer’s relation to the image, then, is charged with an awareness of the politics and ethics of the gaze. An indexical bond exists between the image and the ethics that produced it. The image provides evidence not only on behalf of an argument but also gives evidence of the politics and ethics of its maker” (77).

While this observation is particularly obvious in the context of made-to-order propaganda films that serve a clear ideological agenda, it is also quite fitting when we consider how documentaries address questions of memory transmission. As seen in previous sections of this dissertation, aspects of testimony can be observed in legacy
narratives as they have been described so far. And although there are major differences between testimonial literature and legacy narratives, we have nonetheless seen how the transmission of Republican memories was facilitated by distinct social actors, who interacted with each other and shared aspects of their day-to-day life.

In *Els nens perduts del Franquisme*, the interactions between the filmmakers and the witnesses is implicit. The presence of the filmmakers is perceivable in the voice-off commentaries and through the movements of the camera, but they do not appear on screen. This mode of documenting, which borrows from the expository and the observational modes in Nichols’, warrants that most of the narrative space is given to the testimonies. As mentioned earlier, the voice-off commentaries are added to fulfill the educational purpose of the film, to expand what has been said by a witness, or to provide verbal transitions between sequences.

However, the transitions between testimonies are not always carried out by voice-over comments, they are also achieved through visual montage, notably with the alternation of present day images and archive footage that serve to illustrate the historical events brought up by the witnesses. The scenes that follow the documentary’s opening shots present a juxtaposition of past and present images. Black and white shots of the Spanish Civil War and of the postwar period follow close-ups of María Villanueva and Juana Doña, two women whose testimonies are introduced solely by the images that precede. The women’s presence on screen, their identities, are not divulged by Armengou’s comments; instead, their names is revealed by a caption added to the close-up shots of the women as seen below in figure thirty-two.
The content of these testimonies is not overly interpreted by the filmmakers. As the women’s faces appear on screen and they start telling their stories, the viewers are brought face to face with them, as if entering a room where an intimate conversation was already taking place. María Villanueva’s testimony opens mid-sentence: “…bueno fuimos con muchas personas que queríamos irnos al extranjero…,” and Juana Doña’s account is also a fragment of an on-going conversation: “Nos quitaron todo, absolutamente todo, eeh, plumas estilográficas, chaquetas, todo, nos dejaron casi desnudas, y a ellos desnudos, a los hombres. Pues no teníamos nada para los niños. No teníamos ni siquiera para acostarnos en el suelo y ponernos una prenda nuestra, no teníamos –teníamos nada más lo que teníamos puesto.”

The testimonies of Villanueva and Doña refer back to the postwar period, to a time when many Spaniards, regardless of their ideology, were tempted to flee from Spain and were cut short in their attempt by the victors of the war. Armengou and Belis’ transmit these testimonies by bringing together the expository and the observational mode: through the montage of archival footage juxtaposed with Armengou’s voice off comments, viewers are able to put together the pieces of the witnesses’ stories. As a result, far from impeding
proper comprehension of the events evoked by María Villanueva and Juana Doña, the fragments of interviews communicate a sense of closeness with the witnesses.

By “catching” the filmmakers’ conversations with both women, the audience is put in the presence of a bond that has already been established and that is not hindered by timidity, or lack of mutual knowledge. Of course, from the audience’s standpoint, a diffuse sense of voyeurism might derive from these scenes, as the viewers observe a bond between interviewer and interviewee that does not seem to include them. However, voyeurism is almost instantly transformed by a feeling of trust that emanates from the close bond established between the filmmakers and the witnesses; in fact, the absence of the filmmakers on screen allows transferring the close bond between interviewers and interviewees to the latter and the audience.

Instead of remaining somewhat passive bystanders, the spectators are therefore invited to enter the trajectory of memory because they are placed at the receiving end of it. As in Kim and Altarriba’s graphic novel, or Salvayre and Soler’s novels, Armengou and Belis’ documentary participates in processes of memory transmission by proposing a textual mediation of the memories it contains. As objects of memory, these legacy narratives reveal paths of the trajectory of memory because they mobilize the three different poles of transmission identified by Paul Ricœur. In Els nens perduts del Franquisme, the camera –which implies an hors-champ- facilitates the apparent “erasure” of the filmmakers as mediators. In fact, as in El arte de volar, the sequencing of images –

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60 The term conversation is here meant to acknowledge the processes of transmission. What we see on screen is really a monologue, since the filmmakers are placed hors-champ and we do not hear their voices. However, we do know as viewers that the filmmakers are present in the scene since they are the ones who control the camera.
whether drawings or camera shots- reveals the presence of mediators/inheritors who are able to offer extensive narrative space to the witnesses.\textsuperscript{61}

Although it could be argued that Armengou and Belis “inherit” the stories of the witnesses to a certain extent, I use the term “mediator” instead of “inheritor” to emphasize the lack of familial bond between the them and the witnesses. As a result, \textit{Els nens perduts del Franquisme} points to the fact that memory can also be passed on between individuals who are not related, who do not live together and as such, do not share aspects of daily life. What is it then, that unites such individuals, and how can memory be actually transmitted between them? A possible answer to this question may be found in Roland Barthes’ \textit{Camera Lucida}, and more particularly in the notion of \textit{studium} mentioned earlier. Understood as a manifestation of knowledge and its transmission, Barthes’ \textit{studium} informs us on the different aspects of culture and history that are shared between the different actors of memory transmission. Considered as such, Barthes’s \textit{studium} could therefore highlight the sociopolitical and historical aspects of legacy narratives that are commonly shared by members of relatively broad social groups; in short, the \textit{studium} could be understood as the paths undertaken by the trajectory of memory to connect the intermediate level of transmission to the broader collective.

\textsuperscript{61} As seen in the second chapter with the analysis of Salvayre’s \textit{Pas Pleurer} and Soler’s \textit{Los rojos de ultramar}, the novels give greater narrative space to the inheritors than Altarriba and Kim’s graphic novel. In visual media, we see that the presence of inheritors and/or mediators can be contained through montage, while novels will have to rely on the written language to mark the presence of inheritors in the text.
1.3 A STORY OF ORGANIZED ABDUCTIONS

_Els nens perduts del Franquisme_ features the testimony of Teresa Martín who spent the first years of her life in prison with her birth mother. When Teresa was barely older than four, she was relocated and it wasn’t until years later, in her adult life, that she was reunited with her biological mother. Her interview is scattered through the documentary, between other testimonies and archival images. Compared to other testimonies compiled in the film, hers is quite short, but her scarce presence on screen subtly underlines the purpose of the documentary in terms of memory transmission. While her interview allows recuperating pieces of her life, it also shows how individual and collective memories blend with each other, as she evokes images recalled from her childhood and elements that she learned in her adult life, allowing her to make sense of a traumatic past. The first sentences uttered by Teresa Martín in the documentary are a restitution of historical facts concerning the female prison of Ventas, in Madrid, which could be interpreted first as a desire to educate the audience on the socio-political context of the time, and second as a way to ease into more personal aspects of her account.

Teresa’s memories touch upon diverse elements, such as aspects of the prisoners’ daily life (food rationing or the spread of disease), followed by more intimate details that also give the audience an idea of the close bond Teresa shared with her birth mother:

Hubo una epidemia de sarampión, creo que era sarampión, y se sabía que niño que entraba en la enfermería, niño que ya no salía, entonces las madres estaban aterradas de confesar que sus hijos tenían sarampión porque sabían que los perdían [...] Bueno, en el camastro de al lado, había una madre con un hijo, o una hija, con sarampión. Y justo al lado nuestro, había una madre con una hija con viruelas negras. [...] Y mi madre en medio, y siempre decía: ‘Si lo denuncio, ambos niños desaparecen. Si no los denuncio, mi hija desaparece.’ [...] Y mi madre dice que durante muchas muchas noches durmió encima de mí. Me arropaba con su cuerpo para evitar no sé cómo, pero bueno, para evitar el contagio. Debí de ser Bueno el cobijo que me dio porque no cogí ningún tipo de enfermedad, no entré en la enfermería nunca.
As quoted above, Teresa’s memories are linked to mental images of the past (the setting of the prison, the beds, the people who shared the same experience), to aspects of general knowledge that she eventually learned (the outbreak of diseases), and finally to other memories that have been transmitted by others. In terms of memory transmission, this fragment of interview shares similar traits with the narrative techniques identified in *El arte de volar*, *Pas pleurer* and *Los rojos de ultramar* because it also merges Teresa’s testimony to her mother’s voice, as the phrase “Y mi madre dice…” infers. The close bond that unites Teresa to her mother is physical, and as such, it is almost a reminder of the type of connection described by Antonio’s son in *El arte de volar*.

Because she spent the first years of her life in prison, Teresa’s experience requires reconsidering and expanding the notion of home as a space of transmission. There is something quite counterintuitive in equating the term “home” with penitentiary institutions, mostly because such a term commonly refers to the place where one lives permanently.62 Quite clearly, this definition cannot be applied to prison, a place where one does not live permanently but where one does time. Even with long term prison sentences, penitentiary institutions represents the boundary of the law and the authority of institutionalized power, in other words a semi-public space that one must share with other inmates. Home, on the other hand, epitomizes the safety of a private space, in which individuals are supposedly—in any case, to some degree- shielded from society. In short, while it could be argued that home may constitute a –relative- shelter from others and society, it is clear that prison is not.

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62 The first definition of the noun “home” in the Merriam-Webster dictionary is “the place where one resides”.
Yet, defining home as the place where one permanently resides is also problematic and quite simplistic. First, the term “place” limits our definition to geographic spaces but does not consider the fact that more often than not home is defined as a feeling of attachment and familiarity. Second, permanence is not necessarily what characterizes the experience of home, since one can permanently reside away from home. To quote Gaston Bachelard in *La poétique de l’espace* (1957), home therefore refers to “la réalité profonde de chacune des nuances de notre attachement à un lieu d’élection” (32), as much as it reveals “comment nous habitons notre espace vital en accord avec toutes les dialectiques de la vie, comment nous nous enracinons, jour par jour, dans un coin du monde.”

Home understood as a symbolic space where individuals can ground themselves allows reconsidering Teresa Martín’s testimony. Understandably so, Teresa does not identify prison as her home, although it was, in fact, her place of residence during the first years of her life. Like many young victims of Francoist repression, Teresa was deprived of the possibility to develop a “fondness toward a place of her own choosing,” in Barchelard’s sense. But to conclude that Teresa did not experience at all the feeling of attachment described by the French philosopher would seem farfetched. Despite the fact that her relationship with her birth mother was short-lived at the beginning of her life, Teresa’s testimony highlights nonetheless immaterial aspects connected to the notion of home, such as protection and comfort. In other words, Teresa did experience the emotional imprint of home, which can be felt and recalled at a later time. Ultimately, Teresa Martín’s account echoes the many testimonies recuperated in *Els nens perduts del Franquisme*, which not only allow reassessing the concept of home, but which also shed light on the organization of the penitentiary system under Franco’s regime.
Many historians, such as Ricard Vinyes, have extensively written on this topic, which was brought to the general public’s attention after the release on TV3 Catalunya of Armengou and Belis’ documentary in 2002. As Vinyes explains in his work, the penitentiary system under Francoism was conceived to implement the very ideology of National-Catholicism. It was thought of as a structure that would allow the transformation and submission of the opponents to the regime. In his article “Doblegar y transformar: la industria penitenciaria y sus encarceladas políticas. Tan sólo un examen” (2011), Vinyes shows in a reference to Foucault that the purpose of the regime’s penitentiary industry went beyond controlling and punishing. Rather, it aimed to break the resistance and transform the prisoners following the ideals of masculinity and femininity put forth by Francoism.

As the author explains, the theories that conceptualized the role of prisons under the dictatorship were built on the legacy of earlier positivist theories, such as those put forth by jurist Pedro Dorado, who had argued for the development of “correctional pedagogy” in the late nineteenth century. In the early postwar period, the regime eventually transformed Dorado’s conceptions by giving them a Catholic twist. They argued for a “right to be redeemed”, going as far as pleading for a “right” for prisoners to expiate and suffer (38):

Ya durante la construcción del Estado de la dictadura, la vida penal se asentó en dos conceptos que sostuvieron por siempre el impulso y la actividad del Patronato de Nuestra Señora de la Merced para la Redención de Penas por el Trabajo –la institución vertebral de la industria carcelaria del

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63 Ricard Vinyes collaborated with Armengou and Belis and published a book with them on the same topic. The book Los niños perdidos del franquismo (2002) was published after the release of the documentary on Catalan television. Ricard Vinyes also appears on the documentary.

64 Ricard Vinyes here quotes an article written in 1945 by Ángel B. Sanz, head of the penitentiary system in the mid-forties: “el preso tiene derecho a sufrir, a expiar, así eleva el sacrificio y el sufrimiento a la virtud nacional.”
The notions of expiation and suffering as paths for redemption were soon implemented in women’s penitentiary facilities. The testimonies of Trinidad Gallego, Juana Doña, Julia Manzanal, Teresa Morán and Petra Cuevas gathered in *Els nens perduts del Franquisme* echo Vinyes’ research. The women evoke María Topete Fernández, a central figure in the development of a “correctional pedagogy” based on National-Catholic ideology. A committed Francoist who gravitated in circles of power, Topete had been a prisoner of the Republicans during the war. In the postwar period, she worked as a correctional officer in Madrid’s Cárcel de Ventas, before she was eventually left in charge of the capital’s new prison destined to lactating mothers.

Within penitentiary facilities, the application of the National-Catholic ideology gradually increased, consisting mostly of separating physically the children from their mothers. In Petra Cuevas’ own words: “aquella cárcel estaba al lado del río, tenían unos cucos, unos cuquitos de esos, de tela, y allí, con una mantita, una sabanita, y allí estaban los niños y tenían que estar allí todo el día. Ni que llorasen, ni que no, no los podías coger. Claro, como consecuencia, pues yo estaba castigada siempre. Porque yo oía llorar a los niños e iba, aunque fuese nada más que a mover un poquito el cuco.” Cuevas’ testimony shows that children were removed from the care of their mothers within prison walls, even before they were relocated with new families or the facilities of the Auxilio Social.

As the actions conducted by María Topete reveal, the regime had developed a system that intended to submit and convert its opponents to the National-Catholic ideology, at the same time that it theorized the treatment reserved to children and their proper education –by Francoist standards. Children were seen as the future of the nation, as “tools”
through which the “Great Spanish Nation” would come to life. As such, the Nationalist ideology needed to be expanded to the progeny of Republicans. Psychiatrist Antonio Vallejo-Nágera played a central role in the development of such theories, as shown by authors Claudio Francisco Capuano and Alberto J. Carli. In an article titled “Antonio Vallejo-Nágera (1889-1960) y la eugenesia en la España Franquista. Cuando la ciencia fue el argumento para la apropiación de la descendencia,” the authors explain in detail how Antonio Vallejo-Nágera conducted experiments on male and female prisoners.

The results of these experiments were gathered in reports signed by Vallejo-Nágera —such as *Psiquismo del fanatismo marxista. Investigaciones psicológicas en marxistas femeninos delincuentes,* which aimed to explicate the “attraction” of inmates to Marxist ideology in pseudo-scientific terms. According to Campuano and Carli, the reports did not merely describe the biology and psychology of the enemies of the regime, they also served, by contrast, to reinforce and develop the ideology behind National-Catholicism. By sketching a detailed, although greatly distorted, portrait of the “typical” rojo, Vallejo-Nágera simultaneously defined the regime’s concepts of race and Hispanidad:

La tarea política que se planteó entonces, fue alcanzar la raza perfecta, la Hispanidad, el “nosotros” y dejar afuera, de la forma que fuere, a los “otros”. Con respecto a esta otredad negativa y a sus hijos, Vallejo-Nágera plantea la necesidad de intervenir con políticas de Estado para mejorar la raza y perpetuar el castigo del enemigo político en su descendencia. Para legitimar estas acciones, construye discursivamente al “otro” con expresiones lingüísticas tales como “débiles mentales”, “fanáticos”, “ateos”, “judeo marxista”, etc.

Construed as a “pathology” by Vallejo-Nágera and his followers, Marxist ideology ran the risk of being transmitted to the sons and daughters of Republicans, and it therefore needed to be eradicated. As a result, the regime put into place a series of very concrete actions —

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65 Claudio Francisco Capuano is the coordinator of the Department of Health and Human Rights at the University of Buenos Aires. Alberto J. Carli is Professor of Medicine.
notably, a series of laws—destined to prevent such “contamination.” The first rule established by the regime soon became the systematic separation of children older than three from their mothers (10). Two laws eventually gave judicial legitimacy to Vallejo-Nágera’s theories: the “ley del 23 de noviembre de 1940,” which organized the placement of orphans and children born in Republican families into dedicated institutions, and the “ley del 4 de diciembre de 1941,” which allowed the regime to substitute the children’s family name when they were too young—or arguably too traumatized—to remember their birth name.

In actuality, *Els nens perduts del Franquisme* teaches us that the application of the “ley de 1941” was expanded to children who did remember their identity, as Vicenta Flores’ testimony reveals. Vicenta was a young child when she was taken away from her father’s house in Valencia and placed in a religious school. Her father, who was condemned to a death sentence because he had been an officer in the Republican army, had made arrangements for her daughter to be taken care of by relatives, but Vicenta was never allowed to reunite with her family and she was placed for adoption by the regime. In the process, Vicenta lost part of her childhood, her family and her identity:

¿Quién soy? ¿Cómo me llamo? ¿Cuántos años tengo? ¿Por qué, por qué, me han quitado a mi padre? Yo me encontre en un tren que venía de Valencia a Madrid. Me encontré en Madrid en el 39. [...] Cuando bajé del tren, me preguntaron quién era, claro. Y entonces dije que yo me llamaba Vicenta Álvarez Garrido, que yo era hija de Nemesio Álvarez Garrido, que mi padre era capitán, militar, y que vivíamos en la calle Ramón y Cajal, número 15 en Valencia. Al cabo de un año, ya no me llamo Vicenta Álvarez Garrido, y me ponen el nombre de Flores Ruiz. No he comprendido por qué me cambian el nombre, y ni me dan papeles, ni nada. Es que no he sabido nada nunca. ¿Por qué me han quitado mi nombre? Yo quiero mi nombre, yo no soy Flores Ruiz.

Vicenta’s testimony gives voice to the many children who were relocated without the consent of their parents. According to official reports, the number of children abducted by the regime attained 12,042 in 1944, and went as high as 30,960 over the following
decade. As established by Judge Baltazar Garzón, who advocated for the recognition of victims and the application of penal charges for crimes committed under the Francoist regime, the majority of these children were, like Vicenta, eventually placed in religious institutions (Capuano and Carli, 11). Historian Mirta Núñez Díaz-Balart, who also wrote extensively on the issue of abducted children, establishes further the intentions of the regime toward the descendants of Republicans in her article *La infancia “redimida”: el último eslabón del sistema penitenciario franquista* (2001). Núñez’ investigations reveal that from 1941 on the regime had implemented systematic appropriation and indoctrination of the children whose parents had been imprisoned or killed during the war.

The notions of “proselytism” and “propaganda” put forth by Mirta Núñez in her article highlight the long-term objectives of the regime, at the same time that they acknowledge the foundational ideas of National-Catholicism and their spreading to every aspect of human existence. Vicenta’s testimony shows that the indoctrination of children could go as far as erasing, willingly or not, a child’s past, by “rewriting” her personal story: “[Las monjas] venían a buscarme diciendo tus papás vienen a buscarte, que te habían perdido durante la guerra, y ahora ya te han encontrado. […] Y luego ya empezaron a decirme que me habían perdido, que éses eran mis papás, y empecé a querer a esta gente que venía a buscarme, estaba contenta de irme, porque salía del colegio.”66 Over a period of four years, Vicenta was placed with four different families of Spanish and German origins, but she could not remain with any of them and was eventually taken back to the religious school.

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66 Vicenta’s testimony shows that the stories she was told by the nuns varied depending on the circumstances. These stories might not necessarily imply a desire to completely erase Vicenta’s past, but they still reveal the need to cover up that she was the victim of an abusive appropriation by the regime.
Vicenta’s story, along with the compelling testimonies recuperated in *Els nens perduts del Franquisme* are real-life tales of resilience that dig into Spain’s past and the memories of Francoism’s victims. Moreover, the documentary also features an interview of Mercedes Sanz Bachiller, a central figure of Francoist repression in the postwar years. Her interview allows exploring further the damages of National-Catholicism, in spite of—or possibly because of—its rather casual tone. In 1937, Sanz Bachiller founded the Auxilio Social, an institution tied to the Sección Femenina de Falange Española, which was created to provide shelter, food and care for war victims, mainly children and women.

After the war, the Auxilio Social particularly focused on integrating children of Republicans—whether these children were orphans or not—into the National-Catholic model, with missions such as religious education and paramilitary instruction. Sanz Bachiller is the only representative of Francoism in the documentary, and her interview clashes with the testimonies of the men and women whose stories are recuperated. From a formal point of view, Sanz Bachiller’s account follows the same techniques used to film the testimonies of Francoism’s victims: as shown in figure thirty-three below, she also appears in close-up shots that direct the audience’s gaze to her facial expressions, and by extension, to her speech. In that sense, as far as the interview scenes are concerned, no visual elements are used to distinguish Sanz Bachiller’s interview from the twenty-four other testimonies.

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67 I will not use the word “testimony” to talk about Sanz Bachiller’s interview in *Els nens perduts del Franquisme* in order to avoid any misinterpretation: her account is a justification rather than a rememoration of past events. Using the word “testimony” to qualify Sanz Bachiller’s intervention would defeat the purpose both of this dissertation and of *Els nens perduts del Franquisme*, which is to give voice to those who were silenced during and after the dictatorship. Moreover, the word “testimony” is also a legal term and to this day, Mercedes Sanz Bachiller has not been subpoenaed to testify in court for the role she played during the postwar period.
This being said, Armengou and Belis’ treatment of Sanz Bachiller’s interview is subtly revealing. The place given to her account in the documentary is scarce, and as a result, her (re)interpretation of the past does not overpower the testimonies of the victims of Francoism. Her interview is scattered throughout the second part of the documentary, between portions of victims’ testimonies, archival footage, and photos in black and white that show her younger self surrounded by kids and performing the Falangist salute. The archival footage, which is obviously taken from propagandistic films, contrasts with her rendering of past events. The sequencing of shots implicitly emphasizes her attempts to undermine the impact of National-Catholicism on women and children:

Indudablemente que nosotros teníamos el deseo –pero no el deseo por convencerles a nuestras ideas, porque creíamos que era lo bueno, que era lo mejor. Yo no hubiese querido vivir en un país comunista. Y prueba de ello, tenemos un problema con el comunismo, y lo que ha sido el comunismo. De manera que todo lo que fuese hacerles ver que estaban equivocados, ya no digo que fuesen franquistas, pero que fuesen anti-comunistas, que eso para mí es lo más importante.

In terms of memory transmission, Mercedes Sanz Bachiller’s interview is crucial not because of what it recuperates, but because it reveals the voids of memory in the present. The documentary presents the baffling portray of a woman who, as sincere as she may be, still refuses to this day, to recognize the damages done by National-Catholicism.68

68 In her interview, Sanz Bachiller oscillates between pleading her ignorance and going as far as bluntly denying historical facts, notably with regards to the law of 1940 that allowed placing children under tutelage
The fact that she feels free to justify her past actions without any obvious critical reflection gives the audience a clear idea of democratic Spain’s shortcomings with regards to the official recognition of Francoism’s victims. The irony lies, in this case, in the fact that Francoists had perfectly understood the “value” of transmission, since they had planned to ensure the continuation of the regime by mobilizing all generations. With regards to descendants of Republicans, the regime orchestrated its own version of transgenerational transmission by breaking the connections between children and their close relations, and selecting which ideas were suitable to be passed on to following generations. Of course, this selective process reduced to a maximum expressions of personal choice from the standpoint of the recipients: in this version of ideological transgenerational transmission, the children who were abducted by the regime lost important aspects of their identity, and were therefore not given the choice to appropriate a legacy, contrary to what we see in *El arte de volar*.

Films such as *Els nens perduts del Franquisme* enable a better assessment of the damages done by Francoism in the long run. If it is true that the memories of Republicans have not always been silenced at the individual level, it is necessary to reexamine this assumption in the case of younger victims of the regime since there has been a clear and manifest intention of the regime to dissolve genealogies. As a result, the impact of propaganda on abducted children is undoubtedly the most insidious and persistent to this day, in the sense that it was built upon secrecy and maintained through ignorance. This
brings two remarks: first that there are still adult individuals who ignore an important part of their personal story, and second that this ignorance is contained mostly at the individual level. In other words, if documentaries such as *Els nens peduts del Franquisme* have contributed to spread the story of abducted children at the collective level, many victims of the regime still ignore their genealogical origins today.

Put in very concrete terms, the issue of abducted children leads to examining how contemporary Spain has dealt with questions relative to collective memory, transgenerational transmission and reparation, but also with the consolidation of its democratic regime. As jurist Miguel Ángel Rodríguez Arias argues in his work *El caso de los niños perdidos del franquismo* (2008), the judicial implications that concern this aspect of Spain’s history go far beyond practices of collective memory. These historical events also concern the application of international Conventions that guarantee the protection of Human Rights:

La deuda pendiente de nuestra España democrática –el alcance de su deber de diligencia en la protección de los derechos humanos de toda persona bajo su jurisdicción- irá bastante más allá de la memoria, bastante más allá del homenaje y del incuestionable agradecimiento de nuestras instituciones democráticas: el mismo sujeto Estado español internacionalmente reconocido como tal, que desde una configuración no constitucional llevó a cabo sistemáticamente dichas desapariciones forzadas aún no ha asumido sus responsabilidades ante la comunidad internacional. Comenzando por la desatendida obligación de informar a los familiares respecto el paradero de los niños tomados a la fuerza bajo la tutela de sus instituciones; más aún tras la recientísima aprobación por parte de la Asamblea General de las Naciones Unidas, el pasado 20 de diciembre de 2006, de la nueva Convención de Naciones Unidas para la protección de todas las Personas contra las Desapariciones Forzadas que no podía haber tenido una significación mayor para nuestro país y los miles de desaparecidos del franquismo […] (20)

In short, and according to Rodríguez Arias’ study, Spain’s ambivalence towards the recognition of victims of Francoism leaves the Spanish State in a problematic situation since it does not comply with its legal obligations to condemn violations against Human Rights.
Therefore, unveiling the political silence that surrounds the abduction of children under Franco is not merely an issue of the past: it is clearly a matter of contention in the present. The tensions concerning democratic Spain’s pending debt toward the victims of Francoism can be illustrated by two quotes from *Els nens perduts del Franquisme*. The first one, by Mercedes Sanz Bachiller, emphasizes denial and a desire to forget, at the same time that it reveals the impunity of former officials of the regime:

Procurábamos sobre todo construir de nuevo la familia. Ahora dice Ud. que [las mujeres] estaban en las cárcel, ¿Ud. cree que estuvieron tanto tiempo en las cárcel, las mujeres? Yo creo que hombre sí, mujeres puede ser que… Yo creo que a veces… Yo le digo a Ud. que aquellas estadísticas de mujeres en las cárcel, con niños en las cárcel… Que no… Que no recuerdo, la verdad, y dirá Ud. [mumbles] no cumplieron Ustedes con [mumbles]… Es que no recuerdo, la verdad, una-una cosa de esas… A no ser que tuviésemos ya un caso de –no digo que no existiese y a ésa sí, la llevamos a nuestro hogar.

The second one, by Teresa Martín, ends the documentary in a way that opposes drastically Sanz Bachiller’s defensive attitude, her rushed tone, her attempts to derail the conversation by asking questions to the interviewer and the lack of clarity in her responses. Contrary to Sanz Bachiller, Teresa Martín eloquently mentions memory and its transmission, at the same time that she points to the political voids left by democratic Spain:

Con cuarenta años de dictadura, y veinticinco de democracia, que todavía no se sepa absolutamente nada de lo que pasó… No, no se nos ha dado voz a nadie. Ni en canales, ni en radio, ni en prensa, a nadie. Cuatro libros, veinte libros, muchas cosas han desaparecido pero cuando alguien quiere que la memoria perdure, la memoria está ahí. No tiene más que preguntar, yo estoy hablando. No, no se nos ha dado voz. Tengo sesenta y dos años. Es la primera vez que hablo: es la primera vez que me preguntan.

With their documentary, Montserrat Armengou and Ricard Belis successfully give voice to the vanquished. Simultaneously, their documentary openly condemns a political system that has protected Francoist officials and members of the Catholic Church. In fact, after *Els nens perduts del Franquisme*, the two directors renewed their collaboration with TV3 Catalunya for a second documentary titled *Els internats de la por*, which explores
further the topic of children abducted by the regime. This second film was released on the Catalan network in April 2015, with viewer ratings that revealed an interest of the general public for these topics. Els internats de la por places the focus on the different institutions that were put in charge of the care of minors beyond the Auxilio Social, such as Catholic boarding schools and sanitariums.

For the kids born in Republican families, or for those who were taken away from their single mothers, regardless of their ideological background, these institutions were not a synonym of care. Rather, they were places in which many children suffered physical, psychological, and in some cases, sexual abuse. As journalist Tomàs Delclòs points out in his article ‘Els internats de la por’, història d’un infern i una impunitat, published in El País after the release of the documentary, Francoism created all the conditions that led to the abuse of the most vulnerable. The documentary’s horrifying testimonies establish instances of organized and unpaid child labor, child trafficking, and medical experimentations, which were conducted with the tacit approval of the regime.

The trauma associated with this specific aspect of Spain’s recent history is, of course, still vivid nowadays. Many of these children, who are adults today, have had to carry on their shoulders the weight of an abuse that lasted for most of their childhood and teenage years. In that sense, Armengou and Belis’ works echo those of fiction filmmakers who interrogate past events and residual trauma in the present. Juan Carlos Medina is one of them. As will be developed in the following section, his movie Insensibles, explores the

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69 Approximately 650,000 people viewed the documentary on the night of its release (which represents, according to El País, 19.1 gross rating points).
connections between individual and collective trauma and unveils the many forms of abuse perpetrated against children under Franco.
Part Two: Trauma Embodied in Juan Carlos Medina’s Insensibles

Since the beginning of the 21st century, an increasing number of filmmakers represent Francoism and the Spanish Civil War as fictionalized horror/fantasy stories. Films such as El espinazo del diablo or El laberinto del fauno by Mexican filmmaker Guillermo del Toro have inspired others to explore the boundaries between horror, fantasy, and the representation of history, as is the case in Juan Antonio Bayona’s El orfanato (released in 2007 and produced by del Toro). More recently, Agustí Villaronga’s Pa negre (2010) won thirteen Gaudí Awards and nine Goya Awards. Finally in 2012, Juan Carlos Medina released Insensibles, a film that dialogues with the same genres.70 Such a trend in contemporary Spanish cinema even resonates with the title chosen by Armengou and Belis for their newest documentary, Els internats de la por. The title’s reference to fear (“por” in Catalan) explicitly reflects the main emotion associated with the horror genre.

Fear and anxieties are indeed the most common emotions triggered by the horror genre. These films exploit and project on screen our most primal and violent instincts, at the same time that they reveal our irrefutable vulnerability before death. The “cathartic effect” of horror texts has been widely discussed in film and literary studies, as a way to analyze viewers’ reactions to horror fiction. In The Philosophy of Horror, or Paradoxes of the Heart (1990), philosopher Noël Carroll examines the cathartic effect of the horror

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70 It could easily be argued that most of these movies do not exactly fit the horror category, although they do exploit some of its conventions. For instance, Pa negre plays with the figure of the ghost, but is not per se a horror movie. El laberinto del fauno is amongst other things, a fantasy film, but it can hardly be considered a horror film.
genre, following Aristotle’s definition of tragedy as the imitation of an action that arouses pity and fear.71

Even more so than a cathartic effect, Carroll identifies a “mirroring-effect” in horror fiction. This “mirroring-effect” does not necessarily concern the imitation of an action; rather, it connects the characters of the plot to the viewers (18). According to Carroll, the reader or spectator of horror fiction responds to terrifying events in a way that mirrors the characters’ response, or as Carroll puts it: “the emotions of the audience are supposed to mirror those of the positive human characters in certain, but not all, respects.” For the philosopher, this mirroring-effect is a central component of the horror genre, because it is triggered with particular intensity in such texts (18).

Keeping in mind Carroll’s mirroring-effect, which appeals to individual reactions to horrific situations, and by extension, to horror fiction, we may wonder how this notion, and more generally how the horror genre as a whole, may inform in a productive way our readings of legacy narratives. First, it could be argued that the intensity of the mirroring-effect will vary greatly among individuals depending on a series of factors, such as the attraction to the horror genre, or former knowledge of the conventions of the genre. Second, horror fiction, particularly when it borrows to the fantasy genre, can be based on the creation of a fictional universe that is disconnected from the real world. We may therefore wonder if horror is a productive enough genre to address topics that concern historical facts

71 In his *Poetics*, Aristotle identifies a cathartic effect to tragedy: “A tragedy, then, is the imitation of an action that is serious and also, as having magnitude, complete in itself; in language with pleasurable accessories, each kind brought in separately in the parts of the work; in a dramatic, not in a narrative form; with incidents arousing pity and fear, wherewith to accomplish its catharsis of such emotions” (*Poetics*, 12a-translation by Ingram Bywater). In his definition of tragedy, Aristotle emphasizes the imitation of an action as well as pity and fear. Catharsis understood as a purgation of emotions seems to be an effect of tragedy, but the definition of the cathartic effect is not Aristotle’s main focus.
and collective memory. Why is it becoming a trend in contemporary cinema? Can horror fiction play a role in memory transmission? Finally, how do monstrous figures contribute to the recuperation of silenced stories?

2.1 HORROR FICTION AS A SUBVERSIVE GENRE

Roughly summarized, Insensibles’ (translated in English as Painless) plot revolves around a group of children who suffer from a severe form of congenital insensitivity to physical pain. Among other things, the movie’s opening scene serves to explain the title, as the audience is transported to a rural village of Aragón, Canfranc, where these children live. The camera follows a little girl who is playing outside alone, at dusk, and who sets her mind to enter what looks like a forest. A low-angle shot shows the little girl as she walks down the path to the forest, her eyes looking up, with an expression of diffuse anxiety on her face.

In the distance, the cawing of crows intensifies the uncanny atmosphere of the scene. As the little girl penetrates the dark forest, her attention is caught by a relatively distant light, which seems to come from an intense fire. The character approaches the light, and we see another little girl from behind, standing straight and facing the fire. A few elements catch
the spectator’s eye: both girls are about the same age, but their appearance differs radically. The first one has long blond hair, and her body is covered with a white long-sleeved dress; the second one has dark, shorter hair, and wears a dark-colored, short-sleeved dress. While the first little girl presents a somewhat “angelical” quality, the second one shows quite the opposite. If, in this first scene, there aren’t enough visual clues that allow identifying the dark-haired child as a monstrous figure, it is however easy to imagine that she might be a worrisome young “witch.”

Figure 35: Inés facing fire, *Insensibles*, ©Juan Carlos Medina

The following shot confirms the spectator’s first impressions. The first little girl calls the second one by her first name (Inés), and we see the latter turning around toward the camera, her right arm consumed by flames, with what looks like a composed, half-amused and half-indifferent expression on her face. The reaction of the first little girl further indicates that the two kids know each other, but that they may not suffer from the same affliction. As she watches her sister with worry in her eyes, the first girl declares: “Papa nos ha dit que no juguessim amb foc, el foc és dolent.” In spite of the warning that
fire will inflict pain, the first little girl approaches Inés, who invites her sister to join in. Inés pours the oil contained in a lamp over her sister’s head, and eventually burns her sister to death. The spectator sees a radical change in the Inés’ facial expression, which goes from amusement to sheer terror. The ending of this uncanny scene indicates that our monstrous child, Inés, did not intend to kill her sister, which also reveals a more innocent side.

*Insensible*’s opening scene introduces the notion of monstrosity, more particularly in relation to childhood, thus setting the tone of the film. But *Insensibles*’ plot is intricate: it mixes several genres, as I will explain in further details in the next section. In fact, the film echoes Paul Wells’ definition of the horror genre in his book *The Horror Genre: From Belzebub to Blair Witch* (2000). The author demonstrates how horror tends to overlap with other categories, namely science-fiction and fantasy (7). Without proposing a fixed definition of horror fiction -since such a task would certainly raise many limitations and concerns-, Wells summarizes the key differences between fantasy and horror through the scope of utopia and dystopia. For Wells, the horror genre presents two main characteristics: a central preoccupation with death emphasized by a dystopic quality, contrary to science fiction and fantasy which tend to adopt utopian perspectives. In addition, Wells notes that contrary to horror texts, the main purpose of fantasy fiction is not necessarily to shake the ideological status-quo:

The fantasy genre is based on re-imagining the world in a more playful or utopian guise, while only temporarily moving out of (endorsing) the terms and conditions of the status quo. Again, while the horror genre possesses aspects of this approach, it rarely leaves the status-quo unaffected, and in many cases represents a subversive or alternative perspective on issues of gender, race, class, ethics and social context (8)

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72 Paul Wells does not argue that science-fiction and fantasy texts are necessarily utopian. While he shows that these categories are porous, he does emphasize the dystopian quality of horror fiction.
The idea that the horror text potentially questions the status quo is also supported by Barbara Klinger, in Barry Keith Grant’s *Film Genre Reader IV* (2012). In a chapter titled “‘Cinema / Ideology / Criticism’ Revisited: The Progressive Genre,” Klinger identifies horror fiction as a “progressive” or “ideologically subversive” genre. Quoting the “formula” for the horror genre, namely “normality threatened by the monster,” the author points out that horror fiction is inherently subversive because it necessarily challenges our conceptions of the norm (96). In other words, the monstrous figures that terrify the “positive” characters—and in some cases, the audience—can be used to uncover darker aspects of the ideological status quo.

Contrary to Wells and Klinger, Noël Carroll does not see the same inherently subversive potential in horror texts. In *The Philosophy of Horror*, Carroll considers horror and fantasy as two related genres. The philosopher proposes a critique of Rosemary Jackson’s take on fantasy fiction (and by extension, of horror fiction), which she develops in *The Literature of Subversion* (1981). Jackson’s definition of the fantasy genre is, in fact, similar to Wells’ and Klinger’s approach. According to Carroll’s reading of Jackson, fantasy fiction is also a subversive category in the sense that it reveals the foundations of the cultural order, and it uncovers what “has been silenced, made invisible, covered over and made absent” (175). Yet in Carroll’s opinion, reading horror and fantasy as essentially

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73 Following Jean-Louis Comolli and Jean Narboni’s editorial “Cinema/Ideology/Criticism” published in 1969 in *Les Cahiers du Cinéma*, Klinger describes progressive films as those that create a rupture with an established tradition or ideology: “though appearing supportive of the ideology that conditions its existence, [the progressive film] hampers the straightforward expression of it through the production of a formally impelled rupture with the veneer of its own premises” (96). Such films can be found in a variety of genres, such as the film noir, the woman’s film, the forties and fifties melodrama, the B film or the seventies horror film.

74 Carroll argues that Rosemary Jackson shares the idea that fantasy and horror are related genres, and he therefore includes horror fiction to his critique of Jackson’s take on the fantasy genre.
subversive is problematic, first because this assumption does not manage to provide a satisfactory enough definition of these genres, and second because such arguments seem to attribute an automatic “emancipatory” component to these categories “in virtue of their ontological status,” an idea that Carroll rejects (177).

Even more so than determining the exact boundaries between horror and fantasy, it is the theoretical debate concerning the subversive potential of specific genres, and more generally, of specific works of art, that will be central to my reading of Insensibles. Certainly, Noël Carroll has a point when he writes that no text –regardless of its genre- is essentially emancipatory. Yet, to dismiss this statement seems extreme, particularly when dealing with films such as El laberinto del fauno, Pa negre, or Insensibles, which explicitly engage with history and propose sociopolitical commentaries that challenge the political status-quo.75

To quote Caroll’s book subtitle, I nevertheless argue that there is something very paradoxical in what Klinger proposes: if the purpose of the horror film is indeed to have normality threatened by a monstrous figure, one may wonder whether the unforeseen effect of horror fiction is not a strengthening of the norm through the mirroring-effect, since the mirroring-effect will place the audience and the “positive” characters –those who are threatened by the monster- on the same emotional “wave-length.” 76 In that sense, if horror

75 There is a trend in contemporary Spanish cinema to represent Francoism and the Spanish Civil War through the horror genre, which could lead to debunk the argument that these films are ideologically subversive. As popular as these films or the ideas they defend may be, I argue that they still challenge the political status-quo regarding the prosecution of crimes perpetrated during Francoism.

76 The paradox that Noël Carroll refers to in his book is double: “1) how can anyone be frightened by what they know does not exist, and 2) why would anyone ever be interested in horror, since being horrified is so unpleasant?” (8). I will not discuss these two questions in this chapter since they are not directly connected to my dissertation topic.
films have to uncover anything, could it then be our own ambivalent responses, as spectators of horrors film, to seeing the norm be threatened and the status-quo be challenged on screen? In other words, if as spectators we are scared by the monsters, don’t we want to see these figures defeated on screen, as challenging as they may be to the status-quo?

Going back to *Insensibles*, it could be argued that the opening scene plays on this ambivalence, as shown with Inés’ reaction to her sister’s death. The mirroring-effect would lead the spectator to identify with Inés sister’s, the “positive” character, but the ending of the scene and the expression of terror on Inés’ face displaces the mirroring-effect to Inés, who feels terror at the same time that she unintentionally inflicts it. *Insensibles* therefore plays on duality. The film exploits what could be interpreted as a “janusian” duality, in reference to the Roman deity of war and peace, beginnings and endings, past and future. Not only do Inés and her sister represent two figures of childhood that oppose and complement each other, but we see that there is also some duality to Inés.

### 2.2 *INSENSIBLES* AND THE FIGURE OF THE MONSTROUS CHILD

Following the opening scene, the notion of duality is further explored in the next shots, which show a woman searching for someone in a setting similar to the first one. Her quest, which begins outside and ends in what looks like the basement of a house, brings her to a little boy of approximately Inés’ age, who seems to be the woman’s son. The little

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77 In “*Mars, Jupiter, Quirinus*” et *Janus*, Georges Dumézil describes Janus as the deity that “ouvre la guerre, ouvre la paix […] ouvre la porte du ciel […] ouvre la longue histoire du Latium et de l’Italie.”
boy is sitting down, his naked chest and arms covered with wounds, which the spectator suspects have been self-inflicted (the ending of the scene confirms that the little boy has been eating his own flesh).

This scene is, in fact, the first to introduce Benigno, a little boy afflicted by the same medical condition as Inés. Here, the terrorized gaze is sustained by the mother. Although the child is alone and, contrary to Inés, is not hurting anyone other than himself, there is something terribly frightening about him, since his face is rather expressionless, expect for his gaze which is almost defiant. In this scene, it is therefore the mother of the physically insensitive child who expresses the terror shown by Inés in the first scene. The figure of the monstrous child here contrasts with an adult character, in other words someone spectators can identify with, in the sense of Carroll’s mirroring-effect.

Figure 36: Benigno, *Insensibles*.

© Juan Carlos Medina

Figure 37: Benigno’s mother, *Insensibles*.

© Juan Carlos Medina
With the two shots shown in figures thirty-six and thirty-seven, which oppose Benigno and his mother, we see that the film clearly identifies the little boy as a monster. This is of course emphasized by the reaction of terror expressed by his own mother. The intertext with Guillermo del Toro’s cinematic universe is quite obvious, both aesthetically and thematically. Childhood and the representation of the sacrificed generation of Francoism are indeed at the core of *El espinazo del diablo, El laberinto del fauno* and *Insensibles*. Yet, the link between childhood and the horror genre is not typical of current Spanish films, as it also borrows to a broader tradition of popular cinema. In their book *Monstrous Children and Childish Monsters: Essays on Cinema’s Holy Terrors* (2015), Markus P.J. Bohlmann and Sean Moreland gather a series of essays that analyze the role of monstrous children in the Anglo-American film, while acknowledging the prevalence of such figures in other parts of the world, namely East and Southern Asia (10). As Bohlmann and Moreland show in the introduction of their book, the popularity of the monstrous child can be explained by the interconnections of sociopolitical, cultural and psychoanalytical factors. Following authors such as Robin Wood, Jeffrey Jerome Cohen and Judith Halberstam, it could be argued that child monstrosity stems from “the alterity that separates them (children) from us (adults),” which “makes them ideal candidates for the dubious distinction of being made monstrous.”

Whether idealized as central—and sometimes angelical—figures of the family at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, when family was considered the foundation of society; instrumentalized in psychoanalytical theory as a way to “explain” the adult patient; or

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78 This remark is also valid for the other films mentioned earlier, as *Pa negre* and *El orfanato* also rely on young protagonists.
conceptualized as immature, “untamed” beings, children have been the target of multiple projections expressed not only in various scientific domains, but also in the arts, cinema and literature (Bohlmann & Moreland, 12-13). What the authors observe is a tendency to “turn ‘the child’ into a fetish that is too often confused with the real thing” (13). The films selected in Bohlmann and Moreland’s book are, in fact, not films about children or childhood: rather, they are texts that uncover fetishistic representations of children and childhood.

Juan Carlos Medina’s film offers a similar perspective. The film does not target a young audience, and is not, ultimately about childhood *per se*, but about the sacrificed generation of Francoism. The movie follows two parallel plots, which are brought together in the dénouement. The first subplot is set in the past and focuses on a series of monstrous children. More particularly, the movie presents the slow transformation of Benigno into Berkano, an adult monster. Parallel to the story of Benigno/Berkano, the second subplot occurs in the narrative present and emphasizes the perspective of an adult, David, whose childhood was stolen by the regime. In other words, *Insensibles*, like *Els nens perduts del Franquisme*, recuperates the stories of the younger victims of the regime from an adult perspective. Of course, the amount of time that has passed since Francoism simply impedes that any text might recuperate such stories from a child’s or teenager’s perspective. But once again, and in light of Bohlmann and Moreland’s arguments, it is interesting to note that Medina’s film uses the figure of the monstrous child –where many other directors, including del Toro, have preferred the ghost figure- to address this topic.79

79 I will propose a reading of the monster in *Insensibles* in comparison to the ghost in the following section.
The fact, however, that films like *Insensibles* are intended for adults and exploit fetishistic representations of childhood does not mean that these movies completely lack a “child-like” quality. The horror genre, in its kinship with the fantasy genre, recuperates elements that we commonly associate with the childhood imaginary:

We are keenly aware of the prior connection that exists between cinémathéque and children’s perception, as well as our perception of children, all of which are tinted by a certain degree of otherworldliness. As Ian Wojik-Andrews points out, a “defining characteristic of children’s films and children’s culture in general is the presence of an alternative world,” an alternative world that impinges multiply and vitally on this one (Bohlmann and Moreland 14).

A good example of the exploitation of otherworldliness in recent Spanish cinema is Guillermo del Toro’s *El laberinto del fauno*, since its argument is based on a child protagonist, Ofelia, who establishes the connection between the “real” world represented in the film and the underworld. Like del Toro, Medina plays on different levels of “reality,” but this time it is an adult man who uncovers the link between them, and not a child like Ofelia.

Medina’s film situates itself in the lineage of post-war Spanish films that explores the implications of trauma through the narrative gaze of the child, as presented by Yvonne Gavela-Ramos in “Monstrosity and the fairy-tale tradition in *El laberinto del fauno* and *Camino*” (2012). According to the author, films as aesthetically diverse as Víctor Erice’s *El espíritu de la colmena* (1973), Carlos Saura’s *Cría Cuervos* (1975), or José Luis Cuerda’s *La lengua de las mariposas* (1999), to name only a few, thematically dialogue with each other in their portrayal of trauma, silence and isolation (4). Gavela-Ramos draws on Jeffrey Jerome Cohen and also points out that the repeated use of child subjectivity in post-war Spanish movies, regardless of their genre, serves to “reflect trauma and project adults’ fears” (17). Gavela-Ramos explains that the growing interest of Spanish filmmakers
for the fantasy / horror genres is partly due to the historical distance with the time of events, which has freed filmmakers from censorship and has given rise to filmic representations of Francoists with monstrous traits (8).

Because it exploits both the figure of the monster and the narrative gaze of the child, Juan Carlos Medina’s film dialogues both with post-war Spanish cinema and with the broader tradition of the horror genre. What is particularly disturbing about *Insensibles* is the fact that the monster, Berkano, is the product of scientific manipulation, at the same time that he is a victim of historical circumstances. Through this monstrous yet ambiguous figure, the director points to the complexity of human nature, thus complicating overly simplistic readings of the past.

Following the janusian metaphor exploited earlier, *Insensibles* reveals a tension and a state of transition, not merely between good and evil, or childhood and adulthood, but also between peace and war. This idea is confirmed by an aerial shot of the village of Canfranc, with a mention of the year 1931 as seen in figure thirty-eight. The date clearly designates the moment in time preceding the Spanish Civil War, pointing to the future transition from a state of peace to a period of war in the nation.

Figure 38: Establishing shot, *Insensibles*.

©Juan Carlos Medina
The scene that follows this establishing shot serves to explain the condition that afflicts Inés, Benigno and the other kids in the village. The children are shown inside a classroom, placed in a row and facing a group of adults. A man wearing a white coat –a doctor- presents the kids to the assembly, and reveals the kids’ condition to the adults, who later proceed to lock up the children in order to protect the community. As will be developed in the following scenes of the film, it is within the confinement in the asylum, where the children are relocated, that Benigno begins his slow transformation into the main monstrous figure of the film, Berkano.

In the movie, the displacement/relocation of children is set years before the postwar period. There seems to be a disconnect between historical facts and their representation in the movie, since the date 1931 marked the beginning of the Segunda República, and the organized abduction of children did not occur until the following decade. The chronological displacement of historical events can be interpreted as a way exploit the roots of Francoism before its advent. 1931 was also the year of a transition from José Primo de Rivera’s authoritarian and conservative regime to the Republic. Moreover, the geographical setting –rural Spain- echoes what we see in films such as Pa negre and El espinazo del diablo, or even in El arte de volar and Pas pleurer. These narratives portray areas of the nation characterized by a relative isolation, which were arguably less affected by the changes implemented under the Segunda República. In Medina’s film, the scene that culminates with the decision to relocate the children is particularly enlightening because it reflects how power and authority were organized in rural Spain, a notion also present in Altarriba’s graphic novel and Salvayre’s work.
The shot shown in figure thirty-nine represents a group of adults facing the diseased children in the classroom. For the most part, the adults portrayed in this scene seem to belong to the wealthy, ruling class, as their gender and clothing indicate. The group is led by two main characters, placed at the center of the image, therefore catching the spectator’s eye. These characters, who we can assume to be the village’s priest and the mayor represent the two forms of power that would eventually become pillars of the Francoist regime: the local representative of political power on the one hand, and the authority of the Catholic Church. The scene that follows confirms the central role led by the man who stands next to the priest in figure eleven, as we see him addressing the popular masses outside the school and informing them of his decision to relocate the children. Both scenes clearly show a rupture between the ruling class and the rest of the villagers, as we see the kids’ parents protesting against a decision that is imposed on them.

The setting chosen to film this sequence is also quite symbolic. The classroom, and by extension, the school, represents yet another kind of authority. It is also the social locus where children interact with adults, in other words a place of contact between the adult world and the world of children. Moreover, school is the place of instruction and transmission of knowledge and sociocultural values. With relation to power, school is
therefore a rather ambivalent space. It is an institution that molds children into future citizens, which necessitates a relatively high degree of submission to authority to ensure the continuity of the political regime in place regardless of its ideology. However, school can also be a space that fosters individual empowerment, a place where individuals are given tools to question blind submission to power and authority.

As mentioned in the first chapter of this dissertation, education was one of the pillars of Spain’s Segunda República. The setting of the classroom can therefore be interpreted as a reference to Republican institutions, and more broadly, to Republican ideology. The scene is also a nod to José Luis Cuerdas’ *La lengua de las mariposas*, which features a rather idealized representation of the Republican school teacher as a central role model for children. But in Medina’s movie, the teacher has been replaced by a doctor (Dr. Carcedo), a character who presents ambivalent aspects because he manifests the desire to help children at the same time that he embodies the experiments of Antonio Vallejo-Nágera under Franco. The duality between the ruling class and the popular masses, and between the premises of National-Catholicism and Republicanism anticipates the underlying tensions that resulted in the Spanish Civil War. Evidently, the divisions revealed in *Insensibles* mainly concern the adult world, thus reinforcing the thesis of authors such as Markus P.J. Bohlmann, Sean Moreland, Jeffrey Jerome Cohen and Yvonne Gavela-Ramos: in Juan Carlos Medina’s film, the figure of the monstrous child seems to function as a projection of deep-seated tensions that stir the adult world.

After they are taken away from the village, Benigno and the group of the children spend most of their childhood and teenage years in a psychiatric asylum led by Dr. Carcedo, who is assisted in his duties by a group of nurses. In the confinement of the asylum, which
now constitutes their new “home,” the children are obliged to obey a series of rules implemented by the doctor: each one of them is confined in a solitary room, and forced to wear a straitjacket to prevent self-inflicted wounds. The rules, intended to regulate the children’s habits, create an environment of submissive uniformity, in which the kids are perceived solely based on the potential harm they could cause.

As mentioned earlier, Carcedo’s medicalized approach reminds us of the methods employed by Vallejo-Nágera in order to eradicate what he considered to be the biological roots of Marxism. The children’s condition is considered an anomaly, an “error” of nature, in the same ways that Francoism looked at Marxism. However, what is considered as monstrous by the representatives of power and authority in the movie is not ideological. In that sense and following what has been said earlier, Insensibles proposes to embody the fears and anxieties that stemmed from ideological tensions before and during Francoism through the figure of the monstrous child.

2.3 BENIGNO/BERKANO: THE MAKING OF A MONSTER

Insensibles could be read as the coming of age story of a monster, since it revolves around the evolution of Benigno’s character. The “monstrous” boy is targeted by Carcedo as the most dangerous of the group of kids, despite what his given name and his desire to connect with Inés and the nurse indicate. The film effectively shows how the child’s supposed monstrosity is projected from the outside, as nothing in his attitude at the beginning of the film manifests his intention to harm others. Carcedo’s perception of Benigno contributes to creating the figure of the monstrous child: in addition to being
required to wear a straitjacket, the boy is muzzled in a clear attempt to further “neutralize” him, as one would contain a dangerous animal.

In figure forty, the high-angle shot of the camera (in relation to Benigno) intensifies the position of vulnerability of the child, who is contained by the straitjacket, the muzzle and the hands of a nurse. The body of the nurse behind the child represents the authority of medicine as an institution. The gaze of the boy, directed at the camera, and by extension, at the viewer, is magnified by the muzzle. The effect of having the child muzzled is double: it prevents the kid from gnawing his own body, and at the same time, it obviously subdues him to silence.

The children’s isolation is eventually lifted following the arrival of a Jewish German doctor (Pr. Holzmann), who takes on a leading role in the institution. Holzmann’s approach mixes medical experimentation and methods of reeducation that foster the kids’ socialization and attempt to familiarize them with the notion of pain. Holzmann and Carcedo are presented as rather opposed characters who argue for different methodologies, the former focusing on pedagogy, and the latter on repressive techniques. Yet, the two men contribute to shaping Benigno’s monstrosity, one because he sees exceptional potential in the child, and the other because he rejects him. The feelings of fascination and rejection...
that Benigno unwillingly inspires in the two men are internalized by the child, and he becomes a pawn in the relationship between the doctors who look to assert their authority. The confrontation between Holzmann and Carcedo within the asylum reflects the growing ideological tensions that shatter Spain on the outside. Benigno might even represent the Spanish people left to the mercy of fascism: the presence of a German doctor reminds us of the influence of Nazism on Francoism.

As the sociopolitical turmoil intensifies, the relations between the two doctors become even more conflictual, culminating with Carcedo’s decision to lock Benigno back up in his room, in total isolation. The war only reinforces Benigno’s isolation, as he is maintained in complete lockdown while the asylum is the site of attacks between the Republican band and the Francoists. At this point in the film, we see a change in the organization of the community formed by the inhabitants of the asylum. The war disrupts the social norm, forcing the doctors to lose their control over the institution. Consequently, they become simple civilians who are caught in the midst of a war, as shown in figure forty-one below.

Figure 41: Seeking shelter, *Insensibles*

© Juan Carlos Medina

In this shot, we see the medical staff and the kids seeking protection from repeated bombings. Vulnerability to the imminence of death erases the different social statuses
between doctors, nurses and children. In this scene, monstrosity is not associated with the children, it is transferred onto the battlefield: the figure of the monstrous child as the uncanny Other seems to temporarily vanish.

The war can be interpreted as a turning point in Benigno’s transformation. The control of the asylum by fascists troops culminates with a temporary reorganization of the structure of power within the small community. Holzmann functions as a link between the imprisoned children and the German and Francoist contingents: he must now obey the fascist soldiers and remains in charge of the kids. The professor is portrayed as quite an ambivalent figure, who seems to be concerned by the well-being of the kids, but who makes final decisions without considering external perspectives that oppose his views. This attitude becomes particularly explicit in a scene where he euthanizes Inés despite the insistence of a nurse to return the girl to her family.

Holzmann’s character can be interpreted as a shift in the Dr. Frankenstein-like promethean figure. Like Dr. Frankenstein who attempts to bring to life inanimate matter, Holzmann wishes to reconnect the children with pain and sensitivity. Throughout the movie, Holzmann maintains his ambiguous authority over the kids either by saving them from the fascists soldiers –he promises the Germans to turn to the kids into weapons for

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80 In the film, we see that Francoist troops are assisted by a Nazi contingent. The German presence symbolically reinforces horror and monstrosity. We see that it is a Nazi general who decides to let Holzmann and the kids live when he discovers that the children’s disease could be exploited by the Third Reich. While this reference to Nazi Germany is effective because it speaks to a broad audience, it could be argued that it temporarily takes the focus away from Francoism, by concentrating the “horror” effect on the German side. This idea has been defended in many instances by film critic Javier Venturi, who sees a tendency in films that offer representations of the Spanish Civil War and Francoism to shift the focus on other forms of fascism, as a way to maybe elude the responsibility of the Francoist regime. Although I do agree that such as trend can be problematic because it tends to erase the issue of reparation, I argue that it also places these texts in a European context, which can also invite us to examine the question of collective memory from a collaborative perspective, beyond national borders.
them-, or ultimately by killing them. Although Holzmann does not “create” Benigno, in contrast to Mary Shelley’s Dr. Frankenstein, his ambivalence and God-like authority contribute to push the child over the edge. Inés’ death at the hands of Holzmann, which Benigno witnesses, announces yet another killing. In a scene that follows Inés’ passing, Holzmann proceeds to euthanize Benigno by abusing his innocence (“Benigno, hijo, esto es para descansar” he says, holding a syringe). But the power dynamic is shifted: the kid also abuses the professor’s affection by rushing into his arms, in a clear attempt to let the adult’s guard down before he murders him.

The fatal relationship between Holzmann and Benigno indicates further that Benigno’s monstrosity is a reflection of the monstrosity of the adult world. Moreover, the latent monstrosity that lies in characters such as Carcedo and Holzmann, whose actions seem guided by reason and complex circumstances mirrors the atrocities of the Civil War. These different levels of monstrosity dialogue with each other and escalate violence. Violence perpetrated by children is all the more shocking because it seems spontaneous and devoid of justifications that allow making sense of what seem like senseless acts. In Insensibles however, the complex relationship between Holzmann and Benigno seems to flip this idea upside down, by providing convincing enough justifications for the child’s murderous impulse (it is, after all, self-defense), while showing the inconsistencies of Holzmann’s reasoning when he sets off to terminate the children’s lives.

All these elements contribute to showing that Benigno’s final transformation is, as has been said earlier, a direct consequence of his relationship with Carcedo and Holzmann. After the end of the war, which coincides with Holzmann’s assassination, Benigno remains alone in his cell, locked up by the Francoists who fear the kid’s sanguinary impulses. The
film jumps forward in time until the postwar period, now focusing on the persecution of opponents to the regime. The former asylum is now a prison for Republicans, and Benigno—now Berkano—, is exploited by the regime to torture prisoners. The eradication of communism as per Vallejo-Nágera is explicitly represented in the film. First, *Insensibles* employs the rhetoric of National-Catholicism, as shown with these sentence uttered by a Francoist official: “El comunismo es una enfermedad mental, una degeneración biológica que tenemos que extirpar quirúrgicamente del cuerpo de la nación.”

Second, the film uses the human body to symbolize the dangers of ideological extremism, particularly through Benigno/Berkano. Parallel to the internal transformation of the child into a monster, Berkano’s physical demeanor has evolved. He is a young, odd-looking man, his pale and hairless body covered in self-inflicted yet somewhat aesthetic scars that represent graphic symbols. In the scene that shows Berkano’s rebirth, the monster is liberated from his cell by a Nazi officer who recognizes the inscription of a Germanic rune representing the letter B (“berkanan”) on his body. Berkano’s second life is connected to the advent of fascism, since he is renamed Berkano by the Nazi officer.81

Figure forty-two presents Berkano grabbing a scalpel which is extended to him by the Nazi officer. The mid-angle shot highlights the gestures of the two men, and the passing of the chirurgical instrument that will be used to “extirpate” information from the prisoners. The symbolism visually reiterates the message quoted earlier by the Francoist official—the scalpel evokes a medical intervention: in short, the scene illustrates Vallejo-Nágera’s pseudo-scientific discourse. The two hands on the forefront and Berkano’s upper body on

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81 The Nazi officer explains that this Germanic Rune is the symbol of regeneration and rebirth.
the background reminds us of the monstrous figure in *El laberinto del fauno*, “el hombre pálido,” who uses his hands to see the world. More importantly, the scene symbolizes transmission between the Nazi officer and Berkano, as the former passes on the instrument of torture to the latter.

In Juan Carlos Medina’s film, the rise of the monster therefore functions as an allegory of Spain’s political turmoil: Benigno’s transformation is indeed simultaneous to the Civil War and the advent of the Francoist regime. Despite Berkano’s monstrous traits, it is quite clear that the character remains an ambivalent figure even as an adult: his actions do not reflect a total allegiance to the fascist authority. Berkano is not entirely submissive to the authority of fascism, nor does he show signs of supporting its underlying ideology. His refusal to torture a female prisoner could be read either as a way to reveal the character’s benevolent side – he falls in love with the woman, - or as an indication that his monstrosity cannot be controlled by Francoism.

The last scene of the film further illuminates the exploitation of the monstrous figure as an allegory of Spain’s history because the spectator finds Berkano locked up in

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82 In del Toro’s film, the pale man’s eyes are located in the palms of his hands.

83 This female prisoner will remain with Berkano, in his cell.
his asylum cell, decades after the fall of the regime. The previous scene, set in 1964, a
decade before the fall of the regime, features shots of a soon to be deserted asylum, and
shows a group of men building a brick wall to seal Berkano’s cell. This scene symbolizes
the silence imposed on the victims of the regime: Berkano’s capture can be read as the
political dead-end that followed the amnesty law during the early stages of the Transición.
Interestingly, the movie shows in the final scene that Berkano’s entrapment did not result
in his death, just like the amnesty laws and the pact of silence did not erase the atrocities
committed under Franco, or the memories of the vanquished.

2.4 INSENSIBLES AND THE TRAJECTORY OF MEMORY: EXPANDING FAMILIAL
BONDS

Berkano’s story points to the historical events that are recuperated in Medina’s film,
but as mentioned earlier, the rise of the monster concerns half of the narrative. Like El
arte de volar, Pas pleurer and Los rojos de ultramar, Insensibles is based on two narrative
“gazes” that are intertwined and that belong to two distinct generations. The second subplot
focuses on David Martel, whose story is told in the narrative present. For most of the
film, both subplots seem completely disconnected from one another, not only because their
protagonists and time-frames differ, but also because they diverge aesthetically: while
Benigno / Berkano’s tale dialogues with the horror and fantasy genres, David Martel’s
story relies on a more realist aesthetic, or “realistic motivations,” a term borrowed from

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84 David’s name can be interpreted as a reference to David and Goliath, and by extension, to the Spanish
Civil War.
Kristin Thompson. David’s world is a representation of the real world, which allows the audience to understand the protagonist’s background, and to identify with him. David is the filmic version of the second and third generation protagonists portrayed in the novels and graphic novel analyzed in previous chapters. As in other legacy narratives, David’s story revolves around his familial relations and background. But *Insensibles* adds another layer to its portrayal of genealogies and memory transmission: instead of looking “backwards”—or better said, exclusively in the direction of the ancestors, the movie also takes a step forward by including future generations, in this case, David’s son.

David’s story starts with a car accident that kills his pregnant wife. Despite the gravity of the crash, David and his son survive. Moreover, the protagonist learns that he suffers from a form of leukemia that can be cured with a bone marrow transplant. David’s first reaction to the daunting news mirrors Benigno and Inés’ reactions to physical pain: the character responds to the survival of his premature-born son and to the diagnostic in a rather detached fashion. But in David’s case, the numbness to pain is emotional and not physical. As in Berkano’s story, disease, the body and its dysfunctions play a central role in David’s life. David’s profession, surgery, echoes Berkano’s story: like Dr. Carcedo and Pr. Holzmann, he is a doctor, and like Berkano, his main working instrument is the scalpel. Additionally, the protagonist’s cancer is a crucial narrative thread that allows uncovering a secret relating to his identity: after meeting his parents to ask for a bone marrow donation,

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85 The issue of realism in cinema has been widely discussed amongst scholars of the field. I here use the term “realistic motivation” as defined by Kristin Thompson in her book *Breaking the Glass Armor: Neoformalist Film Analysis* (1988). For Thompson, the term “motivation” refers to a series of cues within a work of art, which the audience can spot and interpret. According to Thompson, “if the cues ask us to appeal to our knowledge of the real world (however mediated that knowledge may be by cultural learning), we can say that the work is using realistic motivation. And if realistic motivation becomes one of the main ways of justifying the work’s overall structure, we generalize and perceive the work as a whole as realistic” (198).
the protagonist learns that he is not their biological son. The scenes in which we see David and his adoptive parents present a type of familial bond that radically differs from Antonio’s connection to his son, or Montse’s to her daughter. In *Insensibles*, the relationship between David and his parents—and even more so between father and son—is a rather distanced one, marked by secrecy and silence. As a result, David’s diseased body serves as an allegory of silence and the identity void caused by secrecy.

The representation of disease in both subplots (children’s insensitivity to pain and David’s cancer), along with the exploitation of monstrous characters allow materializing the impact of trauma on the character’s bodies and its impact on different generations. These aesthetic and narrative choices are particularly effective for at least two reasons. First, and contrary to what the ethereal figure of the ghost conveys, the materialization of trauma within the protagonists’ bodies reflects the weight of silence and repression in all aspects of human experience. In that sense, Spain’s collective and traumatic past is not detached from individuals: it affects them to their very core. Second, as mentioned earlier, the embodiment process proposed in Medina’s film perfectly echoes the thesis of National-Catholicism and its use of science to shape the citizens of the Spanish nation: the effects of trauma are perceivable biologically through disease. As a result, monstrosity and disease allows appropriating the most problematic theories of National-Catholicism with the explicit purpose to turn them around and show their insidious impact on individual lives.

Moreover, the use of language—Catalan and Spanish—allows measuring the degree of proximity between the protagonists. The first scene that portrays David and his parents offers an interesting take on language, as was the case in Lydie Salvayre’s novel. While Catalan is the main language, we see that David speaks both Spanish and Catalan with his
parents, and each language serves a specific purpose. Catalan is the language with which the protagonist communicates with his mother, and Spanish the one that he uses with his father. When David announces his health condition to his parents, we see how the characters switch languages: the conversation begins and ends in Catalan, as it involves mother and son, and it changes to Spanish when the protagonist explains that he needs help from both his parents. In short, the use of languages illustrates David’s relationships with his mother and father, and his proximity with each one of them. In addition, the languages spoken by David highlight distinct aspects of the protagonist’s linguistic and cultural inheritance.

The scene that shows David and his parents offers compelling visual clues that give the audience a better idea of the protagonist’s legacy. A series of close-up shots direct the spectators’ gaze to details of the family house: a framed picture on the wall, ornaments and other decorative objects. The camera slowly slides through the objects, and pauses a few seconds in front of an old picture that portrays a younger David and his parents. In the background, the voices of David and his mother overlap with the sound of an old clock ticking, marking the passing of time. The camera reinitiates its motion and pauses one more time before a Christian cross, as can be seen in figure forty-three:
These objects create the setting of David’s family home, they give us clues that are not explicitly transmitted verbally. The picture reveals that David is an only child, while the cross is an obvious reference to Catholicism, and by extension, Francoism. The ideological affiliation is first suggested visually, and the switch in languages operated between relatives seems to support this interpretation: as David starts addressing both his parents in Spanish –he mostly looks at his father although he talks to the both of them-, the audience can associate the close-up of the cross and the use of Spanish language with Francoism.

Of course, at the beginning of the movie, when such an interpretation has not been explicitly confirmed yet, the audience could assume that David’s father is not from Catalonia. By the same token, the image of the cross could simply indicate that at least one member of the household associates with Christian faith, as was the case, for instance, with Petra in *El arte de volar*. Yet, the following scenes will slowly corroborate the visual and linguistic clues presented during David’s visit to his parents, as we will learn that David’s
father, Adán—the religious subtext is once again quite obvious—, was a police officer who worked in Canfranc’s prison under Franco’s regime.

David’s adoptive parents—Adán much more than David’s mother—represent the remains of Francoism in contemporary Spain. Despite the persistent silence of the father, David’s mother eventually reveals the family secret. David is the son of a Republican prisoner who was incarcerated in Canfranc:

Fa molt anys, durant la dècada dels seixanta, el teu pare treballava en una presó prop d’un poble que es diu Canfranc. En aquest temps jo vaig quedar embarassada i vaig donar a llum a un nadó mort. Per mi va ser molt dur, per l’Adán… vaig pensar que el teu pare es tornava boig. Poc temps desprès es va produir un miracle. Una nit em vaig anar a dormir i quan vaig despertar, tenia als braços un altre nadó. Et tenia a tu.

Interestingly, the scene takes place in the hospital where David works and where his son is receiving care, as can be seen in figure forty-four. Contrary to the asylum in Berkano’s story, or to the family home ruled by Adán’s silence, the hospital is not portrayed as a place of confinement or repression but as a literal and symbolic space of healing, where stories can be voiced and transmission can take place. This idea is supported by the fact that the scene symbolically includes the next generation: David and his mother are in the presence of the protagonist’s son.
Once David’s mother lifts the veil of silence, the protagonist is free to search for his roots and reconnect with his complete legacy. As the biological son of a Republican woman imprisoned by the Francoists, and as the adoptive son of a couple who worked for the regime, David’s complex legacy echoes the testimonies gathered by Armengou and Belis in *Els nens perduts del Franquisme*.

Like *Los rojos de ultramar*, *Insensibles*’ plot also borrows from the mystery genre. The film particularly dialogues with the trend in Peninsular literature that employs the “investigatory mode” to tackle the question of memory transmission. David’s quest for the truth leads him to connect with distinct levels of transmission. In an attempt to locate his biological mother, he meets with the relative of a former Republican soldier. The scene is interesting because it mixes individual and collective memory: while David hopes to learn fragments of his personal story, the former Republican responds with a reflection on collective memory that highlights the status quo of the democratic turn and the injunction to forget:

> La gent es figura que el pitjor va passar durant la guerra, però no va ser així. El pitjor va ser després. [...] La vella idea de la neteja de sang, sap? Exterminar fins i tot la llavor, eradicar el gen roig. Avui tot això ja no importa a ningú. A ningú l’importa saber la veritat. L’important és oblidar. Oblidar per sobreviure. Els llocs com la cel.la disset no apareixen en els llibres d’història.86

While this passage acknowledges the voids of memory in contemporary Spain, the injunction to forget is represented further in the following scene, a confrontation between David and Adán. Like the generations of Spaniards born during the last years of the Francoism, or those born after the democratic turn, David has to face a silence that prevents him from moving ahead. The silence imposed collectively upon Spaniards is reflected at

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86 The “cel.la disset” is a reference to Berkano’s cell, also the place where he used to torture prisoners.
the individual level, enacted between father and son, as can be seen in Adán’s response to David interrogations:

Basta he dicho, ahora mismo, David. Hay que olvidar, hijo. No remuevas el pasado por el amor de Dios. El pasado no está, no existe. ¿Qué crees que vas a encontrar allí? La persona a la que estás buscando está muerta. Todo el trabajo que estás haciendo, tu pequeña investigación, no sirve de nada.

For David, silence is literally a matter of life and death. But beyond the medical reasons that justify his quest, David is also denied a complete and truthful enough legacy of memory: by refusing to address the pressing issues that are destroying his son, Adán extends a form of censorship in continuity with the regime. Like Francoist and post-Francoist Spain, David's adoptive father only allows for a partial transmission. What he passes on to his son are the language promoted by the regime (Spanish), and more problematically an injunction to forget (“hay que olvidar, hijo”). The obstacles faced by the protagonist climax with Adán’s suicide in a brutal scene that emphasizes the father’s refusal to communicate with his son. In other words, just as National-Catholicism attempted to contain the transmission of leftist ideology, Adán controls the legacy of his son and by extension, of his grand-son.

Because it portrays David’s ascendants as well as his descendant, the film broadens the scope of transgenerational transmission. The protagonist is not presented as a mere recipient of memory legacy, as someone with whom the trajectory of memory ends. Rather, David is clearly envisioned as a “link” in the memory network, as someone who will also pass on the familial legacy. The movie closes with a scene that references explicitly David’s son as a way to highlight the importance of the generations to come. Simultaneously, the last sequence reconnects David with his origins: David is reunited with his biological parents (Berkano and the female prisoner) in the prison of Canfranc.
As shown in figure forty-five below, the last scene revisits the symbolism of the first scene. Like Inés’ sister, David perishes in a fire that also destroys Berkano’s cell. The scene symbolically brings together three generations, Berkano, David and his son in a series of shots that mix close-up images of David’s face and a voice-over commentary that addresses explicitly the new generation: “No et coneixeré mai. Ni sabré mai el teu nom. Pero he mirat als teus ulls com el meu pare va a mirar als meus. Ara la teva historia et pertany. Així, sarás lliure. Així, sarás un home. Fill meu.” As David talks to his son, the camera zooms in on his face and penetrates the protagonist’s eye, as shown in figures forty-six and forty-seven.

Figure 45: David facing fire, Insensibles. © Juan Carlos Medina

Figure 46: David’s gaze, Insensibles.

©Juan Carlos Medina
Medina’s last shots are a clear tribute to *El laberinto del fauno*. Del Toro’s movie opens with a similar sequence, which shows Ofelia agonizing on the floor while the camera zooms onto her face, and into her eye. In *El laberinto del fauno*, the penetration of Ofelia’s gaze is used to reach the underworld, and by extension her subjectivity. In *Insensibles*, the penetration of David’s gaze mirrors the scene that unfolds before the protagonist’s eyes: what we see reflected in his iris is Berkano’s face, who is looking back at David. In other words, the last scene offers another sort of “mirroring-effect,” to borrow Carroll’s term. But this mirroring-effect does not involve fear and anxiety, it reunites the actors of transgenerational transmission and establishes Medina’s film as a legacy narrative.

If the flames shown in the first scene with Inés and her sister symbolized danger, the fire in the last sequence evokes the phoenix that rises up from its ashes. The last scene offers a possibility for a new beginning, once silence has been lifted and secrets have been revealed. Ultimately, like many contemporary legacy narratives, *Insensibles* points to the necessity for successive generations to work through memory collaboratively, regardless of their ideological inheritance, in order to reconnect individual stories to the broader collective history. David’s generation is portrayed as a sacrificed generation of Francoism,
but also as one that could possibly help overcome the obstacles that have maintained the political status quo.

Juan Carlos Medina’s film is the only entirely fictional narrative of my corpus, and it does not, as such, directly recuperate lived experiences, as do *El arte de volar, Pas pleurer, Los rojos de ultramar* and *Els nens perduts del Franquisme*. However, the film contributes to the recuperation of Republican memory by making explicit references to episodes of Francoism that have been completely obliterated on the sociopolitical level. In addition, *Insensibles* frames the trajectory of memory by exploiting different types of familial bonds, and at the same time, it problematizes the question of transmission within and outside of familial groups.

The analysis of the two films gathered in this chapter therefore allows expanding the boundaries of legacy narratives. If in the first two chapters the texts played with fiction and (auto)biography, we see with *Els nens perduts del Franquisme* and *Insensibles* that legacy narratives can exploit a variety of aesthetic conventions and still engage in transgenerational recuperation of Republican memory. By doing so, both films propose a commentary on the issue of reparation in contemporary Spain. On the one hand, *Els nens perduts del Franquisme* gives its audience a clear idea of the impunity indirectly granted to Francoists in democratic Spain, by bringing together testimonies of the regime’s victims and the interview of Mercedes Sanz Bachiller. On the other hand, *Insensibles* shows the impact of National-Catholicism on multiple generations, at the same time that it reaffirms the collaborative processes of memory transmission.
Conclusion

In July 2006, Santos Juliá published an article titled “Bajo el imperio de la memoria” in Revista de Occidente. In his piece, Juliá argues that contemporary historiography is more concerned with the representation of past events than it is with the events themselves. In Juliá’s own words:

Antes, hace como unos treinta años, nos interesaba qué había ocurrido durante la República y la guerra civil: establecer los hechos, interpretar los textos, analizar las situaciones. Hoy, cuando una nueva generación de historiadores, literatos, críticos de la cultura nacidos en torno a la transición ha pasado a ocupar la primera fila, ya no interesa tanto lo que ha pasado sino su memoria; no los hechos sino sus representaciones, que adquieren una especie de existencia autónoma, independiente de los hechos representados (7)

This statement raises several questions, as he seems to oppose former and current practices of historiography in a quite artificial way. One may indeed claim, against Juliá’s argument, that the processes of history writing necessarily result in textual representations of past events. As a result, and regardless of their context of production, any historical text may also acquire a “sort of autonomous existence,” distanced from the events it mentions, as Juliá puts it.

However, Juliá’s assertion is provocative because it establishes different generations of historians and literary/cultural critics, each one of them dialoguing with a determined intellectual lineage. Consequently, because I was born in the early years of the Transición, my critique of Santos Juliá is also a product of my own intellectual “legacy.” Moreover, my interest in contemporary representations of Francoism and the Spanish Civil War is moved by a desire to understand how current generations relate to events they did not experience, as Juliá adequately mentions in his article.
Although I am aware that I am too a “product” of my generation, I profoundly disagree with this aspect of Juliá article: in my view, and this is what I have shown in my dissertation, contemporary writers, illustrators and filmmakers are not more concerned with memory and its representation than they are with the facts themselves. Every single text included in my corpus is informed by a specific context of production, which challenges the idea that there could be a complete disconnect between historical events and their textual representation.

Texts such as Kim and Altarriba’s *El arte de volar*, Salvayre’s *Pas pleurer*, Soler’s *Los rojos de ultramar* and Armengou and Belis’ *Els nens perduts del Franquisme* are concerned with the recuperation of lived experiences, as much as they seek to explore distinct visual and narrative paths to represent such experiences textually. Contrary to Juliá’s positioning, I find that legacy narratives give evidence of the necessary connections between history and memory, at the same time that they show that *some things* of the past can be transmitted, not only from one generation to another, but also textually. A literal reading of Juan Carlos Medina’s fictional horror film *Insensibles* as a legacy narrative could therefore seem counterintuitive, since the film does not actually recuperate lived experiences. Moreover, it could be argued, following Juliá that the film’s main purpose is to engage almost exclusively in the representation of memory transmission, and not in the recuperation of past events, as shown through the analysis of David Martel’s story. Why, therefore, include such a text in a corpus that deals mostly with the textual representation of “real” –as opposed to completely fictional- familial legacies?

In my view, *Insensibles* is a legacy text because it does share narrative techniques with *El arte de volar, Pas pleurer, Los rojos de ultramar* and *Els nens perduts del*
Franquisme while it alludes to “pieces” of Spain’s history that are, to this day, still unknown to a general audience—such as the abduction of Republican children by the regime. Such techniques are the juxtaposition of distinct subplots, and a multiplicity of individual voices that belong to different generations and shape the network of memory transmission. Ultimately, all of these legacy narratives point to the same conclusion as does Juliá in his article: that collective memory must not be thought of as a monolithic representation of the past, but rather as the combination of diverse voices that come together and create, little by little, broader spaces of expression in which silenced stories can be narrated.

Collective memory makes sense when it is not disconnected from its individual roots, and this is precisely what legacy narratives reveal: they show that it is multidirectional, and that its trajectory can also depart from the masses. As seen in the analysis of El arte de volar, Pas pleurer or Los rojos de ultramar, individual experiences constantly challenge monolithic discourses derived from dominant ideologies and structures of power. In other words, collective memory must not to be solely understood as a narrative constructed in circles of power and imposed on the masses; rather, it can also be a movement that takes its point of departure from individuals and spreads out rhizomatically, as shown by Paul Ricœur. Following Ricœur’s trajectory of memory enables establishing how memory “travels” between individuals, and how we can bridge the gap between individual and collective perspectives on memory textually. In other words, memory as a trajectory helps us pinpoint the “paths”—or the social frameworks—of memory and identify the traces of the past in the present. Ricœur’s notion is crucial to my understanding of what constitutes a legacy narrative, as I consider that the texts that fall
under this category not only “track” the trajectory of memory, but also broaden its scope as they reach out to an audience.

As seen through the analysis of Kim and Alterriba’s *El arte de volar* and Lydie Salvayre’s *Pas pleurer*, memory transmission can result from a close relationship that connects two individuals. In each work, we have seen how such a bond was established and represented textually, either through the repetition of panels that illustrated the *alianza de sangre* between Antonio and his son, or through the use of Montse’s interlanguage as textual marks of connivance between mother and daughter. In *Los rojos de ultramar* and *Insensibles*, the trajectory of memory also mobilizes the members of real and fictional families, but as shown in chapters two and three of this dissertation, memory transmission can also be achieved by the desire of protagonists to dig into the familial past. In short, while *El arte de volar* and *Pas pleurer* put the focus on former generations and function as a tribute to the ancestors, *Los rojos de ultramar* and *Insensibles* give more narrative space to the following generations, thus pointing to the active role played by inheritors in memory transmission.

Montse Armengou and Ricard Belis’ documentary allows exploring further the role of following generations as mediators of memory transmission. While the documentary in itself can be considered as evidence of the active role played by inheritors—in a broad sense—who give voice to the victims of Francoism, it is also an invaluable document because it recuperates the plural memories of the victims, and includes the account of Mercedes Sanz Bachiller. By doing so, *Els nens perduts del Franquisme* confronts monolithic discourses inherited from Francoism with the lived experiences of the regime’s
victims. Moreover, it reveals the impunity of former Francoist officials in today’s Spain, who have never been prosecuted for their systematic repression of opponents to the regime.

A comparative approach allowed exploring further the diversity of collective memory. The texts included in my corpus show that legacy narratives are not tied to a single genre or medium: they can take different shapes and adopt various formal conventions. In the first chapter, we have seen how sequential art and the graphic novel format contribute to memory transmission both visually and verbally. In the second chapter, the analysis of two novels has led to highlight the modalities of memory writing, and to examine in more depths the boundaries between the representation of real life experiences and fiction. In the last chapter, the analysis of two very distinct films has enabled expanding our understanding of legacy narratives, beyond the conventions described in previous chapters. These different formal modalities of legacy narratives do not merely reflect a consistent need for second and third generations to tell stories that have been silenced on the political stage, they also contribute to expanding the networks of transmission by possibly reaching a broad audience.87

The detailed analysis of each text, in dialogue with each other, allowed highlighting the trajectory of memory as well as what these texts recuperate within their context of production. Understood as a trajectory, collective memory has brought us to leave the national boundaries of Spain and to follow the routes taken by Republican exiles toward

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87 As seen in this dissertation, all the texts are arguably intended for an adult public. For questions of time and space, I have not included reception theory in this study, although it would enable determining with more precision how these narratives “speak” to the public, and how different media contribute to expanding memory transmission. Yet, since my project includes French and Mexican literature, and given the fact that Salvayre’s novel was granted the Goncourt, we can nonetheless conclude that the trajectory of memory reaches out to readers from different parts of the world, beyond contemporary Spain, thus greatly expanding the network of transmission.
France and Mexico. The transnational and transatlantic aspects of this dissertation have enabled mapping the network of Republican memories, while exploring the specifics of very distinct contexts of artistic production. Finally, Montse’s interlanguage and the descriptions of La Portuguesa as narrated by Arcadi’s grandson have expanded the notion of transmission to other aspects of life, thus revealing further the constitution of familial legacies and reaffirming the inevitable diversity of collective memory and its contents.

As seen mostly in chapters two and three, one of the most compelling aspects of legacy narratives is the fact that they use discursive elements of Francoism and National Catholicism to reinstate the many victims of the regime. Family and transgenerational transmission are key concepts to my argument, first because both elements are explicitly and implicitly present in the texts, and second because National Catholic ideology relied on these notions to perpetuate the regime: the instrumentalization of women as “good” Christians, mothers and wives, and the control of education –in short, the consolidation of patriarchy- were central to establish what was envisioned as the “España Grande.”

Legacy narratives therefore reveal a tendency in contemporary artistic productions to turn these concepts against Francoism, by operating a shift in the trajectory of memory, as shown in the two figures below. The first figure represents Franco’s regime’s appropriation of transgenerational transmission as a tool of ideological dissemination and political control. The second figure shows how legacy narratives present transgenerational transmission as a possible mean for transgression.
The white arrow in figure forty-eight represents the movement of transgenerational transmission when such a concept is employed by governing authorities in order to establish their power and ensure their permanence. The trajectory is mainly vertical; but the horizontal double-edged arrows in the “Masses” box illustrate the reciprocal role played by individuals and groups in the perpetuation of discourses imposed from the top of the pyramid. Parallel to this movement, figure forty-nine represents the trajectories of memory and transgenerational transmission as described in legacy narratives, which tend to focus on what happens in marginal spaces. The beehive shape -also an homage to Cela’s novel and Erice’s film,- aims to illuminate the multidirectional and rhizomatic trajectory of collective memory.

88 The terms “Governing authority,” “Local representations of power,” and “Masses” used in this chart are meant to represent the pyramidal structure of Francoism, but they could very well apply to any other type of regime. Beyond Francoism, this chart intends to highlight the hierarchical structures of power that organize societies.
Figure 49: Transgenerational transmission in legacy narratives.

In figure forty-nine, governing authorities and local representations of power occupy a central place, but they are located on the same level as other actors that form a society. This is not meant to deny the hierarchical structures of power, but rather to highlight the actions of the “masses.” In legacy narratives, the focus is not so much the vertical movement presented in figure one, but the directions taken by diverse forms of memory and transgenerational transmission beyond circles of power. In other words, legacy narratives recuperate elements transmitted from these circles of power, but they also reveal how the individuals and groups that form a society negotiate their legacies with structures of power and ideology, and ultimately manage to maintain alive other aspects of collective memory that are not imposed “from above.”

In short, the second diagram explicates from a different angle what happens in the “Masses” box shown in figure one. Figure forty-nine points to spaces of relative emancipation from the governing authorities and local representations of power; spaces in
which individuals can perhaps escape momentarily the control of such authorities. The autobiographical elements included in most texts analyzed in this dissertation allow pinpointing such spaces of emancipatory transmission, because as seen notably with works like *El arte de volar* or *Pas pleurer*, all individual memories were not silenced under the regime and after Franco’s death.

Ultimately, both charts intend to summarize the problematic reconciliation between practices of memory carried out in the peripheries of power, and institutionalized rituals that tend to oversimplify the contents of collective memory because they necessarily fail to represent its diversity. In today’s Spain, but also in other countries that once hosted Republican exiles, second and third generations are speaking up so the voices of their ancestors can be heard and the stories of the vanquished remembered. Against simplistic discourses that promote vertical trajectories of memory and transgenerational transmission, contemporary legacy narratives offer emancipatory spaces of expression that reflect the diversity of collective memory and contribute to spreading its words.


