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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

Salir de desierto: Dissident Artistic Expression under Franco, 1936–1975

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

by

Robert Lincoln Long

Committee in charge:

Professor Pamela Radcliff, Chair
Professor Frank Biess
Professor Luis Martín Cabrera
Professor Everard Meade
Professor Patrick Patterson

2014

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University of California, San Diego

2014

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biographical work on composer Antonio José and his friendship, as well, have been indispensable to me; the incredible staff of the Archivo Municipal de Burgos under the thoughtful leadership of Milagros Moratinos Palamero; and the present head of the Orfeón Burgalés, Juan Gabriel Martínez Martín were crucial examining the life of the composer. And finally, the constant long-term help and insight of Yolanda Aker, a researcher and editor for the Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales in Madrid, and the advice from the head of the institute, Emilio Casares Rodicio, helped to guide me in the right direction.

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resources of the library, one of the great libraries of modern art in the world, available to me for months, and her own help in my research has been always supportive and unfailing.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Salir de desierto, Dissident Artistic Expression under Franco, 1936–1975

by

Robert Lincoln Long

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, San Diego, 2014

Professor Pamela Radcliff, Chair

From the beginning of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and through the years of the authoritarian Francoist regime (1936-1975), the survival of artistic expression in Spain of artists sympathetic to the ideals of the defeated Republic was constantly challenged. Whether threatened with execution if caught in Nationalist-held territory during the war or with harassment, and imprisonment after the war, these Spanish artists were simultaneously faced with choices of a profoundly personal and aesthetic nature.

The Francoist regime's traditionalist cultural project, National Catholicism, through its control of the public sphere, especially through its censorship, threatened not only the rights of free expression, but, at times, the lives of artists themselves. In order to secure a means for their artistic expression, artists were forced into life-altering decisions.

In this dissertation, I examine the biographies and art of three Spanish artists, composer Antonio José Martínez Palacios, poet and novelist Jesús López Pacheco, and abstract expressionist painter Antoní Tàpies, whose lives intersected the regime. I propose an underlying primary theses, which plays out on three levels: 1) Although obstructed at times by the Francoist regime, the voices of these artists would continue sounding; 2) although the regime attempted to manipulate their art for its purposes, in fact, that manipulation only made the artists' voices grow stronger, and finally; 3) although the regime attempted to block the presentation of their art, and in effect re-write history, the creative voices of these three artists have over time, if anything, become a stronger and more precise lens with which to historically analyze the Francoist repression. In that respect, I argue that the ultimate success lies with the narratives and the purposes of these artists.

This work divides the stories of the three artists in a broad chronology starting with Antonio José and ending with Antoni Tàpies. Each artist is the focus of two chapters with the first of those being a more biographical analysis of the artist's life and work. The second chapter on each artist pertains more specifically to their work's intersection with the repression of the regime. This organization provides an opportunity for overlapping comparisons of their times, their disciplines over the entirety of the regime's existence, and an assessment of the regime's own cultural project.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

> *Art, all culture, while not instantly triggering the great "revolutions" that some imagine, does the quiet work, instead, that prepares the consciousness in a form generally more substantial than does violence.*
>
> -Antoni Tápies, 1977 [1]

The Artists and Their Art

"Even the most perfect reproduction of a work of art," wrote Walter Benjamin, "is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be." [2] While the subject of Benjamin's comment is the authenticity of a work and how its reproduction lacks this "aura" of authenticity, there is more to be culled from what he said. For what Benjamin understood about art was that the essence of a work's creation is its connection to history, not the history of art or the political history of the society in which it was created, but the history of all human creative endeavors. Artistic expression springs from the human need to create and is, in the end, what this study intends to examine through the lives and work of three Spanish artists, whose time intersected the repressive dictatorship of Francisco Franco (1936 – 1975). Two, poet and novelist Jesús López Pacheco (1930 – 1997) and painter Antoni Tàpies (1923 - 2012), lived to see the end of the regime and could reflect on its meaning

[1] Imma Julián, and Antoni Tápies, *Dialogo sobre arte, cultura y sociedad* (Barcelona: Icaria Editorial, 1977), 55. This quote is from an interview in Spanish (as opposed to his native Catalá) with art historian Imma Julián. The context was Tápies reminiscing about the Franco regime's lack of comprehension of the significance of art in society. The translation is mine and the original Spanish is "Los hechos prueban que el arte, la cultura toda, si bien no desencadena instantáneamente las "revoluciones" espectaculares que algunos imaginan, hace, en cambio, una labor callada que prepara las consciencias de forma generalmente menos sólida que muchos actos violentos.

[2] Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, trans. by Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 220.

for their lives and their societies. Composer Antonio José Martínez Palacios (1902 – 1936) - or simply Antonio José, the name he went by from early in his career – died in the early months of the Spanish Civil War. As the Nationalist army and its paramilitary enforcer, the *Falange,* swept through his native city of Burgos, they hauled off to jail those, such as the composer, sympathetic to the democratically-elected Second Republic (1931 – 1939).

Some Spanish artists, caught in the maelstrom of the Spanish Civil War, were already well known and have since been written about extensively. Three, poet and playwright Federico García Lorca, painter, Pablo Picasso, and film director Luis Buñuel, for instance, all had achieved high levels of recognition in Spain and internationally. The artists for this study led lives that paralleled those of Buñuel, Picasso, and Lorca in some ways. Antonio José, like Lorca, was executed in his hometown after Civil War leaving a trail of unfinished work. Tàpies and Picasso, opponents of the Francoist regime, remained part of avant-garde expression in Europe throughout their careers. Both Buñuel and López Pacheco faced exile and its concomitant effect on creativity, but still managed to maintain a high level of productivity.

It is the differences between these two groups of artists, however, that are fundamental to this work and responsible for their selection as objects of study. Tàpies and López Pacheco represent a younger generation that grew up during the Civil War and lived in Spain throughout most of the darkest years of the repression under Franco. They came to artistic maturity under the regime. On the other hand, Antonio José, though a prolific contemporary of Lorca, was only just beginning to gain the notice of more

famous artists and the public before his death. The circumstances of the war and the repression of the Francoist regime that affected their lives, their own remarkable talents, and the cross-section of artistic disciplines they represent make this group a valuable tool in examining artistic expression in this period of Spanish contemporary history.

All three artists, Antonio José, Jesús López Pacheco, and Antoni Tàpies were serious students of tradition. All of these artists had studied assiduously the course of the history of their art and all understood the artistic voice of their time. What was generally true of the twentieth century avant-garde in Europe in all disciplines was that the connection to the past was a key to the door of the future. All three artists also represent artistic expression that was intrinsically tied to their "time and space", and in their case, to a society under great stress through much of the last century.

One of the parallels that stands out in relief in the lives of all three of the artists focused on in this dissertation is a remarkable consistency in the development of their own artistic voices over time. Their styles of expression had direction that they discovered early on and that led directly to both a determination to follow their paths artistically at any cost and a willingness to open themselves to change as their voices matured. None ever questioned that they had acquired a voice, a distinctive expression, only how they could disseminate it to people. It would seem this type of assurance is fundamental to surviving through the years of obstacles that all three of their arts, in the end finessed.

The works of all three have come to represent dissident voices in the midst of a politically repressive era, the forty year dictatorship of Francisco Franco we mark with

the nomenclature “Francoism”. It is the authenticity of their expression and its direct communication to the public that in the end carried these voices past the obstacles placed in front of them by the dictatorship and into contemporary history.

This is a story of ultimate success and failure and I argue two theses. The first of these also helps dispel questions about the quantity or quality of artistic expression in Spain the years between 1936 and 1975. The “desert” of expression the artists were “leaving” was itself a mirage. The years of the Francoist regime were a testament to the resiliency of artistic expression, not the end of it. As constrained, at times manipulated, and seemingly dried-up as it would seem to some on the outside of Spain, inside, as the work of these three artists suggests, there was a caldron bubbling under the surface.[3] It may have taken time to rise and show itself, and in the case of the music of Antonio José that time was almost the lifetime of the regime, but, nevertheless, all the while their work was performing, as Tàpies suggests, the “quiet work of preparing the consciousness” for changes to come.

Whether it was the confrontational activism or subtle literary message of Jesús López Pacheco, or the brilliant abstraction of painter Antoni Tápies that ultimately swamps the regime’s own attempts to incorporate it, or even the seemingly buried and forgotten music of Antonio José, in the final analysis the artists’ expression triumphs. This triumph occurred on three levels: 1) Although obstructed at times by the Francoist regime, the voices of these artists would continue sounding; 2) although the regime

[3] See page 18 of this chapter and pages 41-44 for a more detailed discussion of Jeremy Treglown’s book on culture under the Francoist regime.

attempted to manipulate their art for its purposes, in fact, that manipulation only made the artists' voices grow stronger, and finally; 3) although the regime attempted to block the presentation of their art, and in effect re-write history, the creative voices of these three artists have over time, if anything, become a stronger and more precise lens with which to historically analyze the Francoist repression. In that respect, I argue that the ultimate success lies with the narratives and the purposes of these artists.

The Regime and Its Goal

In order to be clear about the second thesis, it is necessary to define the regime in broad strokes. The Franco regime was brutal and unforgiving; it was also able to survive longer than any dictatorship in Europe in a century replete with dictatorships. Not Hitler, not Stalin, not Mussolini, not Salazar, and outside of Europe, not even the various incarnations of Francoism that appeared in South America, in particular that of Augusto Pinochet, could compete with Francoism's cultural, economic, and internal social hegemony. Scratch the ancestry of either of the present two major political parties in Spain almost four decades after the dictator's death, and seventy-eight years after the start of the Spanish Civil War, and one still finds the ghosts that haunt the political landscape. And still the regime failed and its cultural project *nacionalsindicalismo*, or National Catholicism, failed most of all.

It would be too pat of an explanation for that failure to claim that this was only the responsibility of the dictator himself, Francisco Franco. The whole administration of the regime played a substantial role. That role was one that it played over forty years in its quest to construct an indestructible wall that would forever enshrine its cultural map

on the nation. Francoism, given its abundant and refined bureaucratic structure and its longevity over a third of the twentieth century, cannot be boiled down to one person. It is, however, through its various stages and incarnations, the villain of this story.

National Catholicism was a culmination of musings on Spanish historical, cultural, and intellectual life that began in the late nineteenth century and that coalesced in the 1920s. Proponents of *Acción Española,* led by essayist Ramiro de Maeztu, desired to redefine Spain in the glowing terms of its heroic imperial and Catholic past. [4] But by the middle of the 1930s and the early 40s, with the tremendous rise of Fascism in many parts of Europe, the conservative concepts of the Acción took on, as historian Carolyn Boyd wrote, "…a veneer of fascist rhetoric, symbology, ritual, and organization." [5] At the same time, these concepts in Spain were a direct reaction against the influence of the *Instituto Libre de Enseñaza*, the group intellectuals whose role in the promotion of humanist principles in education, starting from the end of the nineteenth century, would peak in the Second Republic in 1931.

In the mind of adherents, such as de Maeztu, to an "imperial nationalism," concepts of Spain as a nation founded on such conservative principles had roots back to

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[4] Maeztu, a younger member of the Generación del 98 of intellectuals who fretted over Spain's loss of its colonies to the United States in the Spanish-American War, was originally a Socialist, a political biography not unlike other Europeans on the right in the 1920s. He published regularly in *El Socialista.* Born to an English mother and a Spanish father who owned a sugar plantation in Cuba, he worked on his father's plantation as a teenager, and became enamored with the working culture there. He spent time in Britain during World War I and when he returned to Spain he had gone through a political transformation. Even his early socialist writings are tinged with a nationalist theme and he saw the Joaquín Costa's concept of an "Iron Surgeon" as a possible cure for what he perceived as Spain's weakness as a power in Europe. By the 1920's, Maeztu was putting his pen to the purpose of Spanish nationalism a la the movement in France, Action française.

[5] Carolyn P. Boyd, 234. Also for a deep study on the development of education principles of both the Instituto and the Acción Española as well as Republican and Franco years in general see chapters 7, 8, and 9.

the mid-sixteenth century, while for others, as historian Stanley Payne noted, as far back as the Middle Ages. [6] The Franco regime utilized this wedding of a nationalist, traditionalist paradigm, with historical connections to the culture of the Catholic Church and the glories of Spain´s military past in stark contrast to the Republic's secular, liberal democratic vision. The term "National Catholicism", however, had an added rhetorical advantage. It fit neatly as a Spanish right-wing reflection on other "isms" in Europe of the 1930s, including that of "National Socialism" on the right in Germany or "national syndicalism" on the left in France and Spain itself.

Cloaking the regime in an aura of piety and national purpose, National Catholicism also served as a tool for a daily dose of cultural messages to the masses through the media. The implementation of a state psychology, a state myth, and a cultural milieu were as strong an emphasis in Franco's Spain as anywhere else in Fascist Europe, possibly stronger because of the strength of the alliance between the Church and the State. Yet, National Catholicism was never, in the end, about the Catholic Church; it was, in fact, always about the State itself. That essence of Francoism was also, in the end, the *sine qua non* of twentieth century Fascism, and no state pulled that card from off the bottom of the deck longer or more systematically than did Spain. The Church, aligned so heavily with the conservative forces of the military uprising, was later to chafe at state interference, but would remain obsequious until the wheels started to fall off of the

[6] See Ramiro de Maeztu, *Defensa de la Humanidad* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Poblet, 1942), 114-120, and Stanley G. Payne, *Spanish Catholicism: An Historical Overview* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), ix (Introduction).

regime's calculations regarding the Church in the early 1960s.[7]

As others have done with their studies about the Francoist regime, this work also proposes its own periodization of the dictator's rule. My Francoist timeline includes three periods: the years of the most severe violent repression (1936-1945), the regime's consolidation and the consolidation of the administration of repression (1945-1965), and the regime's demise, (1965-1975). In this study, the artistic expression of these three artists carries ramifications for the study of all three periods, the most strategic being that of the middle years. Those years witnessed the culmination of the Francoist regime's administrative societal control and the height of its cultural project. In a broad sense, those years were the apex of the regime's attempt to inoculate Spain from the "disease of liberal democracy".

This work divides the stories of the three artists in a broad chronology starting with Antonio José and ending with Antoni Tàpies. Each artist is the focus of two chapters with the first of those being a more biographical analysis of the artist's life and work. The second chapter on each artist pertains more specifically to their work's intersection with the repression of the regime. This organization provides an opportunity for overlapping comparisons of their times and their disciplines over the entirety of the regime's existence.

Although ultimately the regime would pass, and with it National Catholicism, in its process it extracted a heavy price: the price of life and of the access to free expression- the humanist project, if you will. In that loss of life and freedom lie issues of memory and

[7] See street protests and the 1962 miners' strike in Chapter 7.

the intent of the Francoist regime to obstruct the commemoration of it. Memory and history then become one focus of a part of this work, and the life and art of Antonio José in Chapters 2 and 3 give us a chance to examine that area. It is also the life of the composer, targeted by the regime's early repression, that brings the regime's most violent period into perspective.

As mentioned, the years of the 1950s and 60s is an important period of concentration for this present work, and those years' intersection with the life of Jesús López Pacheco is the subject of Chapters 4 and 5. The consolidation of the author's own artistic voice in Spain comes to life during this period as well. That voice, often plagued by Francoist censorship, eventually joins a chorus of voices in exile from Spain.

In this work, there are some assumptions about the dictatorship that I believe will be backed up by evidence. One of the most important of those is that among the three artistic disciplines focused on here, the regime's repression singled out the written word above all. The leaders of the Spanish Second Republic itself, and its didactic allies in the *Instituto Libre de Enseñaza*, were well aware of the need to expand literacy in Spain, but to the Francoist regime that project was a double-edged sword. The expansion of literacy could only be achieved correctly if the state could control, as completely as possible, the gateways for the messages literature brought. The censorship of literature became a fundamental component of Francoist repression, and its administration and López Pacheco's battles with it is the subject of Chapter 5.

Chapters 6 and 7 will present the final narrative that includes both the middle and last periods of Francoism. I center those chapters on the life and work of Antoni Tàpies.

It is Tàpies whose artistic voice and intellectual insight will outlast the regime by half a century and ultimately present the clearest message of the failure of the regimes cultural project. Chapter 7, in particular, will also focus on the growing protest against the regime in which Tàpies participated, and the regime's attempt to project contemporary art to the Western world as an image of a modern pluralist state. Whatever the regime's objective, Tàpies, like Picasso and Miró before him, would become a distinctly individual and international voice that would be beyond the regime's grasp.

The long duration of the regime, and the nature of the regime itself with its birth in the Spanish Civil War, has engendered controversy over the years among Spanish historians. In terms of the whole concept of the periodization of Francoism, most historians agree on some form of partition into two or three periods. I place my own study in the latter category of three periods, but, different than some, I emphasize the middle phase, the decades of the 1950s and 60s, as the essential element of inquiry.

The heart of the controversy has related to definitions of the New State, and whether or not to perceive Francoism as a regime that evolved politically. The foremost advocate of this approach was political scientist Juan José Linz, who first put forward his theory of totalitarianism and authoritarianism in the *Handbook of Political Science* published at Yale in 1975. [8] It is, in particular, his concept of Francoism's "limited pluralism" that has been called into question by others.[9] In his 2000 work, *Totalitarian*

[8] Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson W. Polsby, *Handbook of Political Science: scope and theory*, Vol. 3 (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1975).

[9] Juan José Linz, *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes* (Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000), 3-12.

and Authoritarian Regimes, Linz's spells out again his basic belief.

> Since my thinking about the distinction between totalitarian and authoritarian regimes was initially a reflection of my knowledge of the politics of Franco's Spain - particularly from the late 1940s to the early 1960s – a number of critics in Spain have stressed the totalitarian character or tendencies in the earl phases of the Franco regime…Some did not ever surrender the totalitarian label for the regime, perhaps because they felt that it gave greater moral legitimacy to their opposition. Ironically, this position is the reverse of that held by those who would question the category totalitarian as a result of the Cold War. I never would deny the totalitarian ambitions of the Spanish Falange and the totalitarian tendencies of the Franco regime during the hegemony of the Axis powers in Europe. I would, however, stress the legacy of limited pluralism in the origin of the regime, which Franco subordinated to his personal power and designs. This personalization frustrated the creation of a true and modern totalitarian regime."[10]

But in examining Linz's concept of "limited pluralism," it seems to amount to nothing more than early Francoist factionalism within the structure of the extreme right, a so-called pluralism conditioned by various versions of control, i.e., the Falange, the military, Carlists, and the various nationalist factions such as the albiñanistas. [11] One problem with this terminology is that Linz's examples of consolidated "modern totalitarianism," such as Hitler's Germany or Stalin's Soviet Union, also had in their early phase clear factionalism.

A larger problem, however, is that the schema that inhabits the work of Linz involves a periodization from an "aspiration-to-totalitarianism" phase to one slowly appearing more pragmatic, "a process," writes historian Michal Richards, "culminating

---

[10] *Ibid.*, 3

[11] The albiñanistas were a group who adhere to the extreme nationalist views of Dr. José María Albiñana, whose group was prominent during the military uprising and were active in Burgos and other parts of Northern Spain.

in 1959 with a concerted strategy of economic liberalization, heralding a period of relative political pluralism." [12] To Richards, Linz's periodizing assumptions were flawed at the outset, because they were predicated in reality, not on some political progression, but rather on a "static periodization."

> Francoism was functional because it was not static- it was relatively adaptable, though the essence of its ideology, its reliance on violent methods, and its ultimate social function, remained unaltered.[13]

It is this essence of ideology - what I term the regime's National Catholic cultural project - that continued unabated regardless of its adaptations.

There can be no doubt that an evolution occurred through a series of adaptations by the regime over the years, as Richards suggests. These had to do with Spain's political position in a capitalist, democratic, post-World War II Western Europe, a Europe that had little sympathy for this dictator in its midst. However, the regime, in the end, could not ever accept genuine political pluralism and at the same time promote "purity" through National Catholicism. I say "genuine" pluralism," because by the 1950s and 60s there *were* attempts to present the regime to the West as "reforming," or somehow "Franco-lite." The reforms, I argue, especially those involving freedom of expression, lacked substance.

One problem in the study of Francoism, however, even with critics of the regime, is that historians have tended to focus on the brutal beginning years of the regime´s repression (1936 – 1945) or the years of its decline and the early part of Spain's transition

---

[12] Michael Richards, *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco's Spain, 1936-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 13-14.
[13] *Ibid.*

to democracy (1970– 1978). This may be an oversight. Eduardo Ruiz Bautista, who has spent more time in the last decade writing on Francoist censorship than any other Spanish historian, believes it would be a mistake to skirt the heart of the regime's development, and what was, in his opinion, administratively its zenith - the period of the 1950s and 60s. He argues that we:

> ...would be guilty of historical myopia if between the dawn and the decline we didn't perceive more than an enormous hinge of twenty years, since I would say the two decades that lie between 1945 and 1966 are, in essence, *the* Francoism, the temporal demarcation in which its defining traits will achieve full development, in which its despotic rendezvous will be fossilized and its sullen gestures stiffened.[14]

Accordingly, much of the story of the development and early fruition of the artistic voice of Jesús López Pacheco and the growth, maturation, and rise of the art of Antoni Tàpies cross through this period of the consolidation of the regime.

I believe the heart of my own conjecture about the Francoist regime focuses on the "inalterability" of its intentions. Intentions, in other words, did matter. The regime's political, social, cultural, and administrative intentions were static. The desire from the regime's first year in 1936 when the coup began, a desire repeatedly proselytized and enforced over the next four decades, was to rip out by the roots all forms of political, social, but most of all, cultural ties to the former Republic in the minds and hearts of the

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[14]Eduardo Ruiz Bautista, *Tiempo de censura: La represión editorial durante el franquismo*, edited by Eduardo Ruiz Bautista, (Gijón, Spain: Ediciones Trea, S. L., 2008), 77. "Sin embargo, pecaríamos de miopía histórica si entre el amanecer y el ocaso no percibiéramos más que una enorme bisagra de veinte años, pues me atrevería a decir que las dos décadas que median entre 1945 y 1966 son, en esencia, el franquismo, el marco temporal en el que alcanzarán el pleno desarrollo sus rasgos definitorios, en el que se focalizarán sus querencias despóticas y se anquilosarán sus querencias despóticas y se anquilosarán sus gestos huraños." (trans. is mine) There are other historians, Pere Ysás in particular in his *Disidencia y Subversión*, who look at the student movements in the 60s and 70s, but it is true that in the main the middle period of Francoism has a thinner bibliography.

Spanish people. From Gens. Emilio Mola in the North to Gonzalo Quiepo de Llano in the South, to Francisco Franco himself, to the leadership of the para-military Falange, the regime's desire, then, was to create a new "garden" where only a vital, National Catholic horticulture would sustain all life. The fact that this garden had too many distinctions that extended into a myriad of complex associations of language, family, and history was beyond the regimes intellectual grasp. It was this intent of the regime to homogenize its power around its own cultural project that so colored the climate of artistic expression for these three artists. Using the specific artists as a way to observe the regime and the regime as a way to observe the artists, helps to build a more holistic picture of the long period of the dictatorship.

For me, one of the more potent early observers of twentieth century Europe and its culture, Antonio Gramsci, helps to underpin this present work and serves as a corollary to the observations of Walter Benjamin. The Spanish military insurrection of 1936, in Gramscian terms, can be seen as an attempt to reassert political hegemony by a group of conservative elites who had "lost" control of the state during the Second Republic; a *golpe de estado* was the result. And once the regime was in control of national mechanisms of state, all avenues of public opinion, or as Gramsci termed it "the content of the public's political will" was usurped by the regime, insuring that "only one force will mold public opinion and hence the political will of the nation, while reducing dissenters to individual and insignificant specks of dust." [15] This was the intent. Again this hegemony was not to be strictly political. From the earliest period of the Civil War,

[15] Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks,* Volume III (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 213.

when it became apparent to the Nationalists that labeling their enterprise a "Crusade" provided a reservoir of emotional and symbolic ammunition for their cause, the idea of a New Spanish State draped in the mantel of traditional Catholicism was key to understanding their hegemonic impulse.

Yet, the Italian philosopher saw in artistic expression something else. In the words of contemporary artist Thomas Hirschhorn, "Art-because it's art- is resistance as such. Resistance to aesthetical cultural, political habits." [16] Gramsci put in these words.

> …One can say that the political-economic (practical, didactic) obsession destroys art, morals, philosophy, on the other hand these activities are also 'politics'. In other words, economic-political passion is destructive when it is external, imposed by force, according to a pre-established plan (and even that it is thus, [it] may be politically necessary, there being periods when art, philosophy, etc. go to sleep, while practical activity is always lively) but it can become implicit in art etc. when the process is normal and non-violent, i.e. when there is homogeneity between structure and superstructure and the state has overcome its economic-corporative phase.[17]

And here is precisely the argument of Antoni Tàpies from the epigraph at the beginning of this chapter, that artistic expression can "implicitly" lay this groundwork, be, in fact, "political" by its very presence. One argument of this present work is that the lives and work of Antonio José, Jesús López Pacheco, and Antoni Tàpies, artists not linked by their disciplines, nor their locale or region, nor necessarily their own political or social backgrounds, worked in tandem to confront the cultural thrombosis that was Spain

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[16] Ken Johnson, "A Summer Place in the Bronx", *The New York Times*, July 26, 2013, C20. This was Johnson's review of a Hirschhor's installation of a "temporary memorial" to Antonio Gramsci located in a poor neighborhood in the South Bronx on Clinton Avenue in the summer of 2013.

[17] Antonio Gramsci, *Further Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 400.

under the dictatorship of Francisco Franco; they performed the "quiet work" and they did it because all believed in an even more sophomoric proposition: art conquers all.

And still, as large and crucial a part of this story as it is, Francoism, in the end, is a "side story" to that of these artists' expression. Although often tightly controlled in Spain by the regime and often suppressed, dissident artistic expression in those years had a far greater effect on the Francoist culturally hegemonic project than previously believed. It is not the contention of this work that for forty years the regime was a monolithic totalitarian state, if such a type of state ever existed in twentieth century Europe. As pointed out, even Linz's structure of such a state seems flawed, or as one of academic friend of mine likes to say, "Totalitarianism doesn't always seem so 'total' on the ground." To me, the question of whether or not the Francoist State was universally totalitarian is irrelevant. What *is* relevant to this work is that the regime did have, and did implement whenever feasible, its repressive cultural project - a monolithic intention, if you will – that did enormous damage to life and free expression - a complete affront to the any concept of human rights that we recognize today, and that damage must always be emphasized first in any discussion about the history of Francoism.

Nevertheless, as my second thesis states, the regime failed, and to reiterate, the true focus here is on the artist's expression, even beyond the effects of the regime. Isolated, abused, harassed, or ignored, these artists, who had found themselves at odds with Francoism, managed to project a voice of continuity and originality in their artistic expression in the midst of much personal suffering. That was the power of their expression.

The Artistic Voice

By way of definition, since I have used and will use the term often, it is necessary to explain my understanding here of "artistic voice" as representative of an artist's expression. There are two components to the artistic voice of an individual artist as I see it. One has to do with the development of a personal language or a character that becomes second nature to the artist. This component can take a lifetime, although it usually, but not necessarily, begins early in the person's artistic life. The other has to do with the recognition of an artist's work. While to an artist the reception of his or her work can be secondary, both components historically bring the artist's work into focus. The idea of a voice, of a character or a signature is essential in artistic expression. But understanding one's own artistic voice is only half the story for an artist historically. For an artist to make a mark in society over time it is also important to analyze the recognition of an artist's work by those who view, hear, or read it. To an artist there is no doubt that the reception of his or her work can be secondary. And in truth what artists such as the three examined here pursued endlessly was the continual quest for elements that would refine, enhance, and magnify their artistic voice at the *expense* of what they perceived the public wanted. Nevertheless, reception by the public and the critical world throw a mirror up to an artist's work that is essential for the historian to examine and helps the historian to understand both the artist and the artist´s time. In that regard, hearing these artists discuss the role of their art, its intersection with society, and their desire to develop their expression, along with examining how society judged and remembered their work, is primary for this dissertation.

A Review of Secondary Literature

The advantage of centering one's work on three individuals that cover a wide range of artistic disciplines and, taken together, cover the whole range of the years of the dictatorship of Franco, is that one can stand back and view the large picture of an era, but at the same time retain the intimacy that biography permits. In the sense of what Barbara Tuchman called the "prism of history," a biography has the potential to grab human interest almost instantly. If done well, wrote Tuchman "…biography attracts and holds the reader's interest in the larger subject." And probably most important for this present work, biography's utility is that "it encompasses the universal in the particular."[18] My intention is to attempt both the universal and the particular in one gathering of characters. In order to accomplish that, it has been necessary to incorporate a great deal of secondary sources without which none of this work would have been possible.

I have divided those sources here into four categories, the first being biographical material about the artists emphasizing their body of work. Secondly, I draw on scholarship that focuses on artistic expression in general and expression under the regime specifically. Thirdly, there is the very large area of historiography on the Franco era and its repression. This includes a combination of works on its history, its use of violence, its use of censorship, and the topic of history and memory, with attention to the regime's middle period. Finally, the scholarship on the history of the plastic arts in Spain of my

[18] Barbara Tuchman, "Biography as a Prism of History," *Telling Lives: The Biographer's Art*, ed. by Marc Pachter (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 134.

period has been crucial in understanding the world of Antoni Tàpies under the years of the Francoist regime.

With regards to biographical material on the three artists, most indispensable for me has been the two biographies and the comprehensive masters thesis on the life and music of Antonio José, principle among them *En tinta roja; cartas y otros escritos de Antonio José* (In Red Link: Letters and Other Writings of Antonio José) (2002) by Miguel Ángel Palacios Garoz. The first work on the composer, *Antonio José: músico de Castilla* (Antonio José: Castilian Muiscian) (1980) written by Jesús Barriuso Gutiérrez, Fernando García Romero, and Garoz also, opened a closed door about the subject of the young composer. In addition, there is the 1995 master's thesis by music historian Yolanda Acker, written while she attended the University of Melbourne, *The Castilian Composer Antonio José Martínez Palacios (1902-1936).* Acker is now an editor of at the Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales in Madrid. All of these biographical works give us the incidents and creative output of the composer in detail. It would be an understatement to say that much of what we know of the composer's life and art up to his death would be lacking without exhaustive work of these three music historians. Miguel Ángel Palacios Garoz, in particular, who co-wrote the first book from 1980 and then in 2002 published a collection of the composer's essays and letters, has been tireless researcher.

The intention of these works was to re-present an artist to the world whose work had virtually disappeared. What I have attempted here is to analyze some of the details from these biographies about Antonio José's life, and in particular his own writing, in

order to explain better his place in his society and his work's place in European music of its time. As important to the story as his immense talent is the issue of the Francoist regime's obstruction of the remembrance of the composer in Spain and the story of the recovery of his music after years of neglect. That story is ongoing and it seems to be a natural outgrowth of the comprehensive work done by Garoz and his fellow historians.

Biographical material available on poet and writer Jesús López Pacheco in this present study is does not come from full biographies. There are none at present. My hope is that my work will encourage others to attempt that project. The life of a poet and novelist such as López Pacheco is certainly subject to biography, but it is also true that his "biography" in ways tangential and intimate come out through his work. So I have decided to bring some of those works forward in English as both examples of his artistic voice, and of the obsession of Francoist censors as their society's cultural gatekeepers. With the aid of his two sons, both intensely creative voices on their own, plus biographical sketches done by the writer himself, letters written from exile, and a compendium of articles in homage to the writer from the *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, I have tried to present a portrait of the artist. [19] Much of my work in the Archivo de la Administración in Alcalá de Henares, Spain on the process of Francoist censorship also included the bonus of reading both the author's own work in its uncensored form and his personal letters to colleagues and friends that also were illuminating in understanding his artistic voice and purpose.

[19] Interviews with both historian Fabio López Lázaro and his older brother film director Bruno Lázaro Pacheco and biographical homage to the author by Ignacio Soldevila in Revista *Canadiense* have been essential for this work.

I found the work of Jeremy Treglown, *Franco's Crypt: Spanish Culture and memory since 1936* (2013), helpful in its presentation of the depth of expression that was occurring during the dictatorship, but took issue with his appraisal of the damage done by the regime's repression in general and, specifically of the situation surrounding Jesús López Pacheco and his novel *Central eléctrcia*. While I agree with author Jeremy Treglown that the years of Francoism were ripe with much art, the impression from my research, however, is that this abundance was in spite of Francoism - not as some bi-product of it. [20]

There is, however, no end to material written about and by artist Antoni Tàpies. This presents, in fact, a different sort of challenge. Between his own memoirs and critical essays on topics of aesthetics in art and the role of the artist in society, not to mention biographies written about him, whole books dedicated to interviews with him, and books focusing on critical analysis of his art and career, the problem is one of the riches of the material and not a lack of it. Among the works most influential in my research have been Imma Juilán and Tàpies's, *Diágolo sobre arte, cultura, y sociedad* (1977), Tàpies's *Complete Writings, Vol.1 and Vol II*, both in English and in its earlier Spanish version, translated into Spanish from the original Catalan; Barbara Catoir's *Conversations with Antoni Tàpies* (1991). Youssef Ishaghpour's, *Antoni Tàpies: Works, Writings, Interviews* was a helpful overall biography that gave perspective to Tàpies young adult period of portraiture. My own view of Tàpies was also helped enormously by various essays reflective of the artist's thinking on the broad topics of artistic expression that were often

[20] See also pages 41-44 in Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion.

originally published in *La Vanguardia Española* such as *La práctica del arte* (The Practice of Art) from 1970, or *Art I Drets Humans* (Art and Human Rights) originally presented in 1980 at the *Jornades d'esudi sobre Drets Humans* (Conference on the Study of Human Rights). What my own work on Tàpies focuses on is the phenomenon of his artistic success in the middle years of Francoism and a synthesis of his writings in terms of the role of art in society. Again what I am "bringing to the table," I believe, is an analysis of the artist's life and his intersection with the regime. Antoni Tàpies filled a library in the foundation in Barcelona that bears his name with written work by him, on him, and on his own artistic interests. It is from those sources and historical sources of his period, especially newspapers from Barcelona and around the world during the 1950s, 60s, and 70s, most of which are also held at the Fundació Antoni Tàpies, that I have formed my image of his life and his confrontations with the regime. Finally, I found the work of Jorge Luis Marzo, *Arte Moderno y Franquismo: Los orígenes conservadores de Vanguardia y de la politica artística en España* (2008) helpful in framing my own counter-argument. His assertions regarding the advantages that were open to certain artists, including Tàpies, as a result of the regime's attempts to coopt their art was well presented and researched. I take issue with his argument in Chapter 7.

As in the case of Antoni Tàpies, there is no shortage of material in the twenty-first century on the Francoist regime, whether about its history, its repression, or its censorship. In fact, for those Francoists concerned in the 1960s and 70s with the regime's legacy, the problem was not that historians would have a lack of information on its

history in the end; the problem turned out to be that the regime spent far too much time compiling information that now makes that history apparent.

The earlier discussions of general stages of Francoism have already referred to texts that are important to this present work, those of Linz and Richards, in particular. While I am in disagreement with Linz's analysis, I realize that his scholarship in this area emerged over years of study. My belief is, however, that as time has gone by, new work, in particular some that is reviewed here, has changed the historiographical milieu (and in particular the consistency in the regime's basic tenets). And no area could be more important to understanding that milieu than the use and threat of violence by the regime.

In terms of the violence in the early phases of Francoism, both that in Burgos, which affected Antonio José, and elsewhere, I have utilized heavily observations of Javier Rodrígo and his work *Hasta la raíz: violencia durante la guerra civil y la dictadura franquista* (2007) (To the Root: Violence During the Civil War and the Francoist Dictatorship). Rodrígo methodically sets out the Francoist agenda and the distinction between the violence of the chaos of a Republic with little capability of quelling it in the early stages of the war and the violence by calculation and design on the Nationalist side**.** Perhaps the first work , however, that truly broached the subject of the calculated degree of violence by the regime was the Santos Juliá edited *Víctimas de la Guerra Civil*, (1999). In particular the third section by Francisco Moreno on the regime's use of violence is a landmark study, because it begins the first unraveling, after fifty years, of the systematic nature of Francoist violence.

The regional nature of the uprising against the Republic and the repression of Francoism is also important to my work, especially in both Burgos and Barcelona, where it took on very different forms. Luis Castro Berrojo's *Capital de la Cruzada: Burgos durante la Guerra Civil* has been invaluable for its portrayal of the early moments of the uprising in the city, which fell almost immediately to the Nationalist. Berrojo's portrayal of the rise and use of the Falange is crucial to understanding the last moments of Antonio José. I have also utilize the book, published in 1937 by Antonio Ruíz Vilaplana, *Doy fe: un año de actuación en la España nacionalista*, which represents the only first-hand published chronicles we have of the first year of Nationalist rule.

On the other hand, for the Francoist repression in Catalonia, which was the home of the family of Antoni Tàpies, I have relied a trio of books Joan Samsó's, *La Cultura Catalana: Entre la clandestinat i la represa pública*, Vol. I, Josep M. Solé i Sabaté and Joan Vilarroy's*, Cronologia de la repressoí de la llengua i la cultura catalnes*, 1936-1975, and most of all, Josep Benet's, *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya.* I discuss the last of these in detail in Chapter 6. In all of these cases the books are thorough descriptive chronicles, almost catalogues of events, with little analysis, but with a great deal of scholarship that provides a reservoir of information on the long cultural repression in Barcelona and Catalonia, and especially in the area of the suppression of the Catalan.

Francoism left a paper trail, and there is probably no better place to unravel it for our purposes than in the documents of the censorship of literature in the Archivo de la Administración de Alcalá de Henares outside of Madrid. In addition to my own work

there over several months, I have relied on the work of Eduardo Ruíz Bautista, which has been particularly useful, not only because of its introduction to the early years of Francoist censorship, but specifically because its assertions problematize any concept of a pluralist Francoist State, as posited by Linz. His *Los señores del libro: propagandistas, censores y bibliotecarios en el primer franquismo*, which focuses on the early years of the regime's censorship from 1939 -1945 helped me in my analysis of documents I found from that era. His edition of *Tiempo de censura: la repression editorial durante el franquismo*, also was a key in some of my research on Tàpies and López Pacheco. Personalities in the active Barcelona publishing scene, such as Carlos Barral, were familiar with both artists. My own research on Jesús López Pacheco has often dove-tailed in some places with that of Ruíz Bautista. I believe the specificity of my research on López Pacheco and other authors of Social Realism confirm his own. Jordi Cornella-Detrell's observations on the after-effects of Francoist censorship that tell us that ghosts of the regime's censorship are still with us confirms the sophistication of the regime's apparatus as well as the damage done to free expression. Finally, there is the work of Manuel L. Abellán, whose book from 1980, *Censura y creación literaria en España, 1939-1979*, was the first major work to look seriously inside the regime's process and gives one an indication of how much more had become available between then and the work of Ruíz Bautista.

The scholarship in the area of history and memory has been an important part of my analysis of the life of Antonio José. The work of Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century* and, in particular that

of Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, "Setting the Framework" in *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*, frame my discussion of the disappearance of the composer's musical voice and its slow recuperation in the years following the Francoist regime. Both of these works and that of Paloma Aguilar Fernández (*Memory and Amnesia: The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy*) that I utilize in Chapter 3 have direct theoretical connections to the work of French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs and his 1952 seminal posthumously published book, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (The Social Frameworks of Memory).I have used, for this present work, the later English translation *On Collective Memory* from 1992.

Secondary scholarship on the arts- music, literature and the plastic arts and in particular the abundant amount on the work of Antoni Tàpies – have helped frame my discussions on the work of the three artists. From the field of music, and music criticism of the period of Antonio José, I have found useful the work of Emilio Casares Rodicio who edited the *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*. I differ somewhat on the definition of a "regional" composer that Caceres applies to some from this period, but his work on Spanish music criticism is profound, the only such overview of the topic available. Yolanda Acker, like Emilio Caceres from the *Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales* did extensive research on the compositions of Antonio José. Her master's thesis, the 400-page The *Castilian Composer Antonio José Martínez Palacios (1902-1936): A Biographical Study with a Catalogue of Work* and its catalog of music samples brought me closer to understanding the complexity and depth of the artist's music vocabulary.

The field of scholarship and, especially for developing an understanding of the place of Jesús López Pacheco's writing, required the help of some of the work of Marxist theorists in particular Gryögy Lukács's *Realism in the Balance* (1938). Here it was good to understand the contextual difference between Lukács's advocacy of a literature that moves away from that of the avant-garde, and the purpose of Spanish Social Realism as defined by López Pacheco himself in articles and Juan Goytisolo in interviews. And, of course, as the beginning of this work suggests, I have found invaluable the insights of Walter Benjamin, both from collection of his work *Illuminations* (1968) and *Selected Writings, Vol. 2, part I, 1927-1930.* Benjamin's writing on the importance of children's literature and his observations of Western culture in the early twentieth century through its film, literature, and art are vital to any understanding of the movement through the century of artistic expression in different disciplines.

Conclusion

Throughout the years of the regime if there was one hallmark, it was the continued calculation made by Franco and his ministers that to prevent its decline, it would always be necessary to pervert any contradictory message, and artistic expression was no exception. But art does not follow the same course as other forms of expression, even in a controlled public sphere. Part of that phenomenon is due to the transcendent nature of artistic expression, which speaks truth to power without literality. The cases of artistic expression defying authoritarian manipulation in modern history are numerous, from the music of African-Americans under slavery and "Jim Crow" laws in the American South to the work of expressionist painters under Nazism or protest literature

in Soviet Russia. Antonio José, in the initial years of the regime's darkest repression, suffered the highest form of violation of human rights, the sacrifice of his life. Jesús López Pacheco suffered from the exhausting consequences of the regime's censorship project, consequences that drove him and his family into exile in the middle years of Francoism. Of the three, only Antoni Tàpies survived with his life and expression fully intact, and his exception is equally important in throwing a light on the regime's decline.

This work on Spanish artists living under the repression of the Francoist regime will add to the growing reservoir of historiography on those years in modern Spain. But more importantly it will help promote a better understanding of the depths of artistic expression, its drives, its motivations, and its power in overcoming the types of obstacles a dictatorship such as that of Francisco Franco presented. In the case of these Antonio José, Jesús López Pacheco, and Antoni Tápies, their artistic voices intersecting as they did with a dictatorial regime intent on bending culture to serve its own purposes, were tested in the extreme. It is the premise of this dissertation that not only did their art "pass" this test, in all cases it outlasted the constraining cultural impulses of the dictatorship.

Note on Translations

Unless otherwise noted, the translations from Spanish texts are my own. In the cases of both Antoni José and Jesús López Pacheco, their written works as of this dissertation, have never been translated into English. In the case of the memoir of Antoni Tàpies, as well as most of his essays and interviews, and they have be translated into French, English, German, Italian, Japanese, Castilian editions were the only versions in print up until the 1970s. Owed to the Franco dictatorship's restrictions, the artist's written

work does not begin to be printed in his native tongue Catalan until that decade and there are to this day fewer of those copies available worldwide. For my purposes, I used both the Spanish and English versions of his memoir depending on which was available to me at the time.

Chapter 2 - Music from the Shadows: The Life and Death of Antonio José

> *For all of this, music is also a religion. A religion pure and joyful without the limitations of dread or fear. Hence, it is also a religion of all classes of society, and that of the pure artists is the richest in welltempered souls and noble sentiments.*
>
> Antonio José, 1936[21]

Introduction

The pueblo of Estépar lies among the rolling hills and lowlying trees that dot the countryside outside the city of Burgos in the CastillaLeon region of Spain, northwest of Madrid. Somewhere buried under one of those hills, under one of those trees no one to this day knows precisely where lie the remains of Antonio José Martínez Palacios (19021936), one of Spain's most promising, prolific, and unique young composers of the early twentieth century. The Falange arrested him hiding in the basement of a friend a little more than two weeks after the military uprising against the Spanish Second Republic on July 1819th, 1936, the uprising that signaled the beginning of the Spanish Civil War (19361939). A little over two months after his arrest and incarceration in the early hours of the morning, October 9th, he was taken from his jail cell in the Prisión Central de Burgos and, along with twentythree other Republican prisoners, driven in a lorry into that countryside of Estépar, executed, and buried in an unmarked grave. The composer, known professionally simply as Antonio José, would have been thirtyfour years old that coming December. For the next four decades his music would disappear

[21] AMB, Antonio José, "La gratitude de Antonio José" *Diario de Burgos* (May, 19, 1936), 1. Por todo esto, la música es también una religion. Una religion limpia y gozo sin limitaciones de horror ni de amenaza. Por eso también de todas las clases de la sociedad, la de los artístas puros es la más rica en almas bien templadas y en sentimientos nobles." Part of a speech given by the composer at a dinner in honor to him on May 17th, 1936 in Burgos and was reprinted in *Diario de Burgos*, May 19th.

from Spain under the regime of Franco, the memory of its performances, and the author himself, seemingly washed away into the quiet darkness.

That his music did not disappear in the end is a credit to the distinctiveness of his creative voice and the persistent research on his life by a number of dedicated musicians, journalists, and historians.[22] But questions still remain regarding the reemergence of the story and the art of Antonio José in the face of the years of silence during the regime. Between the beginnings of the Francoist regime in the regions first pacified by the Nationalist army in 1936 up until the death of the dictator himself in 1975, there is no evidence of a single public performance of one of the many orchestral, choral, piano, or guitar works by the composer anywhere in Spainexcept one.[23] Why and how was that possible? And perhaps the most critical questions for this study is why include Antonio José today as a "dissident voice" against a regime that had been so thoroughly successful in silencing it during those forty years? What is a "dissident voice" under these circumstances? The answers are essential in understanding the meaning of this

[22] See Jesús Barriuso Guiterrez**,** Fernando García Romero, and Miguel Ángel Palacios Garoz, *Antonio José: músico de Castilla* (Madrid: Unión Musical Española, 1980) and later the revised the biography and catalogue of personal letters and critical writings by Miguel Ángel Palacios Garoz, *En tinta roja: cartas y otros escritos de Antonio José* (Burgos: Instituto Municipal de Cultura, 2002) (Garoz also collaborated on the 1980 book). In addition, Yolanda Acker of the *Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales* in Madrid, who wrote her master thesis on the composer, *The Castilian Composer Antonio José Martínez Palacios (1902-1936): A Biographical Study with a Catalogue of Work* (Melbourne: University of Melbourne, 1995), also authored the Oxford Dictionary of Music entrance on the composer. There is also the careful recreation of lost orchestration from the composer's opera, *El moso de las mulas* (1934) by composer and professor, Alejandro Yagüe, the adaptation for choir of the first movement of the composer's *Sinfonia castellana* (1925) by Garoz himself, the championing of Antonio José´s *Sonata para guitarra*, the first work played publically of the composer after the death of Franco, by a host of interpreters of that work, now a staple of the contemporary guitar repertoire, and a growing host of interpreters and performances of his choir and orchestral work, such the Orfeón Burgalés, the Coro de la Comunidad de Madrid, and the Orquestra de Castilla-Leon, who has recorded most of the composer's symphonic work.

[23] See Chapter 3, page 11-12 on the Second International Congress of Writers from 1937.

composer's life to us today and the expression of his art.

Over these two chapters I believe answers to these questions will be apparent. What we can at least say now is that from its beginning the Francoist regime demonstrated an intention to bury, not only the bodies of its enemies, but the work of those lives as well. The more recognition an artist had achieved nationally and internationally, the harder it would be to accomplish that goal, but even recognition did not prevent elements within the regime from blocking, censuring, or obstructing the dissemination of art deemed antithetical to the regime's cultural project. Poet and playwright Federico García Lorca, executed under circumstances similar to Antonio José and during the same period at the beginning of the Civil War, was a far more well established national and international artist. His work suffered from Francoist censorship in the first years of the dictatorship and even though editions of his work began reappearing in Spain in the mid1940s, his work was suppressed again in the 1950s in the more consolidated years of the regime's censorship.[24] This points to an important similarity, beyond their murders, between the life and works Lorca and Antonio José. Neither artist was considered subversive by the regime by reason of their artistic expression specifically. In the case of Lorca, it was his high profile, his homosexuality, and his support for the Republic that cast him as an enemy of the New State. In the case of Antonio José, it was a lethal mix of his support for the Republic with his notoriety in Burgos. But in the end in both cases, it was their art that would demand space in the future artistic culture of contemporary Spain.

[24] See Chapter Five for the intricacies of the censorship of Lorca's work.

Burying bodies is far easier than burying memories. The former is merely a matter of disposal; the latter involves a complex of circumstances and agendas on the part of the regime and the advocates of the artists. Although obstructing the performance of Antonio José's work by the regime was effective for years, it is the assertion here that this agenda failed. In the case of the "disappearance" of the music of Antonio José, it is the far off memory in the ears of those who lived, along with the memory of his life, which breaks through the regime's barriers and begins its resuscitation.

The music of Antonio José was never intended as a protest; it is true. Quite the opposite, the composer intended it as an affirmation of his Castilian roots and his joy at the wealth of musical themes his native region provided to him. His dedication to enhancing the musical experience of the people of his region was based squarely on progressive humanist principles that each person has value and an experience that should be heard. This humanist quality appears in his music, his writing, and in his teaching. It turns out, it also was a cause of the danger he faced at the beginning of the military rebellion against the Second Republic in 1936.

While gauging his place in contemporary Spanish classical music presents some problems that are a direct result of the lack of performance of his music in the Francoist era, thanks to his chief biographer, Miguel Ángel Palacios Garoz, and to work done by Yolanda Acker of the Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, there is ample biographical data on the composer. From their research and from my own there is great evidence of his technical musical skills and his critical perception, and his didactic experiences as a *maestro* of the Republic come into clear focus.

Antonio José was a prolific composer. His compositions sprang from one central motive: to develop and enhance his artistic perspective of the world around him. Generally unencumbered with a strict political ideology, though not unaware of politics or his society, his was a life concerned with the craft of music, developing his creative voice, and how to expand those elements in his artistic world. At the same time, he was a dedicated and respected teacher, both in his community and elsewhere in Spain *un maestro*with deeply held principals that reflected his own values associated with education in the Second Republic.

Antonio José died as a direct result of the Nationalist judgment that all aspects of the Republic's culture should and could be uprooted. His life and art, then, reemerged together as a voice against the regime precisely because they were part of that "quiet work" to which the epigraph of Antoni Tàpies refers in Chapter 1. Even with his art frozen in time by an implacable, political repression, his artistic voice also helps identify him with what Tápies referred to as "laying the groundwork for changes in society". That voice would resurface in the memory of colleagues and critics before the dictator's demise, and its sheer beauty would speak more loudly than ever after the dictatorship ended. How that came to be, after such a long period of isolation, is part of the story of the quiet power of artistic expression that these two chapters on his life and art will tell.

Growing Up as a Composer in Burgos

Burgos in 1902, the year Antonio José was born, was a socially conservative and economically challenged town of some 30,000 residents. It was and is the capital of the Province of Burgos in the CastillaLeon region. The tiny village of Estépar, where the

remains of Antonio José lie buried, is a little over 20 kilometers by car (roughly 13 miles) from the edge of the city. Though Burgos was not a major urban center economically, it has traditionally had cultural importance in Spain far beyond its size. The city´s history in legend was always closely associated with the *Reconquista* and the image of the city as the provisional capital of the Nationalists during the Civil War added gravitas to the Nationalist mantra of *La Cruzada*.[25] Burgos was the apocryphal start of the adventures of Spain's most famous medieval caballero, Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, known by the Saracen name *El Cid*. In real life, *El Cid* was far more a soldier of fortune than traditional Spanish legend tends to admit. He at times would take up arms against Muslim or Christian forces, depending on who was paying the highest wage. It was the traditional legend, however, that of a crusading warrior who confronted the infidel and drove him from the land in order to help restore Christ to Spain, which would enhance Francoist mythology. It is no mystery, then, why the fathers of Burgos, during the height of the Franco years, erected at one end of the Paseo de Espalón an equestrian statue of the eleventh century knight. What better way to suggest a transference of the great knight's ethos to the regime?

In the late nineteenth century, Burgos had little industry and only a small farming community outlying. The homeless working poor made up a sizable portion of the

[25] At the time of Antonio José's death it had roughly 40,000 and now has a population of 180,000. There are few overt signs left that Burgos was the transitional capital of Franco's New Spain, including street names. One cannot miss running into "El Cid", however. See Antonio Fernández Sancha, "Notas sobre el Burgos de Antonio José (1902-1936)" in *Burgos 1902-1936: Antonio José y su época* by Floriano Ballesteros Caballero, (Burgos, Spain: IMC, 2003), 8.

population, and one could find them camped out along the Rio Arlanzón and the roads entering town. Carmen Delgado Viñas writes that this economic stagnation and outright poverty was caused by two late nineteenth century factors. One was a lack of competiveness of the manufactured products in Burgos, because the quality of those products could not compete within the limited market available to them outside of the city. But another problem that twisted the ability of craftsmen to make a decent living was a matter of unfair competition from prisoners. Viñas explains:

> ...the competition to the craftsmen's shops should not be underestimated from the established factories in the jails that utilized hand labor much more abundantly and cheaply. If this competition of the prisoners in unequal conditions was denounced in almost all Spanish cities, in the case of Burgos, it was considered even more harmful with the non existent manufacturing in the city. [26]

By 1902 the city had a small portion of upper middle class who had acquired some of the implements of modern life such as running water, electricity, and telephones. There was at the same time a rough and tumble bar scene, with a thirst to support it, filled with a subculture of workers considered by the local papers the "errática" who "wandered between the tavern, the underworlds, and the street".[27]

This, then, was the Burgos where Rafael Martínez Calvo, the composer's father, worked as a *maestro confite*ro (master candy maker) for *Rojilla*, a Burgos confectionary in the Plaza de Mayor. Rafael was twentyseven years old at the time of the Antonio

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[26] Carmen Delgado Viñas*, Clase Obrera Burguesía y Conflicto Social: Burgos, 1883-1936* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, Secretariado de Publicaciones, 1993), 27. "...debe menospreciarse la competencia que a los talleres artesanales de la ciudad hacían las factorías establecidas en las cárceles que utilizaban una mano de obra mucho más abundante y barato. Si esta competencia del trabajo de los penados en condiciones desiguales fue denunciada en casi todas las ciudades españolas, en el caso de Burgos se considera aún más perjudicial al no existir en la ciudad industrias fabriles."

[27] Juan Carlos Péres Manríque, "El burgos inquieto de Antonio José (1902-1936)" in *ibid.*, 5.

José's birth. The composer's mother, Angela Palacios Berzosa, was from a farming family, who lived just outside of the city. In his early life, Antonio José's family lived in an apartment just above the candy store.[28]

The composer received a secular education nearby at the Escuela de San Lorenzo, a public school still with a Jesuit presence in the form of daily catechism, where children from families with less means attended. The school was under the administration of the city of Burgos. By the twentieth century, elementary schools like that of Antonio José had become a norm in Spain. The Catholic Church in the latter half of the nineteenth century began putting more emphasis on the secondary education of adolescents from wealthier families, who might be prospects for seminary school.[29] However, even under this "public" system, daily catechism was a requirement and the Catholic Church remained recognized as the primary cultural institution responsible for the moral upbringing of children. It was these priests who first noticed Antonio José's musical precocity and from them that he learned his basic music education; it would be they who propelled him into his musical life. Their influence on the young student would culminate in his early interest in choral music and would set the stage for his later interest in the folk melodies of Burgos.[30]

Demographically, Antonio José's family fell below the social and economic norm for most Spanish artists. European artists of note in the early twentieth century were often

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[28] Barriuso, *et al*., 22.
[29] Carolyn P. Boyd, *Historia Patria: Politics, History, and National Identity in Spain, 1875-1975* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 5-7.
[30] Garoz. 18-19.

from families of professionals or academics that made up the petty bourgeoisie a small portion of the total population of Spain in the early twentieth century, but a larger portion of the growing urban middle class. It was that group that served as the social fountain of twentieth century Spanish artistic expression. The father of Pablo Picasso (1881 1973) was a painter and professor of art in Málaga; Salvador Dalí (1904 1989) was the son of a lawyer and notary in Figueres; painter Óscar Domínguez (1906 – 1957) was the son a large landowner on Tenerife; film director Luis Buñuel (1900 – 1983) grew up in Zaragoza. His father owned a hardware store, but had made a fortune originally in Cuba before independence as a plantation owner. Antoni Tápies was born into a middle class family of status in Barcelona. His father was a lawyer and his grandfather had been an influential intellectual figure in the Catalan independence movement of the late nineteenth century. Writer Ramón Gómez de la Serna (1888 – 1963) originally followed his father's footsteps into law, while Federico García Lorca (1898 – 1936) was the son of a wealthy landowner near Granada. His mother was a school teacher. The list is long.

Among his great Spanish predecessors and contemporaries in classical music, Antonio José may have also been unique. Isaac Albéniz (18601909) was a child prodigy born to an upper middle class family that supported his career traveling around the world with him. Manuel de Falla (18761946) was from a wealthy family and learned solfège from his mother at the age of nine.[31] Joaquín Rodrígo (19011999) was the son of an upper middle class family, who supported his musical talent through paying for his

[31] Solfège, or colloquially the art of "do-re-mi," is the study of notes and their intervals and the precursor to sight singing, or vocalizing written intervals.

studies in some of Spain's best conservatories of the day. Of the most wellknown Spanish writers, painters, and composers from the time possibly Joan Miró (1893 1983), whose father was a watchmaker and goldsmith, and whose mother was the daughter of a carpenter, more closely matched the social background of Antonio José. It was Miró's father who encouraged his studies in art when realizing his son showed talent in elementary school. In Antonio José's case that encouragement came not from his family but from his elementary school teachers.

If anything, the fundamental characteristics of Antonio José's early life as an artist had to be this combination of a humble origin along with no signs of early family artistic support, or even a family proclivity toward artistic endeavors. This is important for two reasons: first, the composer engaged in a constant struggle throughout his life to finance time for composition. Although he received grants of study enabling him to spend time in Madrid and briefly in Paris, the money was never sufficient to give him the total freedom from having to work at the same time. His desire to live for an extended period abroad to study and write was denied him by this lack of resources, and in the end left him with few options but eventually to return to Burgos. When civil war broke out in 1936, like Lorca, at first he could not believe that his native town would be the most dangerous place for him to be. Upon realization of the danger he was in, however, Antonio José was economically trapped.

Secondly, and what would be crucial to his work later in life in Burgos as a choir master, there is every indication that his own background had instilled in him a great empathy for the conditions of working people such as his father. He saw a personal

responsibility, as we will note later on, for his family, and the constant balance between his insular needs of study and development as an artist on the hand and his concerns for contributing to bettering the conditions for his family on the other was hard for him to achieve. When he stopped to think in larger terms of social issues, these first years in Burgos became the roots of the social and political views he formed later on.

There is a need here as well to understand the degree of his talent, because musical talent is one of the more amorphous in all of art. Normally, even with the most gifted young musician, the family environment can play a significant role in musical development. It is now thought, in fact, that a "good ear" for music and possibly even the capability of "perfect pitch", when a child can actually discern an individual note purely by its sound, may not be quite as rare as previously thought. What is most important, at any rate, is the continual reinforcement of musical abilities at an early age. While this often occurs within a family where one or more of the parents is musically inclined and encourages musical activities, this setting is not an ironclad rule.[32] In the early life of Antonio José, although none of his immediate family was musically inclined, his catechism teacher, Father Julián García Blanco, recognized quickly the great talent of this seven years old boy. An accomplished organist and a friend of the family, García Blanco played the necessary role of the child's initial musical mentor.

At ten years old Antonio José began studying piano, organ, harmony, and

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[32] Joanne Haroutounian, *Kindling the Spark: Recognizing and Developing Musical Talent* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 225-251. Few musicians will deny the importance of early reinforcement of musical talent in their own careers. What Hoaroutounian points is that, though often family, what is most important is that such talent has to be nurtured early. Stuckenschmidt, paraphrased Malher as saying that "the only artistically fruitful impressions are those made between the age of four and eleven." See H. H. Stuckenschmidt, *Arnold Schoenberg*: *His Life*, *World*, and *Work* (London: Calder, 1977), 23.

counterpoint with José María Beobide Goiburu (18821967). Beobide was a composer already well known in Madrid and the organist of the *Iglesia de la Merced*, a Jesuit run church in Burgos on the other side of the Rio Alarzón from the Plaza Mayor. It would be Beobide who shepherded the young musician until Antonio José left school altogether at the age of fifteen to pursue music. The organist would remain a friend and influence for the rest of Antonio José's life.

The social connections of the composer to the bourgeois world of art in general, the engine of twentieth century artistic expression, were almost entirely selfgenerated. His talent was such that he impressed others rapidly, but the kind of social and artistic networks of a Picasso or de Falla took much longer to establish and required, at any rate, sufficient funding to maintain. Nevertheless, his background notwithstanding, Antonio José was a phenomenon in Burgos by his adolescence. His first compositions had already established him as a rising local talent. By fifteen when he had penned his first piano sonata he was already making his own living in Burgos as a musician, leading his own septet in the Salon Parisiana in the Plaza Mayor. [33]

By the time he was nineteen, through the help of Beobide, the Diputación Provincial of Burgos agreed to grant Antonio José the sum of 2000 pesetas a year toward study in Madrid for a period of three years. The grant was based on a letter written to the city on his behalf by six professors of composition from the Real Conservatorio de Múscia y Declamación in Madrid. They had personally examined works of the composer

[33] Gaorz, 21.

and "found reflected in them artistic qualities as outstanding as they are uncommon". [34]

Madrid and the His Intellectual Voice

The time Antonio José spent in Madrid provides the least amount of documentation on his life, but some things are clear. Living in the Spanish capital was expensive and 2,000 pesetas a year was not enough. In order to make ends meet the composer had to take whatever musical work he could obtain; he got a job as the principal musical arranger at the Teatro de La Latina, famous for its comedy reviews. [35] If he studied with a teacher, there is no record of it and, in fact, although he was recommended by the highly reputable professors of the Real Conservatorio, it does not appear that he matriculated. That would have required a much bigger grant than he had been afforded. It appears, instead, that the city itself was to be his professor and he utilized it to the maximum.

In Madrid the young composer turned critic and began to write reviews on concert performances for the *Diario de Burgos* on works by Rachmaninoff, Mussorgsky, Ravel, and Wagner. He also wrote essays for the newspaper on the art of conducting, sacred music literature, the place of the artist in society, and even the role of the Orfeón Burgalés.[36] This time in Madrid for the young composer was invaluable. Both his exposure to performance and compositions helped enhance an already growing

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[34] Barriuso *et al*., 23 and Garoz, 21.
[35] Garoz, 22-23. The theater early in the twentieth century was mainly for theater and comedy, but was, by the time of the Civil War, a place where film was shown.
[36] AMB, AJ-Conferencias 1,2, 4. The *Diario de Burgos*, founded in 1890, was the most widely read newspaper in the Province of Burgos and most of the Castilla-Leon region. It had been, prior to the military uprising of July 18th, 1936, a journalistic home for the composer where he frequently published critical essays and observations on music and culture.

understanding of his musical voice.

With its plethora of opportunities for hearing music from all over Europe, Madrid enabled Antonio José to hone his critical skills as a writer on music and culture. One analysis of a performance at a concert held by the *Sociedad de la Filarmónica* in particular deserves attention. The review describes a performance by the Vienna Trio that included one of Sergei Rachmaninoff's more sentimental works, the piano trio *Trio Elégiaque*, No.2 in D minor, Op.9, a homage to Tchaikovsky. Antonio José, at this point in his musical career well versed in the history and execution of the canon of European music, was left completely unmoved by the composition. His analysis was informed and revealing.

> In the first movement, I saw a great abundance of motifs, some of them accompanied by a rhythmic pattern that the piano repeated innumerable times. These rhythmic patterns repeated so often and those phrases begun by the violoncello and ended by the violin, always vice versa based on the same format, began to fatigue me; like solders, pardon the term, which clog the various themes. All of this together, made the first time through (already extraordinarily extensive) interminable.

The composer then asks a rhetorical question of his readers: "Now I ask you: have you felt any time that it takes agonizing impatience to listen to the extensive works of a Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schumann…?"[37]

This is not the criticism of a young conservative classical artist pining for a return

[37] AMB, confernecia 3, "En el primer movimiento, ví un gran abundancia de motivos, algunos de ellos acompañado por un diseño rítmico que el piano llevaba repetido innumerables veces. Estos diseños rítmicos tantas veces repetidas y aquellas frases empezadas por el violoncelo y terminadas por el violín, viceversa siempre a base del mismo procedimiento insistente, llegaron a fatigarme; al igual que aquellas soldaduras, valga la palabra, tan visibles, que embozaban los temas diversos. Todo esto junto, hizo al primer tiempo (ya de por si extraordinariamente extenso) interminable….Ahora pregunto yo. ¿habéis sentido alguna vez que es torturante impaciencia escuchando las extensas obras de Bach, Hayden, Mozart, Beethoven, Schumann,...?"

to an eighteenth or nineteenth century style he believed missing in newer works; Rachmaninoff´s own neoRomantic tendencies could hardly be termed avantgarde, especially by that time in twentieth century music. This was rather the mature observation of a composer who already had his voice and his direction and was criticizing a contemporary artist. The respect of Antonio José for Bach *et al.* was the respect for a clear, concise voice that would be a hallmark of his own work, something he felt lacking in this piece by the Russian composer.

It is important to remember that much of the study that created the formulation of his aesthetic in music and his analytical approach was discovered through private lessons and his own autodidactic process. We will see this same type of process evident in the thinking, the art, and writing of Antoni Tàpies as well. Like Tàpies, Antonio José gave over a good deal of time exploring the criteria upon which he would build his art, without attending formal instruction in a conservatory. For Tápies, this was a preference, a choice he made based on a great skepticism, as we shall see, of academictinged aesthetics. For Antonio José, this was not a choice, but a necessity born out of the paucity of his financial resources. In the end, both artists used this approach to their best advantage. Much of the copious knowledge and analytic abilities of Antonio José came about through the composer's own explorations and exposures in Madrid, but his knowledge is also reflective of something else in his writinga constant inquiry into the elements that would make up his compositional voice.

There is also no doubt about the importance of this period to the building of his reputation as an artist. In 1923, the composer signed his first publishing contract with

Unión Musical de España (UME), one of Spain's largest publishing houses for classical compositions. The contract was for three of his works: *Poema de la juventud*, *Tres danzas bugalesas* and *Danza burgalesa*, the last a movement of his "Sonata *castellana*" (1921) for piano, which he would orchestrate for his *Sinfonía castellana* (1928). On the contract he lists himself as a resident of Madrid and signs his name Antonio José Martínez.

The terms of his publishing contract with UME were not unusual for a young composer and, in fact, still exist in the music world today. Antonio José agreed on what is commonly known today as a "buyout". He sold his music outright for a price, in this case three hundred pesetasone hundred for each of the compositionsand he gave up the rights in perpetuity to any reproduction of these pieces in any manner. This included:

> Auto pianos (more advance player pianos), player pianos, handle bar organs (to be carried on the handle bars of bicycles), music boxes, orquestrions (automatic onemanbands), phonographs, pathéfonos (phonographs built into a cabinet with a horn to amplify the sound), talking machines, and all similar or other known types or that could be invented, corresponding to any rights or uses derived from this concept.[38]

The very specific legal wording of this clause would, even today in the digital world, cover all forms of duplication of an artist's work.

It seems clear from his acceptance of these terms that Antonio José saw this publishing contract as an opportunity to broaden his audience, but it was also an indication of the pressure on the composer to generate income while in Madrid. It should

[38] UME, The contract between Antonio José and UME was viewed on September 23, 2011. It is from the business archives of the Unión Musical de Editiones, formally the Unión Musical de España, an affiliate of The Music Sales Group, UK, C/ Marqués de la Ensenada, 4, 3º.

be noted, however, that any future contract that Antonio José signed with UME, including those of 1926 for his *Sonata gallego* for piano, 1931 for *Cuatro canciones populares burgalesas*, and 1935 for *El molinero* would not include this stipulation. His name had become sufficiently important to the publisher that the publisher agreed to only take a portion of each manuscript sold, leaving the rest to the artist. In fact, it was with these subsequent publishing contracts that the composer decided to leave off his appellation and sign simply "Antonio José". This would be the personal and professional name he would be known by for the rest of his life with one exception. On the documents that listed the names of the prisoners arrested and incarcerated and waiting to know their fates after the military uprising against the Republic in the summer of 1936, the officers wrote in the name of one "Antonio José Martínez".[39]

On his return from Madrid to Burgos in 1924 the Ateneo de Burgos asked Antonio José to speak in the Teatro Principal, the 25th of August.[40] We will look at this discourse closely because of what it reveals about the composer's growing artistic voice and his intellectual engagement with it that was nurtured in the Spanish capital. The composer prepared and delivered a discourse entitled, "La música moderna". This work formed one literary bookend to his theoretical writings on music in his essays and letters. The other would be his musicological presentation in Barcelona a few months before his

[39] In a conversation with this author in Burgos, September of 2010, Miguel Ángel Palacios Garoz noted the difficulty in finding records of the composer's incarceration in the prison due to the fact that officers in charge had no used "Antonio José" in its official documents, but rather Antonio José Martínez.

[40] In Spain an ateneo is probably best described as a social organization with intellectual and cultural pursuits. It often met in municipal centers or libraries in many Spanish cities and were very prevalent all through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Speakers could be authors, writers, musicians, or even politicians depending on the interest of the members.

death in 1936.

The Ateneo talk is a remarkable example of the depth and breadth of the young composer's knowledge. His audience, made up of the thin, upper crust of Burgos intellectuals and academics, were mostly nonmusicians. But this presentation was far more than a history lesson; it was a concise and thoughtful aesthetic agenda of an artist who had already thought through his artistic purpose in life. [41]

The talk begins with the composer stating his gratitude to the gathering at being asked to speak. He notes that the Ateneo had had many before him, who "have expressed their thinking in a natural manner, perfect and unembarrassed, uniting enviable oratory gifts to the richness of their knowledge; I, on the other hand, have to write down in any way I can my small observations and read them haltingly perhaps." [42]

He forewarns his audience that he would use technical terms and examples and that they should excuse him for vulcanizing some. He tries gently to explain that his understanding of this musical vocabulary and their own was going to have to be bridged by simplifying things a bit. In his presentation, written down on ninetytwo pages of clear, five by eight sheets, he dips back into music history for his listeners in a farranging discussion covering four hundred years of music composition history up to, and including, early twentieth century movements. He spends time explaining the theories of Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja (14401522), music composer and theoretician from the

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[41] ABM, AJ-Conferencia-7. The original document held at the Archivo Municipal de Burgos is missing some pages, but there is more than enough material in this one hand-written discourse to demonstrate the composer's intellectual depth, not to mention his maturity and genuine humility.

[42] ABM, AJ-Conferencia-7, 3. "…han expuesto su pensamiento de una manera natural, perfecta y desembarazada, uniendo a la riqueza de sus conocimientos dotes oratorias envidiables; yo en cambio tengo que escribir de cualquier modo mis pequeñas observaciones y leerlas a tropezones tal vez..."

Universidad de Salamanca. It was Ramos de Pareja, who arrived at the Theory of Equal Temperamentthe fundamental of equal tonalities of twelve keys in Western music, put into play most notably by Bach in his monumental Well Tempered Clavier. [43]

Again, the sureness of his grasp of this material is immediately obvious and also fascinating. The requirements for such a presentation, in both sophistication of thought and its expression, would be a challenge for anyone. When one remembers that this twentytwo year old composer had only been formally educated to the age of fifteen, one begins to understand the special nature of his intellectual capacity.

He goes on in his talk to detail the movement from "música absoluta" of Bach and Mozart (music for music's sake or "pure music") to the "música programatica" of Wagner or Grieg (the late Romantic ideal of music as a part of an organic whole of artistic expression). [44] He also brings out musical examples of the altering of scales for musical effect and expertly sketches out for his audience an example from Beethoven's 7th symphony.[45] He mentions the early twentieth century movement toward "nationalism" in music, which underlines his own developing interests at the time in the utilization of the folk melodies of the province.

What is particularly interesting at this point in this discourse is his discussion of the modal nature of earlier Church music, a la Palestrina. He makes the assertion that

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[43] AMB, conferenica-7, 46. Antonio José explains technically how "the fifths are sacrificed to the octaves and made "impure", and the same happens to the fourths and the sixths and thirds, not as much, however, as in the Pythagorean scale. ¨"…las quintas se sacrifican a las octavas y conviértanse en impuras lo mismo que las cuartas y lo mismo sucede con las sextas y terceras, no tanto, sin embargo, como en la gama pitagórica."
[44] *Ibid.,* 29.
[45] *Ibid.,* 42.

many of the songs of the troubadours, which secularized Church melodies, were beginning to now return in the form of contemporary modal based music. One could also point out that the music of Bartók, Stravinsky, Satie, Hindemith, and the canon of American jazz also follow along the path of the argument of the young composer, an analysis that has only become standard in music academia over the last generation.

At one point in this talk, Antonio José mentions the work of Manuel de Falla as a source of this very trend. De Falla, the most internationally known Spanish composer of the day utilized what was commonly called "canción española" (Spanish song), but here Antonio José corrects the use of this term. He explains that it was certainly true that de Falla had extracted elements of the folkloric tradition of his native region of Andalusia with formidable technique in both the harmony and orchestration. De Falla then employed that material as the underpinning of his work. The young composer emphasizes to his audience, however, that this Andalusian gypsy melodic resource being utilized by many contemporary Spanish composers, was not, in fact, "canción española" any more than the music of other regions. Here Antonio José is clearly thinking in particular of his own CastillaLeon. This will be a salient point in his 1936 discourse in Barcelona on folkloric tradition of music from his province. [46]

The discussion turned, then, to some of the more recent developments by the early twentieth century including Busconi's idea of splitting the octave into eighteen notes, instead of the chromatic twelve, and the influence of South Asian music in the West, both which Antonio José saw as promising avenues to develop for Western composers. He, in

[46] *Ibid.,* 42.

fact, suggests here an idea already being understood by Western musicologists that the influence of Indian instruments and their sound are a direct tie to "cante jonde" (more often spelled canta honda) or "deep singing" of flamenco, the type of vocalization influenced by gypsies whose origins historically are from the Asian subcontinent.[47]

Finally the composer discusses with his audience the twentieth century movement toward the suspension of tonality, the socalled "freeing of dissonance", the serial, non tonal system of composition created by Arnold Schoenberg and the Second Viennese School. Although he finds this development intriguing, his main objection is that the system left open the possibility of a sort of "*charlatanismo*" on the part of adherents who have little musical talent.

In the space of these pages Antonio José had brought his listeners through the invention of the tonal system of equal temperament in the West up to Schoenberg. It was a bravura performance. In one respect, Antonio José presents here a conservative voice, or better said, a voice of conservation as was true of other nationalist composer of the early twentieth century. He privileges the simple language of the folk tradition of common people, an emphasis completely consistent with his later stewardship of the Orfeón Burgalés. Here was a composer who saw in the simplicity and the heritage of the common person an untapped resource and at the same time a cultural sophistication that was often passed over by academic institutions. The same type of emphasis and regard for folk influences was common for Béla Bartók, de Falla, and Dvořák. For these composers, as for Antonio José, this was not only the attraction of the simple folk

[47] *Ibid.,* 53.

melody, but the amplification of it in conjunction with contemporary harmony and forms.

Definitely not a part of the avantgarde, Antonio José was still keenly conscious of those movements and analyzed them with respect. His music was tonal and it employed concepts in contemporary harmony that displayed a wide palette of sources from the reservoir of Burgos folk tunes to late tonal Schoenberg to French impressionism.[48] His own specific voice, however, was to be found somewhere elsethe backyard of his provinceand in that regard he was very much a part of one of the main contemporary trends in European composition. He, at the same time, did not side with those who voiced only disdain for modern music's challenge to tonality. "Many people," he wrote, "lament the loss of those melodies without having taken into account the gigantic step toward pure expression that has been made thanks to present harmonic innovations." [49] In the end, his talk to the Ateneo was a clear indication of his intelligence and eloquence. It also represented a clear understanding of his own direction in music of where it will fall in the history of Western music.

Málaga and Paris and the Maturing of his Work

In 1925, his former teacher and friend Jesús Beobide recommended the composer for a position in Málaga as a choir leader and instructor at the Colegio de San Estanislao. His period in Malaga from 19251929 became one of his most fruitful as a composer. It was also in those years that the composer had the opportunity for two summers to spend

[48] In examination of his scores, both of the *Suite ingenua* and his Sinfonía castellana, his use of sixth and seventh chord modal harmony, whole tone passages, and compound chords are evident throughout as the setting for normally modal melodic themes.

[49] AMB, *Ibid.*, 80. "…mucha gente se lamenta de la perdida de aquellas melodías sin tener en cuenta el gigantesco paso hacia la expresión pura que se ha dado merced a las conquistas armónicas actuales."

time in Paris. He roomed with his old childhood friend, painter Maese Saturnino Calvo, who had an apartment in the city. Similar to his time in Madrid, though greatly condensed again due to his resources and his need to return to his job as choir master, his time in Paris was spent hearing as much music as he could and reporting it back to the *Diario* in Burgos. In París he also caught the attention of one of the most important music publishers in Europe, Max Eschig who took on some of the young composer's compositions. [50]

Another example of Antonio José's analysis as a composer and writer appeared in a review he wrote for the Diario upon hearing a performance in 1926 of *Boris Godunov*, Mussorgsky's operatic masterpiece. He observes a certain "unevenness" in the work, but his admiration for the composer's technique and conception are clear. And he finds that the "desigualidad" (unevenness) of the writing actually "gives the work more human flavor without forced, bland luster outside of the all the expressive intensity, without natural fluidity." To this he adds:

> Reality, life as we see it, is not continuously of great contrasts; more often it appears with soft refinements within tones of grey. Our yearning intensity is uniquely what lights it with the sparkling color of tinsel, those blurred greys.[51]

What is impressive here is that young composer understands the problem of Mussorgsky's expression and he describes the Russian composer's solution so eloquently

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[50] See page 26 and the article by José Subirá for *Musicografía.*

[51] Antonio José Diario de Burgos, August 18, 1926, 1. "…da a la obra más sabor humano, sin blandos pulimentos forzados, fuera de toda intensidad expresiva, sin la natural fluidez…La realidad, la vida como nosotros la vemos, no tiene de continuo grandes contrastes; más bien aparece con suaves matices dentro del tono gris. Nuestra vehemencia anhelosa es únicamente la que ilumina con colores de oropel esos grises borrosos."

in terms of light and color. And again this is a 24 year old speaking with the voice of a much older observer. His language is natural and his concept sophisticated.

Both the Madrid and Paris experiences seem to boil over in his musical mind and it was in Málaga where he put those influences in play as a composer. During this span of four years, Antonio José wrote his threemovement orchestral suite, *Suite ingenua*, first performed in 1929 in Madrid, *Evocaciones*, an orchestral tone poem that he transcribed for piano, the orchestration of *Sinfonía castellana*, written originally as a piano sonata in 1923, and his second piano sonata, *Sonata gallega*. These are the works of a fully mature composer putting to use all of his own investigations into orchestration and technique and again much of this development strictly selfgenerated. It was in Málaga in 1928 as well that he came up with the initial sketches of his opera *El mozo de las mulas*. Based on Chapter FortyThree of Cervantes' *Don Quixote* with a libretto by Fernández Núñez the poet Lope Mateo, *El mozo* would occupy him over the next five years. All of this output was accomplished while he at the same time was upholding the requirements of his job at the Colegio.

Examining one work in particular from this period could tell us something of his growth compositionally and also give us a clue to his direction artistically. The second movement of his *Suite ingenua* from 1928 presents the listener with a key. The writing was compositionally centered on the composer's own facile technique at the piano, and was first recorded by the Orquestra de CastillaLeón in 2005. The second movement, *Balada* is harmonically rich and contemporary in the manner of tonal impressionistic music of Debussy, with string orchestration clearly influenced by Maurice Ravel, "with

its broad, brooding melody rolling like a river over broken piano chords that add color and motion." [52] Yet, it also includes as its modal theme one of the many simple Castilian melodies to which he was familiar. The way in which this theme is set off, transferred between the colors of strings and piano speaks of a musical complexity that is still subtle enough to let the simple melody come through. The altering of the modal theme's harmonic backdrop gives variation to its presentation and could not be achieved without a deep understanding of contemporary twentieth century harmony. The piece seems to have been performed only once while the composer was alive on May 29, 1931 in a concert in Madrid, announced in *El Sol*. The performance was part of a presentation by the Orquestra Clásica de Madrid in the Teatro de la Comedia, of several works including Vivaldi's *Rimas infantiles*.

As an essay writer he also grew in style during his time in Málaga and one of the most introspective is a piece he wrote for the *Diario de Burgos* published in the newspaper in October 4th, 1925. It seems that one day the composer had wandered into *El parque malagueño* (Málaga Park) and suddenly was caught by the sound of a guitar player. He stopped to listen.

> He was an old man, seated alone on a secluded bench, playing, as far as I could tell, for the intimate pleasure of hearing himself. It is without a doubt the best way of purely externalizing our inner selves. The old man was feeling, and immediately he tapped his feeling on the vibrating strings of the guitar in order to enjoy the same emotion reflected through the spiritual mirror of the instrument; so in the same moment our old man was author, player, and listener: three aspects of a single will….Very clearly Ortega y Gasset says in one of his most interesting

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[52] Roger Hecht, "JOSE: Sinfonía Castellana; Evocaciones; Suite ingenua; Mozo de Mulas; Marcha Soldada," *American Record Guide* (Jan, Feb 2006) 69: 1: 136.

> essays that "the external man is the actor, who the represents the internal man". The external man can, on occasion when speaking to others, be apocryphal, forgive the word; but when one speaks to his own internal man, how is he going to lie to himself? [53]

Not only does this essay catch the introspection of the young composer, as he reflects on the subtleties of musical expression, its unvarnished quality illustrates a totally mature understanding of the creative process and its relation to artistic integrity. But it is also a plaintive piece of writing. For in the end, Antonio José remarks that he sees the old man's playing resonating with "El desperado e impotente esfuerzo del cautivo rebelled" (The desperate and impotent effort of the captured rebel), a holdover perhaps from some ancestral Muslim fatalism in Andalusia. [54] Again these are not the sentiments of a naïve, but of a contemplative man, old before his time.

While he had been aided by friends and even his native city in expanding his musical horizons, and even with his productivity in Málaga, there was continual financial pressures on the composer. This type of circumstance, not unknown for other artists can mean that their compositional work comes in periodic spurts wherever the moment arises. And maybe it was removing himself from Burgos where he was so well known and

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[53] Garoz, 289. "Era un viejo típico que, sentado él solo en un banco retirado, tocaba, a lo que vi, por el íntimo place de oírse. Es éste, sin duda alguna, el mejor modo de exteriorizar acendradamente nuestro interior. El viejo sentía, e inmediatamente pulsaba su sentir en las cuerdas vibrantes de la guitarra, para gozar de su misma emoción, reflejada por el espejo espiritual del instrumento; de manera que a un tiempo mismo era nuestro viejo autor, actor y oyente: tres distintos aspectos de una voluntad sola…Muy claramente dice Ortega y Gasset en uno de sus interesantímos ensayos que 'el hombre externo es el actor que representa al hombre interno." El hombre externo puede, en ocasiones, cuando habla a los demás hombres, ser apócrifo, valga la palabra; pero cuando se expansiona con su hombre interno, ¿cómo va a mentir engañándose a sí mismo?" It should be noted hear that Antonio José's quoting of Ortega y Gasset and his referencing of Miguel Unamuno earlier shows examples of the breath of the young composer's reading. The composer's take on Ortega y Gasset will stand in relief from that of Antoni Tàpies, who believed the philosopher's understanding of modern art was misguided.

[54] *Ibid.,* 290

taking the position as maestro of the chorus in Málaga that gave him a distance and even an isolation that fostered this output. Even with all of this creative activity, the composer´s concern over how to finance his life, maintain his art, and his familial responsibilities became a constant weight on his. Now in his late twenties, during some of these most productive years of composing he confided to a friend:

> I don't know if I'll change my mind, but I suspect that with considerably less certainty and work than I employ in my art, I could life in luxury in another profession. Notwithstanding I could not consider such a state of things for myself; but many times I think: should I live only for myself? Don't I have a true obligation of helping my family? And while I am not satisfying this filial responsibility, what good is this talent, if that is what it is? This situation obsesses me and is to blame for my pessimistic hesitations, and without a doubt it will be the cause of someday making a contrary decision: much easier and, of course, of considerably more utility. [55]

This was written in November of 1928. Antonio José received word within months in Malaga that he was being offered the position of Director of the Orfeón Burgalés in 1929. Originally formed in 1893, the choir's first honorary director was Federico Olmeda, organist at the Burgos Cathedral. It was Olmeda's initial work at the end of the nineteenth century on the folkloric tradition of Burgos melodies that so influenced Antonio José and would be the foundation for his own musicology research. And although Antonio José was not the first choice (José Beobide had turn the position down in his favor), it was the young composer who was possibly best suited in the

[55] *Ibid.,* 117. "No sé si me equivocaré; pero sospecho que con bastante menos constancia y trabajo del que empleo en mi arte pudiera vivir hasta con lujo en otra profesión. Sin embargo no me pesaría a mí tal estado de cosas; pero muchas veces pienso: ¿debo vivir para mí solamente? ¿No tengo verdadera obligación de ayudar mi familia? Y mientras no satisfaga esta deuda filial, ¿de qué sirve el talento, si es que lo tengo? Esta situación me obsesiona, y es la culpable de mis titubeos pesimistas, y sin duda será la causa de que algún día tome una decisión contraria; más fácil, desde luego, y de más copiosa utilidad."

Republican era to do the resurrection. With his ear to the ground of contemporary music and his exhaustive knowledge of modern and premodern forms, he was precisely what was needed to shepherd the Orfeón into the 1930s. Antonio José accepted immediately and returned the following May to Burgos. To many from that point on Antonio José became synonymous with the Orfeón Burgalés.

The Republican Maestro in Burgos: The Artist as Citizen

On April 14th, 1932, the first anniversary of the founding of the Second Republic, there were celebrations in all parts of Spain. In Burgos the holiday included the closing of shops and schools and festive public gatherings with speeches by town officials. Antonio José and his *Orfeón Burgalés* presented a program starting that day at noon and "The concert was much acclaimed at the end of all the works performed"[56] While such occasions would certainly reinforce his association in the public's mind with the Republic, the occasion carried a deeper importance for him than the mere public performance of a few works.

Early on in his tenure as choir master of the Orfeón Burgalés he had given thought to his own political leanings. His craft as a musician and composer had required long hours of insular development, hours of practice and hours of writing. But his teaching responsibilities had also brought him out in the open, so to speak, and his engagement with society, especially the years just prior to the Republic, forced him to

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[56] "El Aniversario de La República en Provincias," *El Sol* (Madrid) (April 15, 1932), 4. "Fue aplaudidisimo, al final en todas las obras ejecutadas." This appeared in the Madrid daily the day after the celebrations in an article that recapped the events occurring all around Spain.
The word *orfeón* in Spain generally refers to a choir that is essentially lay, not church run.

examine his own beliefs. In the beginning of this process, he felt like a complete neophyte, and yet it was also clear that he had given the subject serious thought.

In 1929, at the tailend of the dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera in Spain, but at the same time growing authoritarianism in other parts of Europe, Antonio José wrote down his thoughts on topics of his concern in a long, unpublished essay. It includes his thoughts on ethics, culture, love, and work. The essay ended with a broad, idealistic, at times seemingly naïve, and yet in the end realistic appraisal of the political situation of his time. It was the time of a Europe caught between the persistent effects of its last war, and the growing awareness of its next and a Spain headed toward a fragile democracy. In this essay is the impulse of a compassionate, hopeful humanist. The section of his essay on politicsincluded herewould lay at the core of his affection for the republic that soon would appear on Spain's horizon.

He was only twentysix years old when he wrote this essay and had just moved back home to Burgos to assume his new position as director of the Orfeón. "I confess sincerely that about politics I do not understand a word," he admitted at the outset.

> I am confused between so many projects, systems and parties: and, by the force of the disappointments of palpable, lived reality, I've come to distrust everything that smells of politics. Nevertheless, one can't be indifferent overall to the young, to the organization of the State and the government of the people. I would want another system; but I can't be precise about its organization. Of course, I don't want kings, nor dictators, nor any of these exceedingly expensive and useless figureheads. A council of intelligent men, rectors and good administrators of the country; without arrogance and without the stubborn endeavors of unjustified selflove; tenacious attendants of the culture and the wellfare of the people; a council that totally suppresses the army and navy; that fosters agriculture; that establishes numerous and complete centers of learning where all of the world might study, and in so doing, banish that cruel and pernicious distinction between the

> education of the poor and the education of the rich; that would protect industry, commerce, and the arts; that might avoid our burdensome paperwork, breaking this absurd cycle of so many employees dependent on the State, busily occupied in collecting taxes, and the same taxes levied precisely to pay those employees…; a council without forced gestures of exhibitionism; of broad and tolerant standards; with a view fixed not on its personal gain but rather in the prosperity and happiness of the people that handed it their trust; a council, therefore, liberal and democratic, without further handling or complications, I say, would be simple and beneficial for the nation.
> I am interested in social issues and I want vehemently to work with the best of the human community.
> Socialism well understood and well directed is a perfect thing.
> The present movement toward a perpetual peace among nations, although hesitant and slow and untrustworthy, is truly comforting. Each time, a war as horrible as the last European war is less probable.
> Certainly, if all of the heads of state wanted it, wars would not be possible at all; but they don't want it. Why?
> How much is there of a balance of pride and determination and prejudice! What a bad advisor is past history in order to live in the present![57]

While his remedy for social and political ills seem shrouded in OrteganPlatonic solutions of philosopher kings, in reality he subordinates it all to the will of the people. His understanding of socialism could easily, though there is no mention of this in his writings, have been influenced by his older brother Julio, who was a member of the Socialist Worker Party, the secretary of the Burgos Ateneo, and a rural school teacher.[58] Antonio José seems to be indicating here, however, that in order for socialism to work it

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[57] Garoz, 326-327. A full Spanish transcription follows this chapter. Never before has any written work of the composer been translated into English and the breadth and depth of his writing certainly warrants it. The transcriber himself, Professor Miguel Ángel Palacios Garoz, generally does not analyze these letters and papers of the composer in order to let him speak for himself. The analysis here, as in the case of all of the composer's writing presented in this work, is my own. Miguel Ángel's research and writing on Antonio José, as well his transcriptions, reflect a lifetime of work for the Spanish professor, himself an accomplished composer and arranger. I am totally indebted to him.

[58] Luis Castro Berrojo, *Capital de la Cruzada: Burgos durante la Guerra Civil* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2006), 39.

would have be in a completely perfected state. His skepticism of politics is apparent to the end of the essay, but it is also his humanism and his holistic view of human endeavor that will enable him to find represented in the Republic some of his most cherished values.

At any rate, Antonio José began putting into action many of the values that he promoted in this writing. Between 1929 and 1932 he spent his time scouring the hills and villages around Burgos in search of musical inspiration within the canon of Burgalese folk songs. He had studied assiduously the 1903 work of Federico Olmeda, the gargantuan *FolkLore de Castilla o Cancionero popular de Burgos* (Castilian Folklore or the Popular Song of Burgos). That Burgos musicologist had personally transcribed some six hundred folk melodies from the region, but Antonio José was convinced that in the hills of the province still lay an ongoing treasure trove of sources for composition.[59] The composer's own work in cataloging over two hundred additional melodic examples, copied with painstaking care in small notebooks earned him the *Premio Nacional de Música* of 1932. In the process of that work, moreover, as he talked to villagers and observed folk dancing in order to get a feel for the material, Antonio José became convinced that here was not only a major wellspring of an underappreciated Castilian heritage, but a fountain of talent, as well.[60]

By the first years of his directorship of the Orfeón Burgalés, the mission of

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[59] See Federico Olmeda, *Folk-Lore de Castilla o Cancionero popular de Burgos* (Sevilla: Librería editorial de María Auxiliadora, 1903.
[60] Miguel Ángel Palacios Garoz, *En tinta roja: cartas y otros escritos de Antonio José* (Burgos: Instituto Municipal de Cultura, 2002, 55.

Antonio José and the choir members together was to become innovators. They wanted to turn the Orfeón into "a civilizing instrument" that would reflect the contemporary progressive values of the Republic.[61] The composer himself was determined to be the choir master of a *true* community choir, one that was representative of a broad socioeconomic, cross section of Burgalese society, where the poor, the middle class, and the rich could be involved.

This general view of social remedies and his general view of the Republic in the end were not shared, however, by all citizens of Burgos. Here class comes into focus. Burgos had a strong conservative, religious upper class, magnified by the Catholic Church and the grand presence of its enormous medieval cathedral. In addition, Burgos at this time was the home of Dr. José María Albiñana, the farright, nationalist physician whose group of "legionaries" were steadfastly antiRepublican. Neither the Republic's stand on the secularization of education nor its ideas of land reform, nor even its egalitarian notions of "the pueblo" went over well with this element in the Burgos community. "It is evident," writes Garoz, "that those progressive ideas and that open talent…were not well received nor understood among the more reactionary and religiously conservative sectors of Burgalés society." [62] In fact, as the Republic was winning a majority of seats in Spain over all in the February, 1936, in Burgos four out of seven seats in the Cortes went for the right.[63] It will be this rightwing element that will

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[61] Domingo Ortega Gutiérrez, *El Orfeón Burgalés cien años de historia, 1893-1993* (Burgos: España Talleres Gráficos Diario de Burgos, 1993), 135.
[62] Garoz, 75. "Es evidente aquellas ideas progresistas y aquel talante abierto de Antonio José no eran bien vistos ni comprendidos entre los sectores más reaccionarios y estrechos de espíritu de la sociedad burgalesa."
[63] *Ibid.*, 19.

help to fuel the large rise locally in the ranks of the Falange at the time of the insurrection in July.

Whether or not there was opposition to his personal social views, Antonio José was in perfect sync with a republican emphasis on the use of the arts to help instill humanist education across the broadest spectrum of Spanish society.[64] Historian Sandie Holguín sees this attempt as part of a holistic approach on the Republic's part.

> Many members of the Cortes raised on the catechisms from the Institución Libre de Enseñanza believed that once the spirit was nourished, economic success would follow. Their task lay in creating a citizenry that identified itself as Spanish, and to achieve that goal they tried to shape a national identity that was held together by the glue of culture. [65]

The best known of these efforts to apply "cultural glue" to the formation of this identity was that of poet and playwright Federico García Lorca. The poet's project set out to bring both classical Spanish theater, such as that of Lope and Cervantes, to the countryside and people who might be witnessing live theater for the first time. At the same time, like Antonio José, the poet included his own contemporary works in the troupe's repertoire. Dubbed *La Barraca* (The Barrack), there was a sort of military zeal attached to the project that even included uniforms, monos azules (blue overalls) that helped visually present the theater troupe of students and actors as being "of the people." Most importantly, as British writer and critic Nigel Dennis pointed out, the troupe "was not the product of any specific political party program but rather reflected the spirit of

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[64] "Burgos", *El Sol*, April 15, 1932, 4. Also see

[65] Sandie Holguín, *Creating Spaniards: Culture and National Identity in Republican Spain* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), 47-48.

Republicanism in general." [66]

In this period of the 1920s and 1930s in European history the use of culture was also a tool of the first Fascist regimes, although with a different emphasis. Both Italy and Germany were inundated with youth groups, large mass gatherings utilizing quasi religious symbology, and the mass media of radio and film promoting fascist values of nationalism and sacrifice for the state. And on the left the new Soviet Union enlisted artists and writers early on, and later especially in literature under Stalinist Socialist Realism, put great store in the promotion of culture as a tool for creating an ideological citizen. "Indeed, many European intellectuals of the interwar period believed in the transforming power of culture. "[67]

The attempt to inculcate principles within the population in a new democratic environment had precedent. Linda Kerber first coined the term "Republican Mother" in 1976 to denote the early nineteenth century American attempt at creating generations of republican citizens. Through a combination of domestic and social responsibility, women in the new republic were encouraged to raise their children based on democratic principles of liberty, justice, and duty.[68] France on and off throughout the nineteenth century had promoted, through its repeated republican ventures, education as a key ingredient for constructing a republican citizenry. And as was true among Spanish Republicans in the twentieth century, there was a lingering fear in France that the division

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[66] Nigel Dennis, "Politics," in A Companion to Federico García Lorca (London: Boydell and Brewer, Ltd., 2007) 184.
[67] Holguín, 4.
[68] See Linda Kerber, "The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightment-An American Perspective," *American Quarterly*, (summer, 1976), 28:2: 187-205.

between rich and poor, urban and rural, and regional disparity could derail republican egalitarianism. [69]

This fear, in particular, was one that Antonio José's own project with the Orfeón Burgalés could dispel. He would build his choir on a repertoire of traditional classical choral works and his own compositions that incorporated the region's rich melodic content, along with a membership from all social backgrounds. The composer made a home for diversity in both membership and material, unlike any the city had seen.

The Second Republic's effort at "cultural inculcation" was, at the same time, in uncharted historical territory with disadvantages. Not only were edicts about education and the implementation of policy going to have run the gamut through a delicate parliamentary democracy, the project by necessity would require a long term, grassroots effort, and for the Second Republic of Spain, time would be at a premium. Nevertheless, the Spanish Republican version went forward with great gusto. And nothing was more important than that of the role of the teacher, whatever the discipline.

Teaching was essential to the philosophy that building a secular democracy went hand in hand with instruction. The arts had a role to play across the social demographic. From the first Republican Prime Minister and essayist Manual Azaña (18801940) to philosophers and artists, the didactic emphasis of republican values, defined as those which promoted secular humanism, had a canon that went back prior to the Generation of

[69] See Eugen Weber, Peasants into Frenchmen: The Rural Modernization of France, 1870-1914 (Palo Alto, Ca.: Stanford University Press, 1976), 10-15.

98 in Spain.[70] Promoting these values had been fundamental to the purpose of the pedagogical *Institución Libre de Enseñaza* (The Free Institute of Education) that existed from 1878 until the beginning of the Civil War. "Recovery of a serviceable national past," writes historian Carolyn Boyd, "a past not held captive (by the Catholic Church) but lost or unknownthus became a major task for patriotic regeneration and democratic reformers of the turn of the century."[71] By April 1931 and the democratic election of a republican government with a coalition of leftist republicans and socialists, the promotion of these values reached a fever pitch as the government struggled to consolidate. Education at all levels had to be a key component for its future.

Many artists in the Republic, then, saw themselves as part of this dissemination of values. Slightly different in orientation from García Lorca's theater troupe, Antonio José was not only exposing people to artistic expression they may not have experienced, he was discovering talent in a culture that was underappreciated and often overlooked. His trips to the countryside around Burgos, investigating the folkloric origins of his province in music and dance, instilled in him a deep respect for the artfor the cultureof his own people. His own understanding of art changed as a result and the Orfeón Burgalés would reap the benefit.

The intention of Antonio José for the Orfeón to broaden its social base, for those who might not have ever had the opportunity before to be creative in this manner, was a corollary to broader principles exhibited in Lorca's work. The composer was "pursuing

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[70] See Boyd, 122-161, in particular on the didactic emphasis of Rafael Altamira and the influence of Francisco Giner de los Rios and the Instituto.
[71] *Ibid.*, 128.

the artistic education of the people in line with the 'pedagogic mission' of the Instituto Libre de Enseñaza," [72] through personal performances, talks, and holding concerts throughout the province. By incorporating the voices of workers and peasants along with middle class members of the choir, he was asserting a fundamental egalitarian missions of the Republic.

The tenure of his time with the Orfeón Burgalés, and his dedication to it from 1929 until his death in 1936, enabled Antonio José to establish himself as one of the most recognized artists in the city. His diverse choir garnered equal recognition. Within a few years the choir was receiving praise for his interpretations of classical choral works from the Renaissance to the twentieth century, including the presentation of his own compositions.[73] His friend, poet Eduardo de Ontañon wrote in homage to him years later,

> …Antonio José lived for his choir….They were artisans, tinsmiths, carpenters, shop clerks, saddlers, and watchmakers, in this medieval differentiation of crafts that the old cities still preserve. Girls also: dressmakers, the lower classes, students. He had taught music to them all from their first notes. Now the choir was singing the most difficult works with melodies of great modern complexity. In all of the festivals, Antonio José was presented with his choir.[74]

The composer fully understood his purpose in Burgos was to center itself on his responsibility to those he would to leadhe would be their teacher. In the spring of 1929

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[72] Garoz, 54.
[73] Ortega Gutiérrez, *135*-141.
[74] AMB, Ontañon's written homage appears on the one hundredth anniversary of the composer's birth, on the last page of a pamphlet commemorating his life and published by the Municipality of Burgos. "Antonio José vivía para su Orfeón…Eran artesanos, hojalateros, carpinteros, dependientes, talabarteros, relojeros, en esa diferenciación medioeval de oficios que todavía conservan las viejas ciudades. Muchachas también, modistas, alpargateras, estudiantes... A todos había enseñado música, desde las primeras notas. Ahora ya, el orfeón cantaba las obras más difíciles las melodías de mayor complicación moderna. En todas las fiestas se presentaba Antonio José con su orfeón,

during a brief visit to Burgos from Málaga before he assumed his new position, Antonio José had a talk with the members of the choir. His comments to them were printed on the front page of the *Diario de Burgos* the next day, April 1.

> When I return to Burgos for good, I promise:
> To teach music to all of the members of the Orfeón, at least in order that you understand perfectly your roles and never forget them.
> To speak about the history and aesthetic of music, in order that you better enjoy its beauty.
> To speak of the life and work of the great masters.
> And by means of intimate concerts, right here, for ourselves, I will try to present some of the most splendid works of all times and all countries.[75]

It was an ambitious declaration. Whether or not his economic situation demanded that he continue as a teacher, there is little indication that he ever believed the work tedious. In fact, he threw himself into the Orfeón position with fervor. He was becoming a socially conscious and involved artist, with attributes that separated his lifestyle from that of the cloistered artist. He did not see himself as a mere "choir leader," but as a teacher first. The values of a liberal education, such as those promoted by the leaders of the Second Republic, took on a special meaning for him. His own drive to build a membership across social lines worked well with their democratic principles. As we have pointed out, those values were not universally shared in parts of Burgos. The maestro's

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[75] AMB, Antonio José, "Orfeón Burgalés," *Diario de Burgos* (April 1, 1929), 1. Also see Garoz, 317.
"Las canciones populares burgalesas no deben nada a nadie, y si alguno discute a ustedes esta verdad, afirmen rotundamente que de estas cosas no entiende una palabra."…
"Cuando regrese a Burgos para no volver a salir de él, prometo:
-Enseñar música a todos los orfeonistas, siquiera para que comprendan perfectamente sus papeles y no les olviden nunca.
-Hablar de historia y estética de la música, para que gocen mejor de sus bellezas.
-Hablar de la vida y la obra de los grandes maestros.
-Y por medio de conciertos íntimos, aquí mismo, para nosotros solos, trataré de presentarles algunas de las obras más espléndidas de todos los tiempos y de todos los países."

own prominence will have its consequences.

The Uprising and the Execution of the Composer

On the night of the 18th of May, 1936 an eightyvoice, children's choir under the direction of Antonio José's friend and colleague, Ángel Juan Quesada, presented in the *Teatro Principal*, as part of a program sponsored by the *Amigos de la Escuela* (Friends of the School), two of the composer's choral works that he was using as thematic material for his new opera. No one in attendance that night could have known that they were witnessing the performance of the last compositions of Antonio José heard in Spain for forty years.[76]

The death of Antonio José was a part of a calculated cleansing in the regions that had fallen to the Nationalist military. On the morning of July 19, 1936 the military uprising against the Republic was in motion and, as had been promised by insurrection leaders such Gens. Mola and Llano de Quiepo, the extent of the path of reprisal and vendettas against Republican teachers and intellectuals in general was wide and systematic. After the pacification of an area by the soldiers of the Nationalists, the cultural cleansing would begin.

> Once the troops had move on, a second and more intense wave of slaughter would begin, as the Falange, or in some areas the Carlists, carried out a ruthless purge of the civilian population. Their targets included union leaders, government officials, leftofcenter politicians...intellectuals, teachers, doctors, even the typists working for revolutionary committees; in fact, anyone who was even suspected of having voted for the Popular Front was in danger. In Huesca 100 people accused of being Freemasons were shot when the town's lodge did not

[76] Ortega Gutiérrez, 135.

even have a dozen members.[77]

In Burgos Antonio José's recognition as a composer and choir director, made his life itself a target for those who believed Republican values were the cause of Spain's liberal democratic decadence and Republican teachers and instructors were prime targets in the province. Julio Martínez Palacios, the composer's brother, and a teacher in Praduloengo outside of Burgos was arrested also and executed three days after Antonio José. [78] One of the most renowned Republican teachers in the area, Antoni Benaiges, had come from Barcelona to the tiny village of Bañuelos de Bureba in 1934 carrying the Republican ideal of education. The maestro was known for his method of inspiring students to create and publish with the help of the school notebooks of their work that they edited and illustrated themselves. His teaching methods became a part of innovative pedagogical technique not only in parts of Spain, but as well in France, Mexico, and Cuba. Like the composer and his brother, he too was detained by the Falange, incarcerated and executed.[79]

In a city like Burgos that fell quickly under their administration, the military insurrectionists had little to fear from public resistance. Although there were internal worries within the conspiracy about labor unrest in Burgos, these groups never manifested significant opposition. [80] As historian Javier Rodrígo observes, in these cases the Nationalists had "no competitors."

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[77] Antony Beevor, *The Battle for Spain: The Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939*, revised ed. (New York: Penguin Group, 2006), 89.
[78] Garoz, 231.
[79] R. Pérez Barredo, "El maestro que quiso llevar a los niños a conocer el mar," *Diario de Burgos* (May 16, 2012), 1
[80] Castro Berrojo, 1-18.

> They (the Nationalists) did not have to fight for control. In this way the violence was not only employed to cut off the head and terrorize the opposition to the coup, but also to demonstrate (the coup's) absolute authority over life and death, and to exercise, through means of its use, their newly won sovereignty. [81]

Besides the forced removal from office and execution of Republican elected officials, those of public stature whose values ran counter to the New State suffered and Antonio José fell in this category as the Falange combed the streets of Burgos in search of those complicit in supporting the Republic.

In order to appreciate the consistency with which these leaders spoke of the destruction of not only the government, but of the "culture" of the Republic, one only needs to survey their thoughts on the need for retribution. This determination was, in the beginning, essentially that of Mola, Llano de Quiepo, and Gen. José Sanjuro. But clearly Francisco Franco, who came to the conspiracy last of all, understood the full impact of what was required to destroy the Republican ethos.

For Mola, the theme was simple. "It is necessary," he wrote, "to leave the sensation of dominance, eliminating without scruples or hesitation all of those who do not think like us." [82] Quiepo de Llano, when asked what to do with poet Federico García Lorca after the poet was arrested in Granada on the night of August 18th, directed the head of the Granada militia to "Dale café, mucho café" (Give him coffee, a lot of coffee."

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[81] Javier Rodrígo, *Hasta la raíz: violencia durante la guerra civil y la dictadura franquista* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial), 65.

[82] Maria José Ruiz Vilas, ed., Navarra *1936: De la esperanza al terror* (Tafalla, Navarra: Altaffaylla Kultur Taldea, 2004) "Hay que dejar la sensación de dominio eliminando sin escrúpulos ni vacilación a todos los que no piensen como nosotros" Maria José Ruiz Vilas, ed., Navarra *1936: De la esperanza al terror* (Tafalla, Navarra: Altaffaylla Kultur Taldea, 2004).

The comment was a thinly veiled reference that the poet would need to be awake for his *paseo*, the same trip to execution Antonio José would make in the early hours of the morning of October 9th. [83]Franco, on the other hand viewed the work of repression in the rhetoric of a "crusade". To him, "The work of pacification and moral redemption must necessarily be undertaken slowly and methodically, otherwise military occupation will serve no purpose." [84]

With Sanjuro dead in June a month before the uprising and with Franco being the general with the highest profile, the military council, which included Mola, chose him as *Jefe del Estado*. It was in Burgos, the provisional capital, that on October 1, 1936, eight days before the execution of Antonio José, Franco was declared *Caudillo,* the leader and headofstate of the provisional government.

One question needs to be asked, however. Why, if the composer was such a "fixture" in the city, a person who had spent much of his life in Burgos promoting the musical heritage of Castilian culture, would he not be an indispensable part of the regime's cultural project for the New State? With Burgos the provisional capital he would seem to be a "pillar of the community" and hence valuable to the New Spain. In the end, the answer to this lies not only in the composer's own support for the Second Republic through his years in Burgos, although that would be the driving factor, but as well in the internal administrative politics of the uprising and the petty jealousies of some in the community as well.

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[83] Paul Preston, *El holocausto española,* 248.
[84] Helen Graham, The Spanish Civil War: A Short Introduction (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 74.

In terms of Antonio José's advocacy for his region's culture, two things need to be noted. The first is the most obvious. As we shall see while certain conservatives in the community did appreciate his efforts in the promotion of Burgos song, they would be unable to persuade those in power that his life was worth saving.

Secondly, the idea of the Nationalist cultural project was to replace democratic Republicanism with a National Catholicism that promoted Spain's imperial glory under an adherence to its Catholic past with a unified nationalist discourse. This cultural emphasis was not about a return to some mythical Castilian medieval kingdom of Alfonso the Wise, but, if anything, a twentieth century resurrection of the cultural cleansing initiated by the *los Reyes Católicos,* Ferdinand and Isabela.

The emphasis here is on the political culture of Burgos at the time of the uprising. Even under the years of Republican governance, the conservative nature of life in Burgos, especially the place of the Catholic Church, was pronounced. And to repeat, although not an active member of a political party, Antonio José was politically and didactically a progressive, a leftleaning Republican, who had found great pride in the Republic's founding. He had, as well, voted for the Popular Front in the1936 election and refers in his letters to the leftist coalition victory as "our triumph." [85] Upon the takeover of the government by the very sector of Burgos to whom the Republic was anathema in the summer of 1936, the wheels of political power reversed themselves and the progressive beliefs of Antonio José made him a cause for suspicion among the conservative elite of the city. In postuprising Burgos the equation had changed and such politics became a

[85] Garoz, 251.

deadly albatross around his neck.

His highprofile in Burgos seems to have incited as well a deepseated hatred for the composer from an unsuspected source, a local musician with a "musical ax to grind," who wrote an anonymous letter addressed to the composer and delivered it to the prison in September of 1936 almost two months after Antonio José's arrest. Though the author of the epistle has never been fully identified, it seems it was the work of a disgruntled musician, politically rightwing and passed over by Antonio José for a position in a local city band the composer directed. This is the rhetoric of a person on the extreme right of the political spectrum in Burgos, in fact, and given the signature used, a person under the influence of the nationalist *albiñanistas.*[86] It was signed "Un legionario de España" (a legionnaire of Spain) the trademark signature of the Albiñana's organization. The writer, in language meant to cause as much distress for the incarcerated composer as possible, derides Antonio Jose's musical significance and his worth to society calling him "…a minor musician more or less unimportant to the new country being forged, especially since you are of the dark and scummy, JewishMarxist ranks". [87] And although the composer was neither Jewish nor Marxist, in the acidic environment of the first months of the uprising in Burgos such a label would be common and damning for those who did not fully support the new regime.

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[86]In conversation with Miguel Ángel Palacios Garoz, in March of 2012. This is the theory now of the professor, who in his investigations on the composer´s death considered the signature "Un legionario de España" which in Burgos which was the trademark signature of a proto-right wing a right wing group known as the Albañistas. That and the content of the letter´s musical references lead Prof. Garoz to believe it might be the father of one of Antonio José's young students.

[87] Barriuso, *et al.,* 59. "…un musiquillo más o menos no importaría mucho al nuevo país que se esta forjando, sobre todo cuando Vd. Es de las tenebrosas y canallescas filas judío-marxistas."

The appearance of the letter two months into his incarceration does not seem to indicate that it was the direct cause of the composer's arrest in the form of the type of denunciation so prevalent in the early years of Franco's regime. The Falange had come looking for the composer on the first day of the uprising, but he had escaped into hiding. What the letter represented, in some ways, was just as sinister, however. The writer suspected hoped, in fact that the days of Antonio José were numbered.

If the author of the letter had intended Antonio José to cower, he was mistaken. "Evil, very evil, is the author of this letter" the composer wrote to a Carlist friend Don Matias MartínezBurgos, on the day he received it. "He doesn't even have the decency to sign it with his name. If he is Catholic, as I suppose, he has the security of knowing that God has to punish him with the most horrible penalty…"[88] That the composer was distressed is obvious, but he is equally angry that any in Burgos would hold such an opinion of him. On the contrary, Antonio José was, as his chief biographer describes, "a tolerant man, understanding and broad in spirit, everything opposite of the sectarian, intransigent, and partisan man that some had wanted to see in him." [89]

Like the poet Federico García Lorca, Antonio José counted among his friends the members of conservative groups with an interest in art, including Carlists.[90] Friendly

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[88] Garoz, 278-279. "Malo, muy malo es el autor de esa carta. Ni siguiera ha tendido el valor de firmarla con su nombre. Si es católico, como supongo, que tenga la seguridad de que Dios le ha de castigar con la más tremenda pena…"

[89] *Ibid.,* 73. "era un hombre tolerante, comprensivo y amplio de espíritu, todo lo contrario del sectario, intransigente y partidista que algunos han querido ver en él."

[90] The Carlist legacy in twentieth century Spain grew out of the nineteenth century supporters to the Bourbon thrown of the *Infante Carlos*, the younger brother of Ferdinand VII (1784-1833). Over a period of 40 years, the Carlists fought three civil wars against a Spanish military that backed the regency of Ferdinand's young daughter Isabel II until 1868, when liberal generals overthrew the monarch. It was after the third Carlist War (1872-1876) that the movement abandoned violence as a useful tool for change. There

associations with a few on the right when the time came did not inoculate him from the rampage that began with the military overthrow of the Republican government in Burgos. These associations would throw light, however, on another phenomenon of the early days of the new regime in Burgos, that of the internecine battle between elements of the Carlist and the Falange.

With the success of the uprising in Burgos in July, Antonio José quickly came into the sights of the *Falange*, who so often served at this point as the paramilitary enforcer for the cultural goals of the Nationalists in many parts of Spain. It was with the help of the *Falange* that military authorities in Granada sought out, arrested, incarcerated, and executed poet, Federico García Lorca, and it was the *Falange* in Burgos, newly invigorated by the swelling of their membership in the first days of the rebellion, who tracked down and arrested Antonio José.[91]

The fate of Antonio José was complicated in part by the phenomenon of the right wing competition in northern Spain between the *Falange* and the Carlists. It was the

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were also, by the late nineteenth century those in the movement with a foreboding about the modern world. Says Jeremy MacClancy,"Carlist writers, who saw their movement as part of the Spanish resistance to modernization, extolled the purity and virtues of the countryside against the sinfulness they associated with towns." By the twentieth the politically conservative, spiritually inclined Carlists had many allies in the Catholic Church and became antagonistic toward of the move toward a republic. They aligned themselves with the military coup against the Republic and the Francoist regime. Jeremy MacClancy, *The Decline of Carlism* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2000), 5 and his whole introduction from 1-14.

[91]See Ian Gibson, *Federico García Lorca*, revised ed. (Barcelona: Crítica, 2011), 1134-1135. The future civil governor of Granada, like the future civil governor of Burgos, was in on the plot to overthrown Republic and both took office almost immediately after the beginning of the coup. In Granada, it was José Valés Guzmán, who gave the final approval of Lorca´s slaying on the 18th of August, 1936, but not before Valdés had sought the approval General Quiepo de Llano in Sevilla, mentioned above. The tendency to seek "higher approval" is a common trait of all bureaucracies where individuals are hesitant to take responsibility for something that might be considered a controversial decision. In the case of the regime of Franco, after much analysis of documents from the Ministerio de Información y Turismo, the main censorship bureau, it appears the trait became endemic very early on. Ian Gibson, like Garoz, has spent much of his academic life on an artist victim of the regime and is the preeminent authority on the subject of the life and work of Lorca.

Carlist Martínez Burgos, valuing the composer's work as a teacher and artist, that interceded on Antonio José's behalf with the then Nationalist Governor General of Burgos, Fidel Dávila. Dávila, a Carlists also had no desire to harm the composer, and for a fleeting moment, there was hope.[92] It was soon dashed. Francisco Fermoso Blanco, a *Falangista*, replaced Dávila as the new Civil Governor the day before Antonio José received his anonymous letter.

The direct connection between the letter and the composer's death are not clear. To repeat, the writer of the letter does not suggest that he had been the one who denounced Antonio José, but only that he was glad that the composer was suffering in jail. In any case, the evidence now shows that the window of opportunity for survival of the composer had become very narrow. Fermoso Blanco was quickly moved up to another post within days of Franco's assumption of his own position as *Jefe del Estado* on October 1, 1936. Franco appointed Dávila as the new *Presidencia de la Junta Técnica* in charge of all the military districts under the Nationalists control. In the same bulletin was the announcement of the nomination of Fermoso Blanco as the "*Gobernador General de la Junta Técnica del Estado*". The announcement was posted in the *Boletin del Estado* on October 6.[93] This means that one of Fermoso Blanco's last acts in his brief threeweek tenure as Governor General was the execution order for the death of Antonio

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[92]Barriuso *et al*., 67.

[93]*Boletin Oficial del Estado, Administración y venta de ejemplares: gobierno civil de Burgos,* no. 2*, del martes 6 de octubre de 1936*. Garoz in *En tinta roja*, believes that this transfer may have come as early as the day before Antonio José received the anonymous letter, September 10. The *Boletín Junta del Técnica* wasn´t created by Franco until October 1, 1936 and Dávila was appointed as the Boletin shows, on the 6th after a brief respite from his job as Civil Governor.

José on October 8th. [94] In a final twist, but one that was common in this extralegal procedure of the early regime of Franco, Antonio José is officially freed on the night of October 8th as documents show. Next to the thumb print of his left hand is scrawled "Gubernativo Liberdad" (Governmental Freedom). In fact, he and all twentythree others Republican prisoners were afforded the same mock freedom, as the prison turned them over to the *Falange* executioners waiting in their truck to make the fifteenminute drive into the hills of Estépar.[95]

His Art and Its Reception

The death of the composer left a deep scare among those who knew him and worked with him, and among those who had heard his work. The amount of exposure the music of Antonio José received in Spain in the years of the Second Republic will be a focus also of the next chapter, because the subject pertains directly to the discussion of the music's recovery after years of silence during the Francoist regime. However, there are points to make about its reception among critics of this period that pertain to the creation of his art itself. José Subirá, at the time one of Spain's most widely published music critics and also an avid supporter of Antonio José, wrote a review in 1933 on settings by the composer, performed in Madrid for piano and chorus, of three songs by medieval Castilian king, Alfonso the Wise. Subirá considered the composer's settings a revelation, and gives us a clue as to why it has taken his talent so long to be recognized.

> Why is so little said about this composer, who is worth so much? Why doesn't he live in Madrid?...From Burgos now has come to us this

[94]Barriuso, *et al*., 66-67.

[95]Garoz, 81. The document also clearly shows the date 8-10-36, under the heading "Causa". The rest of that space, the place for *Jugado* (Court) and *Delito* (Crime) is blank.

> medieval folkloric tribute to the delight of true artists; from Burgos, although passing through Paris, where it has seen the stamp of the most reputable of publishers, Max Eschig.. And if it is pleasing to go from Madrid to Paris, it is no less so to come from Paris to Madrid, as is the case of Antonio José.[96]

In June of 1932 the Madrid magazine, *Crónica*, ran a four page article on Antonio José and his Orfeón Burgalés. It describes his work in Burgos in glowing terms, presenting him and his project as a virtual savior of Castilian culture.

> This is work reserved for youth. And Antonio José is one of the few who has come to realize the responsibility of his mission in this hour: that others, each in their own sphere of activities, achieve a work that could be equal to that which Maestro Antonio José demonstrates with assurance, and that Castile will stop being only a theme of poems of its exalted past, in order to occupy a place in the movement of national regeneration to which it has the right.[97]

The sense of a Castile living in the past was not an exceptional view in this period, especially for critics from Madrid. The more cosmopolitan orientation of the composer from Burgos for some of them was refreshing and almost unique, considering the overwhelming tilt in Spanish contemporary music toward the vocabulary of Andalusia. But the composer's voice was compositionally much broader than a single source. His time in Madrid and Paris, however brief, had stood him well in regards to his exposure to influences. It had even garnered him publishing contracts. But as mentioned, the musical

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[96] José Subirá, "Música y Libros", *Musicografía*, 1:7 (1933), 158. "¿Por qué se habla tan poco de dicho compositor, valiendo tanto? ¿Por qué no vive en Madrid?...De Burgos, aunque pasando por París. Pues es en París donde ha visto la estampa en las reputadísimas ediciones de Max Eschig. Y si es grato ir de Madrid a París, no lo es menos venir de París a Madrid, como en este caso de Antonio José…"

[97] Andrés Hurtado, "El Orfeón Burgalés y la figura eminente de su director, el maestro Antonio José", *Crónica*, 4: 137 (1932), 11. "Esa es la labor reservada a los jóvenes. Y Antonio José es uno de los pocos que se han dado cuenta de la responsabilidad de su misión en esta hora. Que otros, cada uno en la esfera de sus actividades, realicen una obra que pueda igualarse a la que el maestro Antonio José puede mostrar con ufanía, y Castilla dejará de ser solamente tema de poemas de exaltaciones pretéritas para ocupar en el movimiento de regeneración nacional el puesto a que tiene derecho."

sources of Antonio José were tremendously distinct from those of other more established composers in Spain during the 1920s and 30s such Manuel de Falla, Isaac Albéniz, and Joaquín Rodrígo. Initially, made him an outsider. While the material of the Andalusia influenced music of others was considered the model for critics in Spain, Antonio José alone drew on an entirely different source. But again, his was a cosmopolitan approach, not that of a strict regionalist. Combining the folk songs of Castile with his love for the orchestral palette and harmonic complexity of French Impressionist composers created a style of composition that was unique in the years of the Republic, and even now still holds a special place in modern Spanish music.

As we have seen, his own writings allude to the dearth of interest in Spain in the music of his native province. Even some of his musician friends in Madrid, where his music was well received critically and publically in 1934, were skeptical of its supposed melodic origins "(They) said very seriously," he would write, "that I had invented that Burgalés music, because such music did not exit." [98] In reality, Antonio José was following more in the line of the aesthetic of composers such as Hungarian Béla Bartók or Czechoslovakian Antonín Dvořák. By creating new structures and musical environments for these haunting Castilian melodies, Antonio José was carving a place for a musical voice unheard in Spain with potential for a wider audience.

In describing his talent, first and foremost, Antonio José was a precocious and intellectually engaged musician of the highest order. The testament to his quick grasp of piano technique is apparent from his teenage composition, *Sonata para piano*. By the end

[98] ABM, Conferencia-4, 3

of his short life he had composed a symphony, a three movement orchestral suite, and a guitar sonata that today is one of the most performed pieces in contemporary guitar repertoire in the world today. His choral works, however, are probably the element of composition most essential to understanding his music. They alone separate him out from other composers of his time in Spain.

His emphasis on the human voice in so many of his compositions had deep roots for him from his childhood. It is also why, given the opportunity to return to Burgos in order to lead a choir with a history almost older than himself, he did not hesitate. The large number of choral works, adaptations and transcriptions in the composers catalog point to his love of the human voice. The melodies he transcribed in the hills around Burgos were the folk melodies simply sung by untrained voices and became the heart of the melodic content of his larger compositions. His love of tonal melody stemmed from those sources and bridges, in his art, contemporary forms and tonal harmony to the music of medieval Castile. In Burgos, choral music has always been, since the medieval construction of the massive Cathedral, the primary instrument of music. It is so even today. The organs, some as old as five hundred years, that populate the numerous churches in the cityincluding the five in the Cathedral itselfare merely accompaniment in those rarefied acoustics for human voicethe choir. These are the sounds that Antonio José heard as a child and that ring throughout his music.

In terms of the reception of his music, Subirá's 1933 query notwithstanding, the rise in the frequency of performance of the composer's work was genuine in the years of the Second Republic. And from Subirá, in *Musicografía*, Adolfo Salazar in *El Sol*, or

from Ramón Sanz de la Maza in *La Libertad*, if there was one universal theme in their writing on Antonio José it was the abundance of talent rolled up in one so young.

The first Madrid review was by Salazar in 1930 when the composer was twenty eight and it is indicative of this view. The critic, having heard only what had to that point been performed in Madrid, such as his *Danza burgalesa* was greatly impressed, although concerned that the young composer might be tied down in his native city. He notes, however, that, notwithstanding the composer's present residency:

> I believe that among the people of his generation, Antonio José is the Castilian composer with the firmest hold on the old music of this region that is one of the most archaic and prestigious in all of Spain. And at the same time, one of the young musicians in whom one can have the most hope. [99]

Taken with the "producción abundantísima," of a composer so young, it is important to remember that the critic had heard few of the major works of the composer completed by then. The choral pieces and the earliest publication of *Danza popular* in a piano arrangement by Unión Musical Española in 1933 helped to further wake up criticism to his artistry.[100] His *Sinfonia castellana*, the choral settings for Castilian folk melodies, *Danzas populares*, in addition to *Suite ingenua*, which included the undeniably masterful orchestration of the 2nd movement ballad would be all be performed during the next four

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[99] Adolfo Salazar, "La Vida Musical: Regiones of Spain: Antonio José en Burgos" (July 9, 1930), 2. "…cree que entre las gentes de su generación Antonio José es el compositor castellano de más firme arraigo en la vieja música de esta comarca, que es una de las más rancias y prestigiosas de toda España. Y al mismo tiempo uno de los músicos jóvenes en quienes más se puede esperar."

[100] See Ramón de la Masa, "La Música," *La Libertad*, November 16, 1933, 5; Adolfo Salazar, "La Vida Música", *El Sol*, July 9, 1930,2.

years.[101] The choral pieces, in particular, and the earliest publication of *Danza popular* in a piano arrangement by Unión Musical Española in 1933 further woke up criticism to his compositions[102]

One opportunity for Antonio José to make a lasting mark intellectually on a national level came in the last year of his life when he was invited to present a paper at the Third Congress of the International Society of Musicologists held in Barcelona in April of 1936, just five months before he was executed. The research itself is still contemporary in its findings, especially in the historical ecclesiastic roots of secular Burgales song linked through both medieval troubadours to ecclesiastic melodies. There are questions and theories, many of which Antonio José was well aware, and which he cites here, that to this day remain unanswered. This presentation was the culmination of much of his personal research over years and was sadly at the same time the last and most detailed public document we have of this very public life. The patient musicological research that infused his compositions is here in this speech.[103]

His presentation was the pinnacle, to that point, of the composer's efforts to promote the indigenous music of his province and he methodically traces the history of medieval song from Church to secular versions, demonstrating the links in Burgos popular music to both ecclesiastical and secular sources. He dots the presentation with

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[101] *Suite ingenua* was performed for the first time in Madrid on May 29, 1931 at a concert held by the Asociación de Cultura Musical with the Orquestra Clásica de Madrid in the Teatro de la Comedia. See announcement in *El Sol,* May 27, 1931, 2.
[102] See Ramón de la Masa, "La Música," *La Libertad*, November 16, 1933, 5; Adolfo Salazar, "La Vida Música", *El Sol*, July 9, 1930,2.
[103] ABM, Conferencia-4. The discourse was entitled "La canción popular burgalesa" (Popular Song of Burgos).

musical examples and, because he is at a podium without a piano available, he sings each example for his audience.

Made up of musicologists and composers from all over Europe (although de Falla and Pablo Casals were at the conference, it is not clear if either was a witness to the talk) the conference was well attended and his work was well received.[104] José Subirá attended the conference on behalf of *Musicografía* and wrote of the composer's presentation and its success in front of this literati of Spanish music education and musicology. Antonio José "in beautiful and refined prose, but at the same time lively and penetrating, spoke of the music that the people sing…through that land that in past centuries was called the 'Head of Castile'….And he was hailed by all, some from France, others from England, Switzerland and Germany, for his eloquence in communicating his subject."[105] The Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes (The Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts), based on the presentation had awarded him a prize for his contribution to the culture. "The significance is," Subirá continued, "that this is a further indication of his spreading notoriety and he was now officially recognized by the Republic as making a major contribution to Republican society in education."[106]

Antonio José was obviously exited by the climate of the Congress and by the success he felt he had achieved with his presentation. The aging director of the Orfeón Catalá, Luis Millet, an institution in Barcelona, had attended. "Millet said that it is one of the most interesting (presentations) that he has heard, because no one was expecting

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[104] *Ibid*.
[105] José Subirá, "El folklorista Antonio-José", *Musicografía, May 8, 1936*.
[106] *Ibid.*

a thing like this. All the same, permit me if for once to tell you that I am happy and proud," he wrote to his friend Consuela Mediavilla back in Burgos. "They tell me that Millet (he is very old)in my studio I have his photographnever goes to these things. And today he has gone!" [107] Unfortunately, for Antonio José, the Congress was his last opportunity at exchanging his ideas and his thoughts on music with such a diverse and venerable group.

Conclusion

Had there been a different, more sympathetic Governor General firmly in place could Antonio José have lived? Had there been local authorities who weighed the cultural importance to his province and to Spain's Castilian culture against any perceived Republican affiliation could there have been a stay of execution? The rapid expansion of the Falange in Burgos at the time of the uprising and their eagerness to play enforcer in many parts of Spain left some locals associated with the Republic at their mercy. That use of the Falange was not random in the uprising. It had been in planned meticulously for months; it was part, as Antony Beevor described, of the calculation. Antonio José's links to appeal were strictly through his connections with Carlists, who did seem to respect his cultural contributions. As we've seen, in the end, Dávila was not in a hurry to carry it out, but the quirks of the new Franco administration bureaucratic shuffle left the composer exposed again to the Falange.

In the atmosphere of those first weeks in Nationalist controlled area of Burgos,

[107] Garoz, 246. "Millet decía que es de lo más interesante que ha oído, porque no esperaba una cosa dicho así. Y todos lo mismo. Permíteme que por una vez te diga que estoy contento y orgulloso. Me dicen que Millet (es muy viejo)-en mi estudio le tengo retratado-no va nunca a esas cosas. ¡Y hoy ha ido!

once the composer had been put to death even those among his closets friends, as we shall see, would barely raise his name in conversation without fear of reprisals. In the final analysis the weight of the beginning of the repression was stacked up heavily against the young composer. His acquaintances on the right were not in a position at the right time to stave off the fury of the insurrection and the Falange, and his Republican friends were in no position at all.

Even with his untimely ending, however, Antonio José had not, as some critics feared, wasted his artistic life in Burgos as regionalist composer. It was there he grew up and there he nourished his music, using his region's resources, yes, but always seeing and hearing beyond them. If he could have traveled more, if he had the resources to spend years away, he might not have died the way he did. But his artistic life was not wasted. He was what we might today call a man who lived locally and thought globally for he understood the human condition and he brought that to his art. His was an inquisitive and perceptive mind, a writer with observations beyond his years and with an insight and knowledge equal to the best known of his peers in Spain. The extent of his artistic talent was broad, intuitive, and distinct. However, in the end, few artists' work received severer treatment at the hands of the Francoist repression or found it harder to overcome obstacles in order to eventually obtain an audience. In the next chapter we will explore how the intentional obstruction to the performance of the composer's music made the reemergence of his art problematicproblematic, but not impossible. In that respect alone his work stands as a light for those looking for signs of artistic life in Spain during the darkest years of the repression.

The silencing of artistic voices, such as that of Antonio José, was part of a broader plan to rid Spain of every vestige of the former secular liberal democracy in order to build a new state around the banner of National Catholicism. Artists who supported Republican principals of free expression and, even more, teachers who supported Republican principals of education were in danger of incarceration or worse. Antonio José was both. It is true that the violence he suffered was directed at him as a representative of Republican values. However, for the musical expression of Antonio José instead of a "time of silence", the years of neglect may be opening up to a time of revival. The calculation of the regime's cultural eradication project was simplistic in this regard and an unsophisticated appraisal of artistic expression. Of all the arts, music is the probably hardest to capture, the easiest to silence, and the last to die.

Chapter 3 - Remembrance and Commemoration: The Reemergence of the Music of Antonio José

> *Music is the word of the sensitive soul as the Word is the language of the intellectual soul.*
>
> -Antonio José, 1929 [108]

Introduction

On September 20th, 2012 a performance of the *Preludio* and the *Danza popular* from Antonio José's opera, *El mozo de mulas* (1934), was presented by the Orquestra Sinfónica de Castilla y León (Symphony Orchestra of Castile-León) in honor of the opening of a new auditorium at the mammoth Museo de Evolución Humana (Museum of Human Evolution) in Burgos. The poignancy of the concert was not lost on the audience. The program for the night included a performance, not only of the works of Antonio José, but also of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony - both performances using the one-hundred voice Federation of Burgos Choirs that includes many of the members of the Orfeón Burgales. Today, the choir maintains the same status that it had by design of Antonio José when he was the director, a choir of talented amateurs from all over the Burgos community.

The review of this performance by columnist Angélica González the morning after the concert caught the sentiment of the moment in the *Diario de Burgos*.

> The Symphony of Castilla and León gave yesterday more than a concert: the Federation of Burgos Choirs did more than sing: the singers presented more than an opera. They gave the opportunity for many in Burgos to

[108] Antonio José, "La gratitud de Antonio José," *Diario de Brugos* (May 19, 1936), 1. "La música es la palabra del alma sensible como la palabra es el lenguaje del alma intelectual."

> celebrate, as might have written (Joaquin) Sabina 'the victory that history robbed' from Antonio José. [109]

In fact, the whole opera was not performed that night, only the same sections that the composer himself debuted in Madrid in 1934.

An opera is not only a large compositional undertaking; it is an expensive proposition to stage. For a young composer of limited means and without benefactors to stage such a work in the years of the economically strapped Second Republic of 1934 was unlikely. It seems to have been no different in financially strapped Spain of 2012. If one reflects on Angélica González's column in light of the comments of José Subirá writing in *Musicografía* on the performance in Madrid seventy-eight years before, one feels a mixture of vindication for decades of neglect and a melancholy *déjà vu* all at once. The saga of the composer´s reemergence is fraught with fits and starts, and even Subirá seemed to have a premonition of the opera's long journey toward recognition. Although marveling at the "spiritual idealism" and the beauty of the composer's work, the critic worried that the full opera "might not ever be revealed to the detriment of our art and our country." [110] This operatic vision of Antonio José has awoken, been heard, and extolled eighty years after its composition. Yet, it still has not debuted in its entirety in Spain.

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[109] Angélica González, "Violines que no marchitan" (The Violins That Don't Whither), *Diario de Burgos*, September 21, 2012, accessed June 17, 2013, http://www.diariodeburgos.es/noticia/ZF9495C21-F25B-E6FC- "La Sinfónica de Castilla y León dio ayer más que un concierto; la Federación Coral Burgalesa hizo más que cantar. Los cantantes representaron mucho más que una ópera. Dieron la oportunidad a muchos burgaleses de celebrar, como escribiera Sabina, 'la victoria que la historia le robó' a Antonio José." 405A3F4CFA71A9CA/20120921/violines/no/marchitan.

[110] Jesús A. Ribó (José Subirá),"Vida Musical," *Musicografía* (December, 1934) 90: 273. "…La estrenada ahora por Arbós (the conductor) está desprendida de una opera que lleva durmiendo cinco años y que tal vez, para daño de nuestro país, no despierte nunca." Subirá, wrote under several pseudonyms of which Jesús A. Ribó was one.

There is no doubt that he was a young composer whose name was not known as universally as some of his older colleagues. The timing of his death was at a period when his star was rising, so to speak, but also at a time when many in Spain were not yet aware of his talent. Nevertheless, more than any other single factor, the long recovery period of the performance of his works is directly tied to the long period of its disappearance under the Francoist dictatorship.

While the execution of Antonio José silenced his compositional voice and the public performance of his works in 1936, in the end, it has been his music that has forced renewed recognition of what he represented, both as an artist and a teacher. Even after the years of neglect, even after movements and tastes in Western art changed dramatically, critics, musicians, and the public inside and outside Spain have begun to wake up to the realization that this composer of enormous talent left behind a large and varied catalog. The history of the reemergence of his music is the subject of this chapter, and as the performance in 2012 indicates, it is an ongoing story. Part of the narrative of the life of Antonio José is his dedication to the music of the region around Burgos. It is in Burgos where we can find the roots of the disappearance of his expression at the hands of the Francoist regime. Its reemergence is a more multi-layered story.

The Silencing

In the weeks leading up to the insurrection in 1936 there were great suspicions on the part of Republican supporters that something was about to happen in Burgos The tension was unmistakable. On the night of the 18th of July a mass was being performed at the Church of San Lesmes at 11pm in memory of José Calvo Sotelo, the right-wing

politician who had been assassinated in prison by Republicans days before.[111] The death of Calvo Sotelo became an emotional rallying cry for retribution from the right. Among younger conservatives, it motivated the swelling of the ranks of the Falange in the first days after the uprising. The fury of the group that trapped Antonio José became endemic in the region around Burgos.[112]

Juan Gabriel Martínez, the present director of the Orfeón Burgalés, described the atmosphere surrounding the city in those first days of the military revolt as his father had related to him. Martínez's father past away in 1997.

> …the indiscriminate killings and localized revenge, in small cities like Burgos, were massive: 'I denounce you because you are not my friend; I denounce you because you have more money than I; I denounce you because I am envious of you…[113]

Other descriptions of those first days in Burgos verify this atmosphere. At first, the focus of this ire and revanchism were the centers of the Republic's administration and centers of republicanism in Burgos. They were targeted swiftly as a part of a concerted plan to incapacitate any possibility of opposition.

> The repression that began rapidly and brutally, prevented any further reaction from republican forces and from the left. The same day, the 19th in the early morning the headquarters of leftist organizations are assaulted in Burgos…and their directors, if they hadn't fled or gone into

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[111] Berrojo, 6. Although Berrojo mentions both of the Palacios brothers as victims of the insurrection, the coincidence of events between the memorial for Calvo Sotelo and the concert in the Teatro Principal is not a part of his story, but is a fact of the dates involved for both.

[112] *Ibid.,* 30.

[113] Juan Gabriel Martínez, the present director of the Orfeón Burgalés from an email conversation, October 25th, 2012. Con el inicio de la guerra civil española el 18 de Julio de 1936, las matanzas indiscriminadas y las venganzas localistas, en ciudades pequeñas como Burgos, fueron masivas: 'Yo te denuncio porque no eres mi amigo; yo te denuncio porque tienes más dinero que yo; yo te denuncio porque te tengo envidia....'etc." The parentheses are Juan Gabriel's.

> hiding are arrested, jailed and the majority of them killed within a few days.[114]

In the pueblos where Antonio José had spent time with his notebooks, the uprising had little resistance and was another sign of the blanket being thrown over the region. The Falangists, the Albiñanists, and the Carlists together were integrated in an effort planned in the north of Spain by Mola himself and served as a vital augmentation to the rebelling armed forces.[115]

In examining the aftermath and the death of the composer, it makes sense to examine the repressive violence of the Nationalists in general. Remembering Javier Rodrígo's point that the Nationalists forces in many places like Burgos had no competitors, there can be little explanation left other than the violence was essentially a political tool - what Michael Richards terms "a political activity based on ideological assumptions."

> The terror was programmed, thought-out, and intentional… The repression that grew out of the uprising was fundamental to crushing opposition and simultaneously promoted the distilled ideology of Catholic purism and state corporatism, both socially and economically.[116]

The whole nature of the Nationalist cultural project that would quickly become subsumed by Franco in late 1936, required the uprooting of democratic assumptions, and violence, such as that visited upon Antonio José and his fellow prisoners in Burgos, was functional. The violence and the threat of violence, the summary arrests and the threat of

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[114] Berroja, 11.
[115] *Ibid*., 3.
[116] Michael Richards, *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco Spain*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,), 31-32.

arrest that caused the anonymous denunciations by neighbors of each other were joined to the use of all of the other tools of repression. It must be added that the regime under Franco was not only mimicking the behavior of right-wing European Fascism, although for the Falange that certainly the was model. From a sophisticated network of censorship and attempts to control the public sphere of Mussolini, to the Nazi Book of the Family of Hitler´s isolation of Jews, and even to the use of starvation of the Kulaks by Stalin, all were available to the Francoist regime and all would be used in one form or other throughout its long history.[117] Violence as the ultimate tool was never far away.

On October 9, 1936, in Burgos, the morning after the execution of the composer and the twenty-three other Republican prisoners, there were many friends and loved ones of the victims in the community who were facing the same questions and who had few options for answers. With the new regime in full control, with Franco installed as the head of the New State, with Burgos established as the Nationalist provisional capital, and with the day to day life in the city firmly in the hands of the functionaries of the new regime, these friends could do nothing but wait in silence. Friends of Antonio José, people he had grown up with in the city, those for whom the Orfeón had become their passion, as it was his, would now only be left with their memories. Even those, given the long years to follow, would be tested.

A pall settled in Burgos quickly among Republic supporters of the Popular Front as their positions became hopeless. “Fear was permeating the homes; each night, each

[117] See Michael Richard’s in particular on the regime’s use of privation *in A Time of Silence* and also his 2007 article in Hispania Nova: Michael Richards, “The Limits of Quatification: Francoist Repression and Historical Methodology” in *Hispania Nova: Revista de Historia Contemporánea* (2007), 7: 8.

morning it brought new grief and anguish…," wrote Antonio Ruíz Vilaplana.[118] Nothing could be more evident to the members of the Orfeón than that their director had suffered from the fundamental calculation of the regime's repression: the Republic's liberal-democratic culture, political and social, needed to be ripped up by the roots. His was a political murder, and the members of the choir were clearly aware of its nature. They were also fully aware that having been close to the composer left them vulnerable. Juan Gabriel Martínez put it this way.

> Can you imagine what the reaction might be of the workers, farmhands from the small industries of provincial Spain in 1936, who sang in an amateur choir in order to learn music and have fun, when they receive the news that their director had been executed, people to whom he had never revealed a political affiliation and to whom his only concern was that of choral music in general, and of the popular music of Burgos in particular?[119]

As noted in Chapter Two, for Antonio José the Orfeón was a place of learning for workers and peasants, both from the city and the surrounding areas. They were attracted to participation because of the composer's insistence on spreading as wide a net for talent as he could. The composer's stewardship had become a social project, as well as a vehicle for composition and research. It was a home for his personal humanist ideals that he could frame with his musical voice, and the connection between him and his choir had grown close over the seven years of his directorship. Many in the choir were brought into

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[118] Antonio Ruíz Vilaplana, *Doy fe: un año de actuación en la España nacionalista* (Paris: Éditions Imprimerie coopérative Étoile, 1937), 87.

[119] Juan Gabriel Martínez -email. "¿Cómo imaginas que puede ser la reacción de obreros, campesinos, pequeños industriales de la España provinciana e 1936, que cantan en un coro amateur, para aprender música y divertirse, cuando en octubre de 1936 reciben la noticia de que han fusilado a su director?...¿a quien nunca, nadie, se le demostró ninguna adscripción política y su único empeño fue la divulgación de la música coral en general, y de la música popular burgalesa en particular?"

the group by him, and they owed him their loyalty. Given the closeness of the relationship and the mood in town, it is understandable that the news of his death was a profound and lasting shock. For the first months after the fall of the Republic in Burgos, bringing up issues regarding the nature of his death or, for that matter, the performance of his work was totally out of the question. While there had not been open opposition that amounted to a threat to Nationalist authority in Burgos, there were still those who had supported the Republic, and they were all under scrutiny.

At the same time, while the climate in Burgos was poisoned for Republican supporters, and supporters of the composer in particular, the atmosphere for others that supported the new regime did seem to settle down. Not directly threatened militarily, the city, for many, enjoyed a return to the routine of life within a few weeks after the uprising. "Here," wrote Francisco de Cossio in the newly reoriented *Diario de Burgos* "Everyone works for the service of Spain…The normality of life is total, so complete, that by external signs no one would guess what is happening in Spain." [120]

To the friends of Antonio José, of course, such normality was a mirage. However, the Orfeón Burgalés under its new director, Father Emilio Rayón, slowly began to perform again with concerts held sporadically.[121] One such concert was scheduled for May 25, 1938 in the Teatro Principal. With Burgos out of danger and the city seemingly tranquil, with many citizens able to establish some order in their lives, despite the

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[120] ABM, Francisco de Cossio, "Burgos, capital de España," *Diario de Burgos*, August 8, 1936, 1. "Aquí todos trabajan al servicio de la España...La normalidad de la vida ciudadana en Burgos es tan absoluta, tan complete, que por los signos exteriores nadie podría sospechar lo que pasa en España."

[121] See Domingo Ortega Gutiérrez, *El Orfeón Burgalés: cien años de historia, 1893 – 1993* (Burgos: Talleres Gráficos Diario de Burgos, 1993), 135-138.

drumbeat of the regime's propaganda in the press, it is possible that the new director believed that the Orfeón Burgalés could resume its normal programing, as well. What we do know is that Father Rayón attempted to place one of the choral pieces of Antonio José on that May concert program. [122] The announcement of the program appeared in the *Diario de Burgos* of May 24th and immediately caught the eye of the head of Police and Security, a branch of the Franco government's National Security Service.[123] The commissioner fired off a letter to the Orfeón.

> To the director of the Choral Society of Burgos, [124]
>
> Having been published in the newspapers of this locality the evening program of music that the Choral Society of Burgos will perform the 25th day of the present month in the *Teatro Principal*, and featuring in the third section of that program the number titled "¡Aye! Amante mío", authored by Antonio José, I must tell you that by order of the Honorable Deputy of the Public Order of this Capital, the interpretation of that work remains expressly prohibited, allowing to be replaced another work by another composer, as otherwise, I would see to it that a sanction be imposed on you.
>
> Burgos, 24th of May 1938,
> Year II of the Triumph,
> Head of the Comisión,
> Modesto Zaguero. [125]

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[122] ABM, Floriano Ballesteros Caballero... *et al., Burgos 1902-1936: Antonio José y su época,* (Burgos, Spain: IMC, 2003), 168. ABM, Taken from a photocopy of the program for the concert, the letter was addressed to the *señores socios protectores* a direct reference to the patrons of the Orfeón Burgalés, which had always been funded independently.

[123] The Diario had gone through an overnight transformation in 1936.The paper on Saturday the 18th of July was a politically middle-of-the-road newspaper on Saturday, July 18.The Sunday morning of the 19th the paper did not publish. On Monday morning, July 20th the banner headline announced that a new government had been formed under military control and the paper became a voice of the New State. Antonio José's name would not appear in it again until the 1970s.

[124] The formal name of the Orfeón was and still is the *Sociedad Coral de Burgos* (The Choral Society of Burgos).

[125] ABM, Ballesteros Caballero. - photo copy of letter from the jefe de la comisión: "Habiéndose publicado en los periódicos de esta localidad el programa de verspertina musical que esa Sociedad Coral de Burgalesa se celebrá el día 25 del los corrientes el Teatro Principal, y con la tercera parte de ese programa el número titulado '¡Ay! Amante mío', cuyo autor José Antonio, he de manifestarle usted que por el orden público de esta Capital, queda terminantemente prohibida la interpretación de dicha composición, pudiendo

The priest made no appeal and removed the piece from the program. So began the censure by the Francoist regime of performances of the composer's work.

The letter's language was formal, curt, and uncompromising. There could be no mistaking the significance of its edict. The mere presence of one choral piece by the composer was banned, and there was to be no appeal. There is no evidence of any performance of compositions by Antonio José for the remainder of the Francoist regime's existence, although one performance, as we will see, does occur in the Republic before the end of the war. There is also no evidence of another attempt at such a resuscitation of the composer's work, either by the Orfeón Burgalés or any other musical organization in Spain for the next thirty-three years. Up to that point the hesitancy to discuss openly the composer's death or life remained a factor in the reemergence of his artistic voice and vision.[126]

One other aspect of the silencing of the composer's work has to do with the silencing of the press itself. First in Burgos, and eventually in the Republic, as more and more territory fell to Franco's army, the tightening grip of media control by the Francoist regime took hold. In terms of Burgos, the passing of the *Ley de Prensa de 1938* (the Law of the Press) by the regime, which we will discuss in Chapter 5 on censorship of literature, made total control of the press the object of the state. Mention of the composer in Francoist-controlled press was nonexistent, along with the performance of his music in

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ser sustituida por otra de otro autor, pues en caso contrario, me vería en la precisión de proponerle parea que la fuera impuesta una sanción."

[126] Domingo Ortega Gutiérrez, 135.

Burgos.[127]

However, if the news of the composer was cut off in Burgos and in Nationalist-held territory, his death made news in the shrinking Republic, especially in Madrid. Although it required some time to arrive there, the first published story on Antonio José's execution appeared on the second page of *La Libertad,* dated the 26th of January, 1937. The dateline is "Valencia, January 25." The delay of the news reaching Madrid could have been caused in part by the government's move to Valencia for security reasons in November of 1936. News reaching Madrid about the war and incidents behind Nationalists' lines often took the circuitous route through Valencia and its connections.

The article has errors, although some could be a problem with transmission or wire service dictation. Nevertheless, this short piece reveals details not mentioned before about the composer's death.

> It is known that the Fascists have shot to death in Burgos the prominent musician Antonio José, organizer of the Orfeón Burgalés and composer of several musical works. In the last International Congress of Music held in Barcelona he presented some of the strongest insights. It seems that the motive for shooting him was that he belonged to the Socialist Party. The fact (of his death) has been fully confirmed and it is known that fruitless efforts were made to try to obtain a pardon by Jesuit Father Deovides, professor of Antonio José who, in recent times, admiring the talent of his student, called himself a disciple, rather than his teacher.[128]

Aside from the fact that the article calls the composer a member of the Socialist

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[127] My research over five years has failed to turn up a single reference to the composer in written work within the regime until the early 1950s and then not again for another twenty years. See this chapter on the work of Santiago Santerbás starting on page 23.

[128] "En Burgos fue fusilado el eminente compositor Antonio José: Su terrible delito era pertenecer al Partido Socialista," *La Libertad* (January 26, 1936), 2. "Se sabe que los fascistas han fusilado en Burgos al destacado músico Antonio José, organizador del Orfeón Burgalés y autor de varias obras musicales. En el último Congreso Internacional de Música celebrado en Barcelona constituyó una de las más firmes revelaciones.

Party, which he was not, it misspells the name of José María *Beobide* as "Deovides", and assumes the secular musician, who was chief organist in a major church in Burgos, was a priest, the article is still important. Besides being the first notice of the death of Antonio José in Madrid newspapers, it not only reports the fact of the composer's death, it mentions Antonio José's April presentation in Barcelona and the quality of the work. Whoever passed this information on to reporters in Valencia knew the importance of that presentation to the composer.

There is also no mention in the biographies of Antonio Jose about an attempted intersession with the authorities on the part of his old teacher, but it is consistent with Beobide's deep admiration for his former student and their lifelong relationship. Beobide had been offered the position of choir director of the Orfeón Burgalés and had turned it down in deference to the then twenty-seven-year-old Antonio José. It is hard to know what *La Libertad's* source was for the news, but if it was Beobide himself, who was still in Burgos, he would certainly have had a motive to get the story out about his friend.

With knowledge of the composer's death isolated under the repression and no public outlet in Burgos, its filtering out to the Republic after his death, through whatever source, was an early, albeit small, example of the preservation of his memory. After the regime finally subdues Madrid and Valencia two years later in 1939 that preservation will become more problematic and take different forms as we will examine soon.

The news of Antonio José also was a part of a larger story of which the public in Madrid had become more than just a little aware: the Nationalist treatment of intellectuals and artists. The daily newspaper *La Voz* ran an editorial on page one that appeared on

February 6, 1937, entitled "Luminarias de la España nacionalista: otro fiscal, contra la inteligencia" (Luminaries of Spain: Another Prosecutor against the Intelligentsia). The article decried the wanton killing of intellectuals in Nationalist Spain. The death of Antonio José had resonated.

> For Nationalist Spain, an intellectual is good press, and there is nothing in the world that would cause (the Nationalists) to decide to abandon it just like that… Poets die-and yes they die in the Granada morning with the smell of nard and cinnamon-; musicians die-what purpose could the idiotic factious murder of Antonio José have served them-:professors die: what dies in the end is intelligence, what is pure and bright, what shines, what pulses; it dies-there are already precedents -"the fatal habit of thinking.[129]

The allusion in this article to the poet Lorca's death in "the Granada morning," reported in Madrid press the previous August, is itself poetic. The quotation at the end of this segment is from an anonymous prayer sometimes attributed to St. Teresa of Avila, the Spanish Carmelite nun, but is more likely of early twentieth century origin. Its use here, at any rate, clearly mocks the supposed piety of the Nationalist rhetoric. Beyond the poetry and prayer references of the article is the significance of the portrayal of these deaths as part of a systematic pattern of anti-art and anti-intellectualism. That portrayal would, early on, hang over the regime of Franco and would continue to most of its years.[130] It was also the motivation behind the *II Congreso International de Escritores* (The Second International Congress of Writers) held in August of 1937 in Valencia.

The Congress managed, in the middle of the Civil War, to pull together

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[129] "Luminarias de la España nacionalista: otro fiscal, contra la inteligencia," *La Voz* (February 6, 1937), 1.

[130] Such a portrayal and attempts at rehabilitating the image of the regime would occupy many Franquista intellectuals especially by the end of the 1940s. The chapters on Jesús López Pacheco and Antoni Tápies focus in part on this issue.

distinguished authors, writers, and musicians from all parts of Republican Spain, some exiled from homes that were now controlled by the Nationalists and some from abroad in order to support culture in the threatened Republic. The event included speeches by dignitaries, such as poet Antonio Machado and the founder of the Instituto Libre de Enseñaza, Fernando de los Rios. An organization within the Congress, the *Alianza de Intelecutales Antifascistas* para la defense de la Cultura (The Alliance of Anti-Fascist Intellectuals for the Defense of the Culture), helped to put together a concert of works from composers representing Valencia, Castile, the Basque Country, Murcia, and Madrid. [131]

Writer Joshe Mari wrote about the event. This concert would be the only time after the death of Antonio José where a composition of his was performed in Spain until after the death of Franco. Within two years, the blanket of silence over his music and his name in Spain would be complete. Mari's mention of the performance, in fact, serves as a Republican eulogy for the composer.

> I write here with profound emotion the name of the author of *Evocaciones*, taken from popular themes of old Castile arranged for orchestra, and conducted in this concert by Julián Bautista. Poor Antonio José! He treated the songs and dances from musical knowledge of the people of Castilla with so much ability and with such fervor for tradition and Spanishness! He was a fervent cultivator of the music of *Mester de Juglaría* (minstrels) and Mester de *Clerecia* (lyrical poets) together, who celebrated not many years ago in Burgos a delectable Castilian festival of peace, of love, and of exquisite culture, in praise of the blind Francisco Salinas![132]

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[131] See *Hora de España, Revista Mensual*, VIII (Valencia, August, 1937), 1.

[132]Joshe Mari, "Concierto sinfónico de música de España" *Hora de España,* (Valencia, 1937), 78. "Con profunda emoción escribo aquí el nombre del autor de 'Evocaciones' de temas populares de la vieja Castilla, instrumentas para orquestra y dirigidas en este concierto por Julián Bautista. ¡Pobre Antonio José! ¡Con cuánta competencia y con cuánto fervor de tradición y de españolismo trató las canciones y danzas del saber musical del pueblo castellano! ¡Fue un cultivador entusiasta en la música del *Mester de Juglería* y del *Mester*

By way of some explanation, Mari's reference to the duality of "Mester de Juglaria" and "Mester de Clerecia" invokes two types of musical expression that predominated in medieval Spain: the troubadour - "Mester de Jualaría", the singer of the people's stories - and that of the literate poet – "Mester de Clerecia" - usually a cleric who wrote on subjects of love and passion are, in his music, fused together. The reference to a festival for the music of sixteenth century, Burgalese composer Francisco de Salinas added further weight to a portrait of a contemporary composer steeped in the history of the music of Spain. Mari finishes this eulogy with what easily could have been an epigraph on the tombstone of the composer, if only one had been permitted. "He loved the music of the people and the people themselves," Mari wrote, "and it tells us that this love cost him his life!" [133]

With the fall of Madrid on March 28th, 1939, to the Francoist Nationalist army, and then Valencia the day after, the mention of dead republicans killed in the violence, let alone tributes and homages, ended under the waves of Francoist occupation. The long silencing of the artist's life and music in Spain was in place.

Memory: Timing and Obstruction

When examining the factors that played a role in the long silencing of the life and work of Antonio José, his profile in the musical world of Spain near the time of his death is essential to consider. There is no question as to his talent in the eyes of his teachers, his

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de Clerecia a la vez-música popular y música sabia-, que celebraba no hace muchos años en Burgos una deliciosa fiesta castellanísima de paz, de amor y de cultura exquisita, en loa del ciego Francisco Salinas! ¡Amaba a la música del pueblo y al pueblo mismo y se nos ha dicho que este amor le ha costado la vida!"

[133] *Ibid.*

peers, and his city. Music critics understood this talent, as well, but, as we have seen, wished that he had more time to leave Spain - a desire he shared. This factor, a financial inability to travel freely, and in particular travel to Paris, the cultural capital of Europe in the 1920s and 30s, was significant for a young Spanish artist. Neither Madrid, nor Barcelona, as cosmopolitan as they had become, was capable of sustaining the community of artists and performers that were available in Paris. In fact, of the three disciplines represented in this present work, the validity of Paris' credentials for Spanish artists before World War II, and the Spanish Civil War was especially true for music and the plastic arts. It was as true for painters Pablo Picasso, Joan Miró, and Óscar Domínguez as it was true for composers Manuel de Falla and Joaquín Rodríguez. [134] Paris was the sought after destination. And although critical analysis of music had grown geometrically in Spain from the beginning of the twentieth century, with music critics regularly publishing columns in main periodicals, it would often be Paris credentials that exemplified to critics whether or not a Spanish composer had achieved cultural worth.

Antonio Jose's reputation in Spain was growing in the 1930s. His orchestral pieces had been performed with more frequency up until his death. His work was introduced to audiences by the Orquesta Sinfónica de Arbós and the Orquesta Clásica (both in Madrid), the Orquesta Sinfónica de Bilbao, the Cuarteto Aguilar, soprano Angeles Ottein; and even once by pianist Arthur Rubinstein.[135] In terms of the memory of

[134] And even during the Francoist regime, those credentials would help enormously although for Antoni Tàpies it would be New York credentials more so than Paris that would so aid in the rise of his profile.
[135] Miguel Ángel Palacios Garoz, "Lo Cervantino y lo popular en la Opera inédita de Antonio José 'El Mozo de Mulas'," *Revista de Folklore* (May, 1984), 41: 147-157.

him and his music, such longer-term relations outside of Spain, would have enhanced his profile in Spain and would have helped seal a larger international reputation. Had he been able to connect that growth in Spain with more associations outside of Spain we might be telling a different story. The reason he could not make that transition was a result of his lack of resources and the repression in Burgos at the start of the Civil War.

One additional note should be made about Spanish critics, especially during the 1930s leading up to the dictatorship and the end of the Republic. Music criticism, which had grown in Spain only from the beginning of the twentieth century as the expansion of urban centers began to catch up to other parts of Western Europe, tended to reflect the political leanings of the publishers. Therefore, for instance, "El Sol and La Voz were the most prominent advocates of new avenues of expression, while ABC, Debate, and Libertad were less committed…" [136] Once the censorship of periodicals, as well as the censorship of all of literature, became the focus of the dictatorship, a focus that began almost immediately at the installation of the provisional government in Burgos, the newspapers had only one "political leaning" and motivation: service to the New State.

Music, functional music for events and the pageantry of Francoism, served the same purpose as it did during most of the European dictatorships of the twentieth century. It a rallying tool. In terms of the public sphere, although music criticism was hurt by some Republican journalists being exiled or jailed in the early years of the regime-Subirá

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[136] Casares Rodicio, Emilio, ed., *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana* (Madrid: Sociedad General de Autores y Editores, 1999), 168-180. "*El Sol* and *La Voz* (Madrid) fueron los más destacados defensores de las nuevas vías de expresión, mientras que *ABC*, *Debate y Libertad* fueron menos comprometidos…"

himself, for instance-Radio Nacional de España kept up daily programming of classical music. Suffice it to say there is no record of the music of Antonio José being presented over the air live until after the death of Franco and his is music had never been recorded in his lifetime.

The regime of Franco did not consider, however, the world of classical music and composition, as it would not the world of contemporary painting, a threat in the same way as it would the world of contemporary Spanish literature. [137] It was true in literature, in particular, but painting and music as well, that exiles who opposed the regime presented it with propaganda problems, as we shall see. Other than banning the work of those artists at home, the regime could do little about. In music, two of the most internationally recognized artists, De Falla, an exile who openly refused an invitation from the regime to return to Spain, and Pau Casals, who lived in his second home in Puerto Rico during the regime and was a strong advocate of Catalan independence, continually excoriated the Francoist government at any opportunity. They both had sizable international audiences. [138]

The position of Antonio José as an underexposed composer while alive, cannot, by itself, explain the long years of neglect to his musical voice. It is the assertion here that, in fact, that voice itself will be the primary reason for the resuscitation of his art and

[137] Again, this can be confirmed by the quantity of submissions of literature for authorization by the censors. The only music that tended to make a difference, as stated earlier, was that which contained lyrics. The music of Antonio José was never submitted to the censors because the regimen of censorship during the Republic did not warrant it. There are no records available for the quantity of sales of the composer's work by his publisher, Union Musical de España during this period.

[138] Roberto L. Pajares Alonso, *Historia de la música en 6 boques*, Bloque 1(Madrid: Editorial Visión Libros, 2012), 481.

the story of his life, as well. In order to understand the process of the "forgetting" of his art and life during the years of the Francoist regime, we need to turn to another line of inquiry-the role of rebmbrance and its obstruction.

To start with, the great body of the composer's one-hundred and fifty works in their manuscript form, his compositions and orchestrations assiduously penned, vanished with only a few exceptions- the *Sonata para guitar* (1933) probably the most prominent. The orchestral tone-poem piece, *Evocaciones* (1928), his *Suite ingenua*, (1928) the *Sinfonía castellana* (1926) based on his own piano sonata from 1923, and his opera, *El mozo de mulas*, along with the rest of his catalog would be discovered in the attic of his cousins in Burgos by his principal biographer, Miguel Ángel Palacios Garoz. With his father's death in 1933 and his mother's in February, 1936, eight months before the execution of the composer himself and his brother Julio, the papers of the composer reverted to his cousins. They would eventually move away from Burgos. Their own hesitance at coming forward with these works at the time surrounding the execution, but regardless they seemed to be unclear of the value of what they possessed. "They were not musicians and didn't know what they had," said Garoz. In the end, the manuscripts would go untouched for forty-four years until tracked down by Garoz. [139]

There is much more, however, than missing manuscripts that contributed to the silence surrounding the composer and his work, and for that, we should turn to studies of history and memory for answers. The scholarship in this area has risen to a fervor pitch

[139] This comment and the story of the discovery of his work came in conversation with the professor in Burgos in April of 2012.

since World War II, and I believe an examination of some of that literature here has particular relevance to the story of the composer. We can see the affects of violence, the threat of violence, and the use of censorship by the Francoist regime on social memory over time, as well as how the recovery of that memory plays out in history. One avenue of investigation might lie in ideas of remembrance as they apply to memory and history.

The term "collective remembrance," I believe, best explains the individual and social components involved in the case of the disappearance of Antonio José. A refinement of Maurice Halbwachs' concept of "collective memory," collective remembrance was suggested as an alternative by historians Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, who were not convinced about the sole role of collectivity in social memory as outlined by Halbwachs.[140] Both instead have examined how the individual acts on memories. They are skeptical of inferences drawn from Halbwachs' work that only collectives have agency or, even worse, that somehow groups have a separate collective memory of their own. "States," says Winter, "do not remember; individuals do in association with other members" and that is a key point in coming to grips with contemporary concepts of memory.[141] Winter's *Remembering War* builds on earlier work done by him and Sivan. There is, in this concept of "collective remembrance," an

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[140] Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945) is regarded today by historians, sociologists, and political scientists alike as a seminal figure in helping to frame the role of memory in society. The English translation of *On Collective Memory* is a compilation of two works by Halbwachs: *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (The Social Frameworks of Memory) published posthumously in Paris in 1952, and *La topographie légendaire de évangiles en terre sainte: Etudes de mémoire collective* (The Legendary Topography of the Gospels in the Holy Land) a work first published in 1941. A sociologist and disciple of both Henri Bergson and Emile Durkheim, Halbwachs considered *Frameworks* his most fully formed work. *On Collective Memory* has become a theoretical backdrop for many engaged in framing the interaction of history and memory in society and serves as a talisman.

[141] Jay Winter. *Remembering War: The Great War Between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven, Co.: Yale University Press, 2006), 4.

implication of the agency of individuals involved in commemoration within a group, something not evident in Halbwachs' work. Collective remembrance, then, "is the act of gathering bits and pieces of the past and joining them together in public".[142]

To Winter, war commemoration, in particular in the twentieth century, was a realm of memory where individuals, not merely society in the Halbwachs sense, could, through their participation, affect directly the understanding of their own history. This would seem to be the same paradigm that Halbwachs had associated with the reoccurring social aspect of memory. For Winter, however, these groups, large and small, are made up of individual efforts at commemorating events, rather than merely the result of constructs of society which "belong to everybody." His research focused on the various combatants on the side of the British Empire in the First World War. To the British the Battle of Gallipoli (1915 - 1916) falls under the aegis of a confrontation with the Turkish and a defense of the empire, but one that ended badly and cost the downfall of the government. But to the Australians and the New Zealanders who formed the bulk of the invasion force, the defeat represented the emergence of a new national identity and a diminution of the image of the British Empire. Likewise, the Canadians themselves mark their effort at Vimy (1917) in France and in Turkey as a point at which their historic relationship to the Crown dramatically changed. To Winter and Sivan, these markings are indeed social, but the memories that they have brought forth into the national

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[142] Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan. "Setting the Framework" in *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*, Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Pg. 6.

consciousness of the countries involved are wholly dependent upon commemorative activities of groups of individuals, as well as families. They note:

> What commemoration succeeded in doing is to transform the history of nations into other signifying practices on the local as much as the national level annually re-create families small and large…[143]

One place to look for clues to the long disappearance of the music of Antonio José starts with the actual denial by the provisional government in Burgos of the performance of "¡Ay! Amante mío" in 1938. For in Burgos at the moment of Antonio José's death, in the memories of his colleagues, the members of the Orfeón Burgalés to whom he taught music, and even to the community who knew him and respected his stewardship of their choir, any performance would have to be, by its nature, an act of remembrance, a commemoration of the beauty of his art and, what is more, of his life. Father Rayón clearly understood formal, curt and direct warning from the Head of Security in the provisional Francoist government, as he removed the composition by the composer and never attempted again to perform another. No reading the document would suggest that there was a loophole for performance of the composer's music.

Music performances are social gatherings and would have to become automatically, as they surely would have been for the Orfeón Burgalés and the community who knew the composer, acts of collective remembrance of the music and life of Antonio José. That is precisely what the performance in Valencia turned out to be in 1937. The people of the community would be denied, in the sense of Winter and Sivan's understanding, their own individual agency in commemorations of the composer. It

[143] Winter and Sivan, 168.

would not be, as we shall see, that the memory of him would be lost or forgotten. But as time passed, the lack of commemoration of his life and music would become the norm. There would not be in Burgos, nor in Spain, the reinforcement of his memory by individuals in gatherings until late in the 1970s.

In Spain outside of Burgos, the performance of *Evocaciones* in Valencia would pass into memory, as would the conference of which it was a part. When Francoist troops moved into Madrid and Valencia in 1939, there would be no more commemorations of Republican culture on any level. The combination of Antonio José's execution, the end of the Republic, the ban against performance of his music already in effect, and, although he had been a rising talent, the lack of greater exposure to his music internationally, would all conspire to throw a blanket over his life story.

There is one other aspect that contributed to the obstruction of the remembrance of the composer. A new set of commemorations arose from the ashes of the end of the Second Republic in Spain. These would be dedicated to very different memories and the history on which they were based, both in Burgos and throughout Spain, would call for very different collective remembrances. As mentioned, in Burgos that change would be virtually overnight. Now, it would be the memory and remembrance of the Nationalist victory and the New State that became the tool of the victor, a tool the Francoist regime relished using. Here again individuals in the Winter sense of commemoration were called to remember a history, but a very different one than that which Burgos called on Antonio José to help commemorate the first anniversary of the Republic in 1932.

Paloma Aguilar Fernánedez writes about the use by the Franco regime of a new "origin-based" history, [144] and it is evident that a new narrative was being developed, a tool of conquering regimes that have been used, in fact, from as far back as Augustus and Virgil's Aeneid. Gone now in Spain was the narrative of the *Constitución de Cádiz* and the line of liberal democratic educational thought of the Instituto Libre. Instead, they were replaced by the regime's ties to the *Reconquista* through its "Crusade" of the Civil War. In Burgos, as we have discussed, the legend of El Cid would be reasserted and given the commemorative glow of a new statue dedicated to the medieval knight. [145]

None of the yearly commemorations to the grand victory of the regime dating from the Nationalist's entry into Madrid in the spring of 1939 would help the memory of Antonio José, unfortunately. Historian of literature José Colmeiro puts it this way:

> The time of silence and legislated forgetting of Francoism, the long night of stone of censored memory of the opposition and resistance and the substitution of historical memory by the nostalgia of a primal mythical order (was) translated into an outmoded imperial epoch.[146]

The memory of the composer and his music, however, would only lie dormant. It would reassert itself through collective remembrance as Spain itself moved out of Francoism. His music was not buried with him, and slowly and erratically it would reassert itself.

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[144] Paloma Aguilar Fernández, Memory and Amnesia: The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy (Oxford: Berghan Books, 2002), 43.
[145] See Chapter 2 and also Aguilar Fernández, 39.
[146] José F. Colmeiro*, Memoria Histórica: de la postguerra a la postmodernidad* (Anthropos Editorial: 2005), 17-18. "El tiempo de silencio y olvidado del franquismo, la larga noche de piedra de la memoria censurada de la oposición y resistencia y la sustitución de la memoria histórica por la nostalgia de un legendario orden primigenio (fue) traducido en una época imperial trasnochada." (parenthesis and trans. Mine)

Memory: Recuperation

It makes sense that it would be a combination of those familiar with the composer's work and those that never knew of his music, who together would play the most significant roles in resurrecting his art. The recuperation of the music of Antonio José occurred in fits and starts, tentatively expressed in periodicals spread out over twenty years, and then finally, leading finally to the first homages to the composer that would take place in the early years of the transition to democracy later in the 1970s.

The act of "gathering bits and pieces of the past" of Antonio José and his music began in fits and starts. Actual public performance of his compositions would have to wait, but the first appearance of the composer's name in print after his execution was in the *Boletín de la Institución de Fernán González* in 1953.[147] The institution was a source for historical analysis of the fine arts and included critical works on performance and centered in Burgos. The bulletin, published quarterly, carried a series of articles by Ángel Sagardía in 1953 that highlighted the life and works of famous composers from Castile-León dating back to the Middle Ages. The third trimester issue featured a piece on the composer, calling him the "unforgettable Antonio José". "A musician or composer of the people such as Antonio José," wrote Sagardía, "is one who feels an attraction for what is humble, what is simple, and what is almost always pure…" [148]

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[147] Ángel Sagardía, "En torno a los compositores burgaleses Santamaría, Olmeda, Antonio José y Calleja" (conclusión) Editorial: Institución Fernán González Materia in Boletín de la Institución Fernán González. 3er trim. 1953, Year 32, n. 124, p. 653-662

[148] *Ibid.*, 653, "…el músico o compositor, tal Antonio José, es el que siente una atracción por lo humilde, lo sencillo, que es también, casi siempre, lo puro…"

Although in a bulletin with distribution that was primarily limited to members of the institution and covering only three and a half pages, the emphasis in Sagardía's short piece is important. He makes plain the composer's dedication to the everyday people of Burgos and the province and extols the composer's musicality. "Antonio José," he writes, "unites an exceptional musical temperament to which was joined this artistic sensibility, which only the great talents possess." [149] He describes the composer's work and involvement with the Orfeón and even mentions in its repertoire the very "¡Ay! Amante mío" that was cause for the banning of his music fifteen years before. He provides a list of critical praise from music journalists, such as Alfonso Salazar in *El Sol* and Joaquín Turina from *El Debate*, who covered the composer's works in Madrid, although both papers disappeared during the Civil War. Most importantly the article demonstrates that Sagardía had not forgotten the importance of the composer's contribution to Spanish music and to his native home of Burgos.

Sagardía closes by saying that, "One wishes that the rest of his work, little known - left basically unpublished - is interpreted by the music groups of our nation in order that at the same time he is honored and we might admire him for his immense talent." [150] The emphasis on the composer's ties to "the people" brings up again the underlying theme of Republican values of egalitarianism. The critics were well known during the Republic and by then, *El Sol* itself was defunct, as it stopped publication at the fall of Madrid to the

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[149] *Ibid.*, 654-654. "Antonio José une un excepcional temperamento musical al que se unió esa sensibilidad artística, pues solo poseen los grandes talentos."

[150] *Ibid.*, 656. "Es de desear que el resto de su obra, apenas conocida-dejó bastante inédita- se interprete por los agrupaciones musicales de nuestra nación para así, al mismo tiempo que se le honre, podamos admirarle en su inmensa valía."

Francoist army in 1939. Moreover, the piece is clearly a homage to the composer, far from an encyclopedia entry of dates and compositions. Finally, the emphasis on his status as a composer takes the issue of his memory away from political considerations and places it squarely on his art. The vaguest reference to his execution is avoided, thus ensuring a version of his story, albeit "sanitized," might be told openly. This route of discourse will be important in more substantive recollection of the composer as years go on during the dictatorship. What is clear here is that in Burgos the memory of the composer and his musical expression was still very present in the minds of some.

It would be another 18 years more, however, before the first truly significant break in the shroud covering the composer´s music occurred. It came from Madrid author and journalist Santiago Rodríguez Santerbás. Santerbás, writing in *Triunfo*, one of the few Spanish intellectual magazines of the 1960s and 1970s, broke that silence by means of a long feature article. [151]The piece, which covered six pages, including several photographs one showing the composer at the tomb of Chopin in Paris led with the banner headline "En Busco de Un Músico Perdido" (In Search of a Lost Musician). Other pictures included the composer as a boy of fourteen years from his days at La Escuela de San Lorenzo in Burgos, a large photo in a group shot of Antonio José with his beloved Orfeón Burgalés, and even a picture with the caption "una de las últimas fotographias del Antonio José, junto a 'Bruco,' su perro lobo" (one of the last photographs of Antonio José together with 'Bruco,' his wolfhound). With the article, Santerbás became the first

[151] *Triunfo*, was both an exception and an exceptional as a magzine during Francoism. It's story is too long to expand on here, but well worth investigation. See *Triunfo y su época: jornadas en la Casa Velázquez los días 26 y 27 de Octubre de 1992* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1995).

reporter, the first writer period, in over twentyfive years to even broach the topic of the composer's life. It is obvious that Santerbás had access to photographs from friends and family, but the reporter also quotes whole sections from Antonio José's unedited letters. [152]

It would also be Santerbás in this article who prominently mentions a quote apocryphally made by one of the composer's compositional influences, Maurice Ravel: "Antonio José llegará a ser el gran músico español de nuestro siglo." (Antonio José will become the great Spanish musician of our century.) The Ravel story was repeated often by others, but although the French composer visited Málaga during Antonio José's tenure as a choir professor, and although the young composer spent two summers in Paris during this period, there is no verifiable archival confirmation in either Spain or France of this comment. [153] The Santerbás article, however, backed up by other research on the part of the critic, was the first to crack open the memory chest of Antonio José´s music in a national forum. The article helped ignite a small brush fire of activity that took hold in Burgos less than two months later.

In the daily newspaper *La Voz de Castilla* (The Voice of Castile), under editorial control of the Falange, an article sponsored by the paper, appeared on the state of music in Burgos and the memory of Antonio José. Five academics artists and musicians took part in the discussion that *La Voz* moderated and published on February 16, 1972. The

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[152] Santiago Rodrígo Santerbás, "En Busco de Un Músico Perdido" in *Triunfo*, December 25, 1971, no. 482, 2429. Accessed at: http://www.triunfodigital.com/mostradorn.php?a%F1o=XXVI&num=482&imagen=29&fecha=1971-12-25.

[153] *Ibid.,* 28.

article was a twopage spread in the middle of the newspaper and appeared in a regular section called "A Tumba Abierta" (To the Open Vault). The irony of "tumba's" double meaning was not lost on some participants. One was Ángel Juan Quesada, who had taken on the directorship of the Orfeón Burgalés in 1948 and had known the composer well. In 1971, he was the director of the Conservatorio Elemental de Música "Antonio de Cabezón." Another was Maese Saturnino Calvo, the painter and sculptor, the close friend that had shared his apartment with Antonio José in Paris the summers of 1927 and 1928. Saturnino himself had been jailed by the regime for "espionage" between1936 until 1938. The others, Rafael Nuñez Rosiem, vice president of the Orfeón, Miguel Casteñeda, the director of the *Schola Cantorum del Circulo Católico*, and Justo del Rio, a dance instructor, had lived in Burgos for years and were knowledgeable about the climate of art in the region. All were familiar with Antonio José, though some were too young to have ever known him.[154]

The headline for the article had to be eyecatching to musicians and classical music lovers in Burgos who had either forgotten the composer by 1972 or possibly had never heard of him at all. "Los agrupaciones musicales de Burgos deben intervenir conjuntamente en un homenaje a Antonio-José" (Musical Groups of Burgos Should Participate Together in a Homage to Antonio José), it read. The piece began by describing the general lack of a music culture in Burgos that "no cuenta lamentablemente con muchos seguidores porn as u otras circunstancias (one lamentably cannot count on many

[154]AMB, Cana Vera *et al*., "Los agrupaciones musicales de Burgos deben intervenir conjuntamente en un homenaje a Antonio-José"," *La Voz de Castilla*, February 16, 1972, 10-11.See also Palacios Garoz, 233.

followers for one reason or other), and continues by asserting the intention of examining the story of Antonio José "del grandes grandes maestros españoles manifestaron que sería el músico del siglo" (that the great masters of Spanish music have declared could be the musician of the century). [155] The hyperbole could certainly have been that of a regional paper proud of the composer's Burgalese roots, except considering the periodical's political position, not to mention the censorship of the composer's name over the previous twentyfive yearsthe whole presentation seems surreal.

The observations made by the participants are in response to questions from an anonymous moderator from *La Voz*, who begins by asking about the lack of public interest in Burgos for classical music and the dearth of music performances in general. The answers provide some insight into the state of music in Spain in general at this stage of the regime. From the comments, those attending this forum mourn the loss of public performances and spend a good amount of time discussing the need to reinvigorate them in Burgos. At first, there is no mention of the composer in the conversation, except for a brief moment when Saturnino Calvo recalls that Antonio José, "el maestro desaparecido," was someone who had, at one time, fostered a strong musical climate in the city. [156] Ángel Quesada clearly believed that it was worth the effort to promote performance, especially among young music students. "In our city there is the desire to learn, there is a restlessness, a readiness, etc. in the youth. In older people, certainly, no. And that

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[155] "La tumba abierta: Las agrupaciones musicales de Burgos deben intervenir conjuntamente en un homenaje a Antonio-José," *La Voz de Castilla* (January 1, 1972), 10

[156]The term "the disappeared" here is not in passing, and carried with it the same significance to friends of Antonio José as it did to those friends and relatives of the "disappeared" in the 70s and 80s in Latin America. The use of it was not lost on the participants.

youth...belongs to all social classes..." [157] The comment would have pleased the "maestro desaparecido" enormously.

The moderator from La Voz then approached the topic of the composer headon. "Why has this land forgotten so soon the great maestro, Antonio José?" It was at this point that Quesada and Calvo begin to dominate the conversation. Quesada spoke first.

> All of us know about Antonio José; I was his compañero. He was the director of the Orfeón and I was the assistant director with him from 1934. Afterward the war came, and certainly his music lies mostly in the folkloric, but he has as well instrumental music and an opera as well called *El mozo de mulas,* which is missing its score. Efforts were made at the time of his death through his family, but they haven´t given us the whereabouts (of the music). [158]

Quesada, like most of those present, could not know at that moment that handwritten and printed copies of the copious output of Antonio José resided with his family in the attic of their home and would require a careful examination and cataloguing by his future biographers. The article would be directly responsible, in fact, for waking up their interest in the composer.[159] The mention by Quesada also of *El mozo de mulas* indicates how much his friends associated their memories of him with the work.

As noted in the last chapter, Maese Saturnino Calvo and Antonio José had been lifelong friends. Both had pursued the fine arts, Antonio José the musician, and

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[157] "La tumba abierta: Las agrupaciones musicales de Burgos deben intervenir conjuntamente en un homenaje a Antonio-José," *La Voz de Castilla*, 11. "En nuestra ciudad hay deseos de aprender, hay inquietud, preparación, etc. En los jóvenes. En los mayores, ciertamente, no. Y esa juventud… pertenece a todas las clases sociales…"

[158] *Ibid*., A Antonio José, todos le conocimos; yo fui compañero suyo. Era el director del Orfeón Burgalés y yo era subdirector desde el año 1934. Después vino la guerra y desde luego su música reside en su mayor parte en la cosa folclórica, pero también la tiene instrumental tiene una ópera se llama *El mozo de mulas* que no sabemos dónde está la partidura. Se hicieron gestiones con ocasión de su muerto a través de su familia y no nos han dado nunca razón de su paradero."

[159] Miguel Ángel Palacios Garoz, interview with the biographer of Antonio José, May, 5, 2012. It was Miguel Ángel's research that uncovered much of the composer's unpublished work.

Saturnino the painter. Also, Saturnino's own personal connection to the regime's repression cannot be dismissed. He had served time in prison in the 1940s for suspicion of involvement in espionage, a common trumpedup charge of the regime that was never proven. Saturnino makes his feelings clear in the discussion on Antonio José:

> He was something special; good with the good, and good with the bad, where one has to see goodness…. Antonio Jose, I repeat, warrants our respect, our admiration, and the recognition of all Burgaleses since his work bears the seal of a special nature. [160]

The group ends their conversation with an agreement that a homage is long overdue for the composer in Burgos.

As in the short piece in the *Boletín de la Institución de Fernán Gonzáles*, there was again no direct mention of the circumstances of the composer's death among those seated for the interview. The nature of references to the composer and to the Spanish Civil War in the discussion use the rhetoric of the war as "tragedy." This use falls in line with what had become a standard Francoist discourse in Spain in the late 60s and early 70s. [161] Nevertheless, the publication of the article in *La Voz* is both evidence that the composer had not been forgotten by his friends, and that the memory of Antonio José hung implicitly over Burgos as well. Unfortunately, this forum, as far as the records show, did not bear immediate fruit; no homage occurred in the early or middle 70s, although the paper did received letters in support of the article, and the paper even added

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[160] "Los agrupaciones musicales de Burgos…", 11 and Garoz, 37. "Era algo especial; bueno con los Buenos y bueno con los males, que es donde hay que ver la bondad…Antonio José, repito, nuestro respeto, nuestra admiración y el reconocimiento de todos los burgaleses, pues su obra lleva impresa el sello de una categoría especial."

[161] Paloma Aguilar Fernández, *Memory and Amnesia: The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy* (Oxford: Berghan Books, 2002), 46.

its own weight editorially. Homages to Antonio José would have to wait until after Francisco Franco's death. Nevertheless, both of these articles are important remembrances of the composer and his art and especially with the round table conversation published in *La Voz*, we see a genuine collective remembrance participated in by individuals who one by one contribute to the memory of the life of the composer.

The emergence of the articles from Madrid and Burgos slowly cracked the shell of censorship, and then, beginning after the death of Franco, the second category of the process of recuperation begins to take place. The return of Antonio José's work from obscurity would require performance. And, as would have been true had the Orfeón Burgalés been permitted to perform his work, each time his work was performed after the death of Franco was a moment of commemoration for the Burgos composer. Homages to the composer involving musicians and the public would be examples of exactly the kind that frames Sivan and Winter's theory.

The very social nature of performance is a dialogue between performer and audience, but in particular when works had lain dormant as long as the compositions of Antonio José, there was a period of re-acquaintance that would be essential. In effect, Sivan and Winter are actually saying something quite the opposite of Halbwachs in one aspect of collective memory. These remembrances only occur because of the process of individuals' assertion into a memory-history paradigm. And, here is where the saga of the reappearance of the art of Antonio José takes on the very personal agency of Miguel Ángel Palacios Garoz.

Miguel Ángel, now a professor emeritus from the Universidad de Burgos, was a student of composition in the Department of Music at the Universidad de Burgos in 1971. He remembers clearly where he first heard of Antonio José and his music. He read about him in the Santerbás article in *Triunfo* and in *La Voz*. Not once in a seminar and certainly not in a performance was the music of the composer discussed or interpreted openly. [162] For a young, enthusiastic, and dedicated Burgalese music student, the sudden realization that here was an undiscovered treasure chest of compositions somewhere in Burgos from an unknown Burgalese composer was exciting enough. But, that was not enough for the young student. He, along with Jesús Barriuso Gutiérrez and Fernando García Romero, instigated their own investigation into the life of the composer that they would eventually publish in the early years of the transition in Spain. That 1980 book led not only to the interviewing of relatives of the composer, but to the uncovering of most of the compositions written between his earliest piano sonata when he was fifteen up until his death. As mentioned, some of these had been published in Madrid, but many had not. There were, certainly, works for chorus, as the Orfeón provided a laboratory for his writing. But, the discovery of compositions far more intricate for orchestra, piano, and eventually guitar, was more than a young music scholar could wish for and the composer's music became a life's project. In 2002, Miguel Ángel published a second biography of Antonio José that featured one hundred seventy-five personal letters and other writings including the composer's essays on art and critical essays on performance

[162] From conversations with Prof. Garoz in September of 2010 and April-May, 2012.

that span the years from his first writings, in the *Diario de Burgos* to the speech at the homage in his honor three months before his arrest. [163]

In terms of actual performance and homage the gates were finally opened. The first official homage was presented in 1977 by the Instituto Regional Castellano Leonés (Regional Institute of Castilla-Leon). There were others, within the next few years, held by the Ayuntamiento de Burgos (City of Burgos) and the Orfeón Burgalés itself. Unión Musical Española, Antonio José's own publisher in Madrid, published the biography written by Barriuso, García Romero, and Garoz, by then faculty members at Universidad de Burgos. In1980, on the occasion of the release of the biography, an even larger festival was put on, including the Orfeón and other city choirs. The city contributed monetarily in addition to handing out free copies of the biography to the citizens. Burgos seemed to embrace its *compositor desaparecido* with relish. [164]

Six years after the death of Francisco Franco in 1981 and three years after a new Spanish constitution heralded a transition to democracy, the classical music world became reacquainted with Antonio José in Madrid. Cuban guitarist Ricardo Iznaola performed Antonio José's *Sonata para guitarra*. Iznaola himself was frankly astonished that such a work could go unnoticed for so long. Legendary Spanish guitar master Regino Sainz de la Masa (1896 1981) gave the Cuban a copy of the manuscript slightly before his death. It was for Sainz de la Masa that Antonio José had dedicated the work in 1933, and the guitarist had only performed the first movement. "During my time in Spain prior

[163] *Ibid*. and see also Barriuso, *et al.*.
[164] *Ibid*.

to the death of Franco," wrote Iznaola, "I did not encounter or hear of any performance of his (Antonio José's) works. The guitar Sonata was not only not performed, but no one really knew about it until my performance…"[165]

The sonata, in fact, had a strange performance life. It seems that, after Antonio José had written the piece in 1933, he revised it. He had given the first version to Sainz de la Masa and another, through other correspondences, had ended up in Italy. Different guitarists, depending on the source, now perform the original or the revised versions and sometimes both. There are only minor differences between the two versions, but at this point, whole doctoral theses have been written on these differences and their nuances, suggesting new ways to approach this masterpiece.[166]

The *Sonata para guitar* is today one of the most recorded and performed, not to mention the most challenging, pieces in the contemporary classical guitar repertoire and alone it seals the composer's legacy as a great composer of Spanish contemporary music. Since the redebut of the guitar sonata, his orchestral work, much of it recorded by the Orquestra de CastillaLeon such as his *Sinfonía castellana*, and parts of his opera are on compact disk recorded in 2005. [167]

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[165] Ricardo Iznaola, email message to the author, June 10, 2010. Regarding his performance, Ricardo Iznaola goes on to say that the debut of the work was ", at the Sala Fenix, on Monday, January 26, 1981, a concert that was broadcast live by Radio Nacional de España." Iznaola's performance was the first documented evidence of any of the composer's work performed after the dictator's death.

[166] Also see Corey E. Whitehead, "Antonio José Martínez Palacios' *Sonata Para Guitarra* (1933), An Analysis, Perforemer's Guide, and New Performance Edition (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 2002).

[167] The recording i son the *Nexus* classical label.

The opera of Antonio José, *El mozo de mulas*, is a perfect case of the sporadic nature of the reemergence of the composer's compositions. The full opera, as mentioned, has never been debuted. There were partial performances of the third act in 1978 by the Orquestra de Bilbao in conjunction with the Orfeón Burgalés and, in 1986, by the Orquestra de Valladolid, as well as the performance in Burgos in 2012. [168] The parts of the opera that have been performed most generally are those that were orchestrated in 1986 by Alejandro Yagüe, Associate Professor at the Conservatorio Superior de Música in Salamanca, although Antonio José had realized full orchestration of the opera. It was Yagüe's task to fill in pages of the second act, because the composer had only sketched them out in pencil, and those manuscripts had suffered with time. Yagüe confirms that the distinctiveness of the orchestration of Antonio José through his masterful use of instrumentation and color. Yagüe's job of mirroring the young composer's work was a subtle challenge, which he gladly accepted.[169]

Miguel Ángel Palcios Garoz himself had drawn up proposals for a debut of the full opera with one being tied to the fivehundredth anniversary of Columbus's voyage to the Americas, and he has sent copies of the full score published by the Municipality of Burgos to conductor Rafael Frühbeck who has conducted works of Antonio José for the possible debut in Germany and to the Teatro Real of Madrid. Time will tell if these proposals will bear fruit. The frustration, however, is apparent on the professor emeritus,

[168] Miguel Ángel Palacios Garoz, "¿Estreno de la opera El mozo de mulas?", *Diario de Burgos*, September 23, 2012, 4.
[169] From an interview with Alejandro Yagüe at the conservatory in Salamanca, October 25, 2011.

who has spent much of his adult life dedicated to the memory and creativity of Antonio José. He wrote to the *Diario de Burgos* after the concert in September of 2012:

> I believe that the moment has arrived to transfer the baton to others younger than I in order that someday they might achieve what I had not been able to get and I don't know if I will have the joy of seeing and hearing it: the debut of a stage version, complete and dignified, of the (opera) that Antonio José himself considered his greatest work, that to our disgrace and shame it continues unknown to us seventysix years after his death.[170]

Conclusion

Poet and journalist Antonio Daganzo Castro puts into a counter-factual, twenty-first century perspective what might have been the story of the art of Antonio José had things ended up for him differently.

> By its coloring, its grounding in popular melody, and its skillfully naïve quality- about which it's very significant that one of his orchestral works is precisely titled *Suite Ingenua*- perhaps the work of Antonio José, if having been able to grow and mature normally, would have aesthetically risen to the level of the celebrated Joaquín Rodrígo- a musician strictly contemporary to the Burgos musician: perhaps Antonio José could even have enjoyed the fame and prestige that Rodrígo eventually did. The case is that after the vengeful murder and the last years of forgetting, institutional disinterest, and marginal interest on the part of some, our country has finally recovered the music of Antonio José. Play now (his music), crowning the effort of these last years with its normal inclusion and permanent presence of the Burgos creator among the historical names of Spanish composition. And surely play too, of course, to make his music daily nourishment and a matter of cultural pride for the whole country…[171]

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[170]Garoz, "¿Estreno de la opera El mozo de mulas?" "… creo que ha llegado el momento de transmitir el testigo a otros más jóvenes que yo, para que algún día logren lo que yo no he podido conseguir y no sé si tendré la dicha de ver y oír: un estreno en versión escénica, completo y digno, de la que el propio Antonio José consideraba su gran obra, que para desgracia y vergüenza nuestra sigue aún sin conocerse 76 años después de su muerte." (trans. mine)

[171] Antonio Daganzo Castro, Sinfonías de las palabras-blog entry-"Antonio José: La música recobrada." "Por su colorido, su sustrato popular y su carácter sabiamente ingenuo -al respecto resulta muy significativo que una de sus obras orquestales precisamente se titule *Suite ingenua*-, quizá la obra de Antonio José, de haber podido crecer y madurar con normalidad, hubiera completado estéticamente a la del

Maybe Daganzo Castro's uplifting message can assuage somewhat Professor Garoz's frustration, which is palpable and understandable. It is because of the persistence of academics and musicians such as him and artists who understand, in an intrinsic sense, the language of Antonio José that avenues have opened for reasserting the composer's voice into the cultural history of contemporary Spain. That, as Miguel Ángel might be the first to say, is far from enough of an accomplishment.

What we know now about the composer, what we are discovering each time his music is presented anew, in fact, is that his music did and does strike a resonant chord in those who hear it. It was true in Spain in the years of the Republic when his compositions were only beginning to be heard. It was true in the memory of those like Santiago Rodrígo Santerbás who first reawakened his audience in *Triunfo* to the musical voice of this young composer, and it was true in the memory of those Antonio José knew from his hometown when the walls of silence began to crumble at the end of the dictatorship. In the end, the key to the remembrance of his music is the music itself.

However, brilliant as he had become at expressing himself through music, Antonio José had another voice, as well. The composer was far more than a talented musician; he

célebre Joaquín Rodrigo -músico estrictamente coetáneo del burgalés-; quizá incluso Antonio José era el llamado a disfrutar de la fama y el prestigio de los que finalmente Rodrigo gozó. El caso es que, tras el referido y vergonzoso asesinato, y años ulteriores de olvido, desinterés institucional e interesada marginación por parte de algunos, nuestro país ha recobrado finalmente la música de Antonio José. Tocar ahora coronar el esfuerzo de estos últimos años con la normal inclusión y definitiva presencia del creador burgalés entre los nombres históricos de la composición española. Y toca también, por supuesto, hacer de su música alimento cotidiano y orgullo cultural para todo un país…"
http://sinfoniadelaspalabras.blogspot.com/search?q=Antonio+Jos%C3%A9, accessed April 20, 2014.

was an insightful and introspective writer, who very quickly had garnered, in his short life, the capacity to see beyond what was on the surface of his culture with a deep sense of history and his place in it. For a boy of fifteen to go out on his own with few resources other than his musical talent and to have, within a few years, the scope of experience and comprehension of that talent not only to survive, but thrive artistically, is miraculous.

Yet, that was only part of his capacity for learning. He learned to teach, and became, from all the evidence, a beloved and engaging instructor of his art, conveying his knowledge to any who would be interested from whatever walk of life. The Orfeón Burgalés was a vehicle to test his own ideas of education, which were a mixture of those provided him by the Second Republic and the education he provided for himself. It was his last years in Burgos, as a maestro de coro, that provided him with an anchor of two sorts. One was a sense of stability that enabled him to make a living for himself, but the other was a dead weight that would keep him from leaving.

What this all tells is both sobering and heartening. Repression of an individual's space and that of the public sphere, as existed by design during the regime of Francisco Franco, can damage the way we think, the way we act, the way we express ourselves, but even more, the way we see ourselves. That it took so long for the voice of Antonio José to be heard again was a crime equal to the murder of the composer himself, because it deprived others of his talent and his inspiration. The distortion of history, as Schacter posits, certainly seems possible and regimes like Franco's did learn how to silence people and their expressions at times with precision.

On the other hand, the story of Antonio José tells us, as well, that artistic expression cannot be easily dismissed as a voice of dissidence. The hazard for a regime like that of Franco was that it was built on a false assumption. That assumption was that killing an artist and censoring his or her art will prevent that voice from being heard. What that voice can do, particularly one projected by music, is to take its unspoken, nonpolitical, pure expression and convert it into a warning. It becomes an instrument of dissidence when it will not disappear, and the music of Antonio José did not, regardless of the problems it encountered getting a full hearing. Not only does the music of Antonio José speak of the beauty of the folk songs of Burgos, it now tirelessly reminds us of the life and the death of the composer. And, as remarkable a voice in strictly musical terms as is that of Antonio José Martínez Palacios, it is all that much louder now that someone attempted to prevent it from singing.

Chapter 4 - Jesús López Pacheco: The Fisherman of Reality

> *Reality is indispensable to the poet, but alone, per se, it is not sufficient. What is real is raw. The world is a possibility, but it is incomplete and perfectible.*
>
> -Pedro Salinas [172]

> *To be a Spaniard, I tear myself away from Spain*
>
> - Jesus Lopez Pacheco [173]

Introduction

Jesús López Pacheco was born on July 13th, 1930 in Madrid and died from lung cancer sixty – seven years later in London, Ontario. His life spanned the years of the Second Republic, the Spanish Civil War, the dictatorship's repression and censorship, through the years of protest in Spain during the 1950s and 60s, and finally, across an ocean with his family to a quite different life as an academic in exile. His creative output covered the spectrum of post-World War II literary movements from the social realism of his earliest poetry and his novel *Central eléctrica* (1958) to his thoroughly post-modern *Ecólogas y urbanas* (1996) or his seven-hundred -page work, *El homóvil* (2002). [174] It was, however, his poetry that spread through the breadth of these years and represented the signpost of his thoughts on his society. César de Vincente Hernando, writing in the

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[172] Pedro Salinas, *Ensayos Completos*, tomo 1(Madrid: Taurus Ediciones, S.A., 1983), 191. "La realidad es indispensable al poeta, pero en sí sola no es suficiente. Lo real es crudo. El mundo es una posibilidad, pero es incompleto y perfectible."

[173] Jesús López Pacheco, "De Amor y de Rencor" in *Asilo poética: poemas escritos en Canadá, 1968-90* (Madrid: Ediciones Endymión, 1992), 22. "Para ser español, me arranco a España."

[174] The full title of the third is *El homovil o la desorbitación: libro de maquinerías: polinovela multinacional* (The Man-car or the Deorbiting: A Book of Machinery: A Multinational Polynovel) and the novel is three separate novels in one. It took the author nearly twenty years to complete. See Jesús López Pacheco, *El homovil o la desorbitación: libro de maquinerías: polinovela multinacional* (Madrid: Debate, 2002).

introduction to the author's 2002 posthumous anthology of poetry, *El tiempo de mi vida*, sees in his poetic work throughout his life a critique that framed both the Spain of Franco and the modern world in an ongoing template.

> He defined the road with clarity: from the fascist dictatorship to the domestic dictatorship; from external violence to internal violence. The expropriation of life is not the product of Fascism, but rather capitalism (he called it "from the repression to the depression"). Logic: humanism first (the exploitation of man by man), and then ecology (the exploitation of nature by man). Consequently it is possible for him to: a) describe the nature of the world; b) write on repression; c) contradict what was established. Each book of López Pacheco is responsive (*respondere*-responder); it resists and attempts rebelliousness (not to be consumed as a commodity).[175]

Through it all, the preciseness of language was his driving literary concern, a concern that during his career in Spain caused continuous tension with Franco censors, but in his years of exile, demonstrated the discipline, courage, and insight that did not rest with the freedom he and his family attained. López Pacheco remained a tireless critic of modern society and especially what he considered to be the coopting of education in the West by government and corporate interests at the expense of the humanities. Other writers associated with the same literary generation as López Pacheco, such as Juan Goytisolo and Antonio Ferres, also found temporary refuge abroad as well. All remained unrepentant critics of modern society, but no one expressed this disillusionment

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[175] César de Vincente Hernando, "Jesús López Pacheco: palabras para una nueva humanidad", introduction to *El tiempo de mi vida* (Valencia: Editorial Germania, s. l., 2002), 11. "El camino lo definió con claridad: de la dictadura fascista a la dictadura del domesticado. De la violencia externa a la violencia interna. La expropiación de la vida no es producto del fascismo sino del capitalismo (lo llamó de la represión a la depresión). La lógica: el humanismo primero (explotación del hombre por el hombre) y la ecología a continuación (explotación de la naturaleza por el hombre). Consiguientemente cabe: a) describir la relación con el mundo; b) escribir la opresión, c) contradecir lo instituido. Cada libro de López Pacheco es responsable (*respondere*-responder), resiste e intenta la insumisión (no ser consumido como mercancía)."

throughout the totality of his life any more consistently or with more clarity than López Pacheco. Neither was the expression of his critique solely through the social realism upon which his early success as a novelist hinged. Before his death in 1997, he had stylistically moved on. But the color of his language, the poetry of his prose, and the starkness of his poetry always reflected the concerns of his life. He was a Marxist humanist in the modern world, constantly skeptical of its direction. In the forward of the March, 2013 issue of leftist, literary journal, *Colección Antológica de Poesía Social*, the editors assess his art.

> All of the literary work of Jesús López Pacheco constitutes a poetry that understands the literary text as material that satisfies the political, symbolic, and didactic needs at the service of cultural materialism of resistance and criticizes the dominant culture … (He) reflected in his work and his life a point of battle and resistance against injustice and oppression and for the values of work and humanity.[176]

It was the "cultural materialism of resistance" to the dominant culture that characterizes the work of López Pacheco, whether in Spain under the dictatorship of Franco or in Canada under what he saw as the corporate institutionalization of Western academia, that resistance did not let up throughout his writing.

The story of Jesús López Pacheco occupies the middle third of this present work, because as a writer in Spain he represented one of the most prominent voices of the most prominent literary movements of its time, that of Social Realism. The years he wrote in Spain between 1951 and 1968 were also the middle years of the Francoist regime and this

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[176] Introduction to *Colección Antólogia de Poesía Social*, 16:3, http://www.omegalfa.es/downloadfile.php?file=libros/cuaderno-de-poesia-critica-n-23-jesus-lopez-pacheco.pdf, updated 5-26-2013, viewed on 5-26-2013. "Toda la obra literaria de Jesús López Pacheco constituye una poética que entiende el texto literario como un material que satisface necesidades políticas, simbólicas y didácticas al servicio de un materialismo cultural de resistencia y crítica al orden social dominante."

will help us to understand that period of the dictatorship's consolidation. We will also look into the 1970s and the early years of his exile. Beyond merely filling in details of a life that has not been fully recorded by biographers, however, the chapter's purpose is to fill in the causes of the literary direction he took throughout these years. Formed so much by a frustration over the lack of openness of expression within Francoist society, López Pacheco's artistic voice challenged the regime's very premise of cultural control. To both understand his thinking and understand his artistic voice, we will need to engage his work-his stories, his poetry, and his essays. This chapter will try to show in his work how his life is reflected. The next chapter will deal more directly with his confrontations with the regime's censorship process and his work will help to understand the mindset of that process.

Unfortunately, the Spanish public during the Francoist regime never had a chance to read the work of Jesús López Pacheco without it first going through Francoist censorship. In fact, the whole censorship project of the regime even outlasted the regime itself with hold-over functionaries still going to work into the early-1980s. Censorship under Franco would go through several phases, not always unidirectional, as we will examine more closely in the next chapter. During the years of the writing of Jesús López Pacheco, Francoist censorship remained the domain of the Ministerio de Infomación y Turismo, responsible for authorizing everything from suspicious Marxist poetry to repair manuals for bicycles. That censorship process would eventually consume an inordinate amount of the time and concern of Jesús López Pacheco as he struggled to express himself as a writer.

The time of López Pacheco's early creative life was at the beginning of the distillation of the administration of Francoism in the early 1950s, and the group of writers to which he belonged was part of a concerted, although finessed, opposition to the dictatorship directed through their literary voices. This period, then, offers us a window on a time of considerable Spanish literary activity and the regime's censorship apparatus. [177] Reviewing the work and examining the literary voice of the author is essential to understanding his purposes and his tools as a writer, but it also should help us explain why the Francoist regime was so obsessed with literary expression.

Jesús López Pacheco, born on the edge of the Second Republic, raised at the time of the Civil War in Spain, still not out of his childhood by the arrival of the dictatorship of Francisco Franco, had a historical perspective on the regime that resonated through his writing across time and is important to us in gauging the regime's repression. But his artistic voice carried on further into his years of exile in North America, and he represents as well a skeptic of the modern human world in general that he viewed as growing more worldly and less human.

The Roots of a Dissident Voice

His Early Life and the Influence of Salinas

[177] The administration of Francoist censorship is one of the principal foci of the next chapter and will be dealt with at some length. It was most the most consistent and critical interaction of the writer with the regime apart from the protest movement discussed in this chapter.

Jesús López Pacheco was the youngest of three sons in a family that traveled often during the years of the Republic. His father was an engineer working on hydroelectric power, first under the Second Republic, then under the Francoist regime itself. Of the four males in the household, only Jesús found an interest in artistic expression as a career. Besides his father, one of his brothers became a chemist and the other an engineer. The young Jesús obtained his education on the road initially, but by the end of the war the family had settled in Madrid.

Ignacio Soldevila Durante, a colleague and friend in López Pacheco's later life, writes about those early years of travel in the looser lifestyle of small pueblos as having shaped the author's outlook. "The strictures, the pedestrian crosswalks," he writes, "the limitations and municipal crowds will be unknown to him: until the end of the Civil War, his childhood was spent under the sign of liberty." [178] Between 1941 and 1948, López Pacheco was educated at the Instituto Cardenal Cisneros in Madrid, the long established secondary school that included alumnae such poets Antonio and Manuel Machado, and novelists Ramón Gómez de la Serna and Camilo José Cela. Cela in the 1970s, as editor of the literary magazine *Insula,* would figure in one of López Pacheco's many attempts to publish in Spain from exile.[179]

It was there at Cardenal Cisneros that López Pacheco discovered the beginnings of his voice for literature, as well. It appears that the desire to write, however, did not sit

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[178] Ignacio Soldevila, "Jesús López Pacheco (verídica 'Novela de emigrante')" in *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, 10:1 (Homenaje a Jesús López Pacheco): 20, "Las estrecheces, los pasos para peatones, las limitaciones y amontonamientos municipales y urbanos le serán cosa desconocida: hasta el final de la guerra civil, la infancia… transcurre bajo el signo de la libertad."

[179] See Chapter 5, 250.

well at first with his father. Author Antonio Ferres, a friend of López Pacheco's when growing up, recalls in his 2002 memoir that on occasion he would share the mid-day meal with the family in the days before the author had begun college. It was at one of those meals that the topic of the youngest son's choice of a career came up.

> The father – who presided at the table - was a practical engineer who specialized in hydroelectric dams, and he wanted Jesús, as his brothers before him …to study for a career in engineering. But Jesús wanted to be a writer. With all of the tact that we could muster, José (one of López Pacheco's brothers) and I managed to convince him and get him to permit his youngest son to enroll in the College of Philosophy and Letters. That's how far back my friendship goes with Jesús López Pacheco. [180]

The youngest son's choice for a vocation, given his father's desire, may have initially been an obstacle, but the elder López did relent and in 1949 Jesús entered the Facultad de Filosofia y Letras of the Universidad Complutense in Madrid, writing his dissertation on the poetry of Pedro Salinas (1891-1951). [181] That Salinas represents some kind of a map for the artistic life of López Pacheco is too simplistic an observation, but there were some connections that may have affected both authors' works similarly.

Salinas was known as a member of the literary *Generación del 27*, the group of writers that included poets Luis Cernuda, Emilio Prado, and Federico García Lorca, and

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[180] Antonio Ferres, *Memorias de un hombre perdido* (Barcelona: Debate, 2002), 95." El padre - que presidia la mesa – era un ingeniero práctico especializado en centrales eléctricas, y quería que Jesús, como antes sus hermanos estudiara una carrera de ingeniería. Pero Jesús quería ser escritor. Con todo el tacto de que éramos capaces, José y yo logramos convencerle y conseguir que autorizara a su hijo pequeño a matricularse en la Facultad de Filosofia y Letras. De tan lejos mi amistad con Jesús López Pacheco…"

[181] Interview with Fabio López Lázaro by author. On Skype between Evanston, Il., and San Jose, Ca. July 26, 2011. Fabio is a professor of World, Medieval, and Early Modern History at the University of Hawaii, Manoa, Hawaii and the youngest son of Jesús López Pacheco. He has been instrumental in helping this author in many areas of research on his father's life.

novelist Max Aub as well. Besides the execution of García Lorca in the beginning of the Nationalist uprising, many of this group were affected directly by the Civil War and the Francoist repression. Prado, Cernuda, and Aub all exiled to Mexico, with Prado, in fact, having been a member of the same group, the Alianzna de Intelectuales Antifascistas, which paid homage to Antonio José in the writer's conference held in Valencia before the end of the Civil War.[182]

Salinas himself left Spain in 1936 a little over a month after the Civil War started to take a position in the United States and would remain as an exile. He would never returned to his native land. He would teach at Wellesley, Johns Hopkins, and finally at the University of Puerto Rico, dying in 1951 in Boston, a year after Jesús López Pacheco finished his thesis on the writer. López Pacheco too was offered a position in North America at the University of Western Ontario in 1968 that enabled him to take his family out of Spain. He would only return to visit once the dictatorship had fallen. Like Salinas, he never return to live in Spain and would die abroad. Probably more important, it was what López Pacheco saw in the work of Salinas that seemed to help drive his own sense of the need to speak truth to power.

From looking at Salinas's life and work it is easy in retrospect to see the connections between his life and the life of Jesús López Pacheco. Salinas arrived in the United States in 1936 to teach for a year at Wellesley College. From that point on he was effectively an exile as the Spanish Civil War consumed Spain and the Franco dictatorship followed. In 1937 he was invited to give a series of lectures at Johns Hopkins University in

[182] See Chapter 3.

Baltimore, where he would later return to take up a full time position at the university teaching Spanish literature. The lectures were to be given in English, something that seems to have caused great concern for Salinas. He wrote them all originally in Spanish and had a friend translate them for him. [183]

Salinas's first lecture in particular can serve as a tool to help analyze López Pacheco's own concern about the meaning of reality in contemporary literature.[184] It is quite possible, in fact, that López Pacheco was familiar with this particular group of lectures as of 1949, when he was working on his thesis on Salinas, although there does not appear to be a Spanish version published until 1983. There is no doubt that Salinas had previously presented many of his thoughts on the concept of reality in Spanish poetry in other forums, including lectures in both Barcelona and the Residencia de Estudiantes in Madrid prior to the Civil War. His poetry and his theoretical work had been on the bookshelves in libraries and bookstores in Spain since 1923. [185] One particular passage from Salinas's first lecture should be emphasized, because it provides such keen insight into the work of López Pacheco.

> The poet is born into a world that is already made, in the middle of a reality that is handed to him and that imposes itself upon him. If each poet were given the world in a malleable state, he would mold it to suite his purposes and we would not even have the certainty that spring would

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[183] Jean Cross Newman, *Pedro Salinas and His Circumstances* (San Juan, Puerto Rico: Inter American University Press, 1983, 171-173.

[184] The interpretation and depiction of reality, coming on the heels of the avant-garde in pre-World War II Europe and the new post-war era, would also be a major concern in the art of Antoni Tàpies, although for the abstract expressionist that concern takes on a whole other dimension in the plastic arts.

[185] See Chapter 5 and the use of "retrograde censorship" by the regime. Salinas, Cernuda, Max Aub and dozens of other poets and writers remained in exile, many, like Salinas, dying there, never to return to Spain. See Maureen Ihrie, Salvador Oropesa, *World Literature in Spanish: An Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, Ca.: ABC-CLIO, 2011), 169-171 and Eduardo Ruiz Bautista, *Los señores del libro: propagandistas, censores y bibliotecarios en el primer franquismo* (1939-1945) (Gijon, Spain: Ediciones Trea, 2005).

> follow summer. But, fortunately, the world is made. And nevertheless, at the same time, it is always being made.[186]

If one compares this observation of Salinas to a later one López Pacheco makes of his own work in an interview in 1985, the connection is revealing.

> I have intended, from personal experiences…to present a lived reality, but elaborated through literature, which has a certain effectiveness. I have always tried to transmit a vision of the world, of life, of human relationships, and as every vision, mine is in touch with a certain political ideology. But the purpose is not immediate political effectiveness, but rather literary effectiveness.[187]

What López Pacheco is confessing here is that reality, as projected through his writing, is only "malleable" *through the use of literature* and, much like in Salinas's lecture, that reality is fortunately always in flux. It could be "made" in the Salinas sense. But, at the same time his political ideology was not left out of this equation, as he suggests. Reality had to be "portrayed" as well. As the young López Pacheco viewed what to him was becoming the "surreality" of life around him in the world of the late 1940s and early 50s Francoist Spain, where one turned to a newspaper in the morning to read news, but got platitudes, reality seemed to be going on a whole other plane of existence.

Moreover, there is another voice that springs from Salinas that might relate to the young author also, although at the time he would not know it. Even though he wrote his thesis for his degree in Madrid twenty-five years before his exile to North America, the

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[186] Salinas, 190. "El poeta nace en un mundo ya hecho, en medio de una realidad que se le entrega y que se le impone. Si a cada poeta se le diera el mundo en estado maleable, lo moldearía él a su modo y no podríamos siquiera tener la certeza de que a la primavera seguiría el varano. Pero, por fortuna, el mundo ya está hecho. Y sin embargo, al mismo tiempo, está siempre por hacer."

[187] Mercedes F. Duran de Cogan, "Conversación con Jesús López Pacheco" *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, 10:1 (1985), 38-39.

voice of an exile writer has a distinct tone and emphasis. Jesús López Pacheco would eventually share that voice with Salinas as well.

The Military

Starting in 1943, the dictatorship decreed two year military service as compulsory for young Spanish males, a policy that would not change until 1968, when the length was lowered to eighteen months. The university was seen as a recruitment wing for the military and in that regard decreed that a Militia Universitaria (University Militia) be created to facilitate recruitment and provide a path through which university students would also fulfill their military obligations. [188] A male student in the early 1950s could hold off that service until the age of twenty-five. In Jesús López Pacheco's case, he made the choice to get military service over with and by 1951 he had completed his obligation.

The effects on the young writer in this period were profound. Those two years provided him with a refined understanding of social hierarchy. Whether defined by class background of recruits or regional bias (rural vs urban), that hierarchy was colored by the lack of educational opportunity that still plagued parts of Spain. [189] This experience would also provide the beginning of a thought process in López Pacheco that would lead to his long journey of contestation against the regime and eventually to his exile.

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[188] "Ley de 29 de julio de 1943. "Sobre ordenación de la Universidad española," *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, número 212, 31 de julio de 1943, páginas 7406 a 7431. See especially articles thirty-one, thirty-four, and thirty-five.

[189] Carolyn Boyd, *Historia Patria: Politics, History, and National Identity in Spain, 1875-1975* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 279.

Those two years in the military were partly spent in training camps in Spanish North Africa. The region, soon to be ceded to the Moroccan government in 1956, was the last vestige of Spanish nineteenth century imperial ambitions. For a regime that looked to the glory of its empire under Felipe II as an inspiration, Spain by the mid- 1950s had little empire to show for it. Nevertheless, it was there that López Pacheco had the opportunity to meet people not only from all strata of Spanish society but from another culture entirely. Most of all, he would witness firsthand the disparagement that officers held toward recruits of lower status.

Jesús López Pacheco's son, Fabio, recalls the emphasis his father placed on those two years.

> (He) told me many stories concerning his service there as a minor sub-official, which was a common appointment for university-students who had to do the military…his recollections were mostly of time spent in Tetuán and Chefchaouen, whose people and ambience he loved, though he recalled the negative reaction of locals to the Spanish troops...but mostly in terms of how the troops were "gente del pueblo" (recruits from the Spanish countryside) - forced to be there.[190]

One of the author's short stories that captures this experience is set in a training center for Spanish soldiers on the coast of North Africa. The protagonist, a young illiterate soldier, Sebastián, is just such a "gente del pueblo." The story, *El analfabeto y la bola de billar* (The Illiterate and the Billard Ball) is a reflection of the direct personal evolution of the author's social consciousness, as well as an indication of his disdain for hypocritical authority. Sebastián is in class at basic training, standing in front of a map of

[190] Interview by email with López Lázaro, April 17, 2013.

Europe that to him is a total mystery. The teacher, a captain who is feigning sympathy for the soldier's predicament, confronts him in front of his classmates over his inability to read the map, while Sebastián's classmates are snickering in the background. The captain wants to know how it could be possible that Sebastián never learned to read and asks him if his pueblo had a school. Slowly the young soldier begins to emotionally break down under his embarrassment in front of the class.

> Sebastián fixes his gaze on him without stopping crying. Neither does he understand. He doesn't know what it is to know how to read. But he is convinced that something terrible has happened to him, something very bad, maybe a sickness from which he should be cured. He is oblivious to what it is; he feels more miserable each moment, more alone in the small classroom with two windows through which one can see the ocean-among his comrades, that always, since they arrived at the barracks, have laughed at how he did training, at the way he spoke, at any of his actions. Sebastián sees the look on the Captain's face.
> - No. - says Sebastián containing his crying.
> - Good, good, Well, we´ll see, Sebastián. - The captain stretches his small body. - Concentrate on what I'm asking you. What did you do in your pueblo? Did you work in the field, take care of the livestock, did you work in a store or …what the hell did you do, if I might ask? - …
> -I worked in the field with my father, and before, well… in the pasture.
> - [191]

[191] *Ibid.,* 85. [191] Jesús López Pacheco, "El analfabeto y la bola de billar," *Lucha por la respiración y otros ejercicios narrativos* (Barcelona: Ediciones Destino, 1980), 83. "Sebastián le mira fijamente sin dejar de llorar. Tampoco comprende. No sabe bien lo que es saber leer. Pero está convencido de que a él le ocurre algo terrible, algo muy malo, quizá una enfermedad de la que debería curarse. Ignora qué es, se va sintiendo cada vez más desgraciado más solo, en aquella aula pequeña con dos ventanas por las que se ve el mar, entre sus compañeros, que siempre, desde que llegaron al cuartel, se han reído de cómo hace la instrucción, de su forma de hablar, de cualquier acto suyo. Sebastián ve la mirada del capitán cerca de su cara."
"No." Dice Sebastián conteniendo el llanto. "Bueno, bueno. Vamos a ver, Sebastián." El capitán estira su cuerpo pequeño. "Fíjate en lo que te pregunto: ¿qué hacías en tu pueblo? ¿Trabajabas en el campo, cuidabas el ganado, trabajabas en un taller o…qué coño hacías, si puede saberse?"…
"Trabajaba el campo con padre, y antes, pues, al pastero."

López Pacheco reveals the embarrassment of the recruit as part of an intentional dressing-down that has only one purpose: the reinforcement of this internal social strata. There is no "training" here, only abuse.

The confrontation between the captain and his young illiterate charge is only one side of the brief story. The narrative takes an abrupt turn at mid-point when the captain yells at the troops for laughing and yet the soldiers continue. The captain singles out one soldier for speaking out of turn and orders the camp barber to come and cut the soldier's hair completely off in the room right in the middle of his interrogation of Sebastián.

Finally, in order to humiliate the illiterate soldier further, the captain demands that Sebastián point out Spain on the map, but Sebastián, now an emotional wreck, fails. The story ends with a tableau of the soldier having his hair cut straining to get a look at Sebastián, who now is left crying in front of the class.

> The small soldier, making an effort, with his forehead and a single eyebrow, struggles to see the head of Sebastián silhouetted against the map of Europe, covering all of Spain. He notes the cold of the razor on top of his own head that will leave his head like a billiard ball.[192]

This tableau is indicative of a stylistic element of Spanish Social Realism that at first seems to present itself much like a photograph or series of photographs, catching people in their rawest moments but with no editorializing and, at times, even with a degree of ambiguity. Why interject the second soldier, punished for making fun of Sebastián? If the point was to ridicule the commanding officer's treatment of Sebastián,

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[192] *Ibid*. 85. "El soldado pequeño se sienta en un banco, de espaldas a sus compañeros. Ve a Sebastián delante del mapa de Europa. El barbero, soldado también, le rodea el cuello con un trapo blanco, sucio por el borde superior."

why interrupt that focus? Here there are many lines of authority going on at once, with those of class and rank at the lowest end represented by Sebastián, and power and authority represented by the captain. But those in between, as well- the soldiers sharing in the humiliation of Sebastián-have to be constantly reminded of the necessity of their own total submission to that higher authority.

In a social sense, the story offers a perceptive study of the cultural shock of a young soldier from the countryside in the middle years of the regime confronting the system of the Franco military. The denigration of the Spanish pueblo, still poor, still educationally backward, and a source of continuing emigration to the culture of the city, is apparent. Among the many facts the regime masked in its daily propaganda on the New State was the problem of Spanish illiteracy. Although the rate had fallen during the first thirty years of the regime, in regions with pueblos still struggling with poverty, high illiteracy continued.[193] For López Pacheco, this was a type of understanding of reality that was more than just a flat photograph. The stripped-down language is important for the story because it offers no room for conjecture about the reality that has occurred. And yet, there is infinite room for interpretation. Certainly the image of power and the powerless is all the more glaring in this short setting. Within seven pages the author presents a minuet of embarrassment and chagrin of the lower class boy from the pueblo in the face of authority.

[193] Boyd, 278-279. Prof. Boyd asserts that "real progress" on illiteracy in the regime did not begin to be discernable until the late 1950s with illiteracy rates as high as 18% throughout the 40s. By 1968 the regime would achieve the lower levels of illiteracy of Western European countries, although regime figures still masked "persistent regional differentials."

This dynamic between the powerful and the weak, the literate and the illiterate, or the pure and the jaded, will occupy the literature of Jesús López Pacheco for much of his life and is a corner stone of his humanist message. That message will repeat this imagery of the "innocent", simple conscript confronting the pedantic, demanding officer with a different twist in 1964 in his only children's story, *Juguetes en la frontera* (Toys on the Border). That story carries the same confrontation of power, utilizing the same types of military figures of authority and also reflects the same obvious empathy on the author's part for the humanness of a Francoist conscript in the face of unbridled authority. *Juguetes* will, as much as any work the author wrote, suffer interminable harassment from the regime's censors.

Cudillero

One other influence on the philosophical mapping of the young writer was his experience in the tiny fishing village of Cudillero on the coast of Asturias in Northern Spain. His was the setting in 1954 for one of López Pacheco's most artistic revelations regarding the place of a writer in society and in particular the nature of work and the writer's own production. López Pacheco ended up in Cudillero as a part of a program that was developed by a combination of the Falange and young Catholics in the "strange brew" of theoretical cross pollination with clearly leftist overtones. Some of the social concerns expressed in this program could be seen in the vague liberalizing tendencies of leaders within the regime, such as the Minister of Education, Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez Cortés. The real genesis of the *Servicio Universitario de Trabajadores* (SUT), the

program in which the twenty-three year old López Pacheco would participate, was not from the top down, but rather was from the barrio up.

In some ways, the SUT had the same concern as left-Republican educators did in interacting with worker groups, such as Antonio José's promotion with his Orfeón. The Falange approach, however, was precisely the opposite of the Republican cultural project.. Instead of workers and peasants interacting within a cultural environment that was new to them, as in the Republican era programs, students would be sent to experience the everyday labor of workers.

An article appeared in the June 12th, 1953 issue of *Imperio: Diario de Zamora de Falange Española de las* JONS, trumpeting the SUT just a year before the summer Jesús López Pacheco worked on fishing boats in Cudillero. Several elements stand out, not the least of which is the idealized, and clearly leftist, social rhetoric of this Falange description. Outlining one program that took place in Asturias between students and mine workers, the article waxed eloquently on the importance of such social interaction between Spanish workers and students.

> Suspicion would be transformed into sympathy, when the mining producers saw that (the students) were working and working for real, that callouses appeared on the students hands; that they received the same wages, were at the same level of clothing , food, and daily regimen; that all of this was done for the pure desire of venturing out into the pure reality of the world that works, as much for the appreciation by oneself of the profound human, spiritual, and social dimension of work, as for learning about the existence of the manual laborer, his problems, his concerns, his aspirations, as university students, this life was not indifferent to them; all the more they wanted to begin, side by side, students and workers, a noble, sincere, and loyal camaraderie, as a

> starting point for a much more transcendent enterprise of social brotherhood, dreamed of for centuries and never until now meeting. [194]

In the end, the article continues, such programs were successful because they achieved their primary objectives: "the identification and the rapport between the workers and the students."[195]

This model for the concept of university students going into the countryside or into factories to gain experience of this type went back to Russian Populism of the late nineteenth century, an antecedent of the later Bolshevik movement and to Chinese Marxist groups as early as 1918. [196] This type of work experience program was common in Castro's Cuba in the 1950s and the larger forced version in Communist China under the cultural revolution of the 1960s. The Spanish version of this program came as a result of the work of a Catholic priest, José María de Llanos in the Madrid barrio Pozo del Tío Raimundo. Padre Llanos, who although an early advocate of National Catholicism and the Falange, became, through his work in this poor barrio, a model for young Catholics sympathetic to the workers movement and the clandestine Partido Communista de España (PCE). His success enabled a broader activism by a new generation of Catholic

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[194] "Veintidós universitarios trabajan en los saltos de Moncabril", *Imperio: Diario de Zamora de Falange Española de las JONS*, June 12, 1953, 6. "El recelo se transformaría pronto en simpatía, cuando los productores mineros vieron que trabajaban y trabajaban de verdad, que a los universitarios les salían callos en las manos, que percibían el mismo jornal que ellos y estaban a su mismo nivel en vestido, alimentación y régimen de vida, y todo esto lo hacían por el puro deseo de adentrarse en la pura realidad del mundo que trabaja, tanto para apreciar por sí mismos la profunda dimensión humana, espiritual y social del trabajo, como para conocer de cerca la existencia del trabajador manual, sus problemas, sus afanes, sus aspiraciones, ya que esta existencia como universitarios no les era indiferente; más aún querían iniciar, codo con codo, estudiantes y obreros, una noble, sincera y leal camaradería, como punto de partida de una empresa mucho más trascendente de hermandad social, soñada por siglos y nunca hasta ahora entrevista."

[195] *Ibid.*

[196] Maurice Meisner, *Li Ta-Chao and the Origins of Chinese Marxism* (New York: Atheneum, 1967), 80-82.

youth in Madrid. [197] That the Falange would engage in such an enterprise was not surprising under the convoluted ideology that the group employed. It should be remembered that most of Fascist ideology in the twentieth century, especially the early Italian version, sprang from socialist rhetoric. While holding dear to the understanding of the return to Spain of its glorious imperial past, the Falange still saw itself as a vanguard for "new thinking" in the modern era of mass mobilization.

The result of such a program for the Falange, inadvertently however, helped revolutionize toward the left the very people the Falange was trying to cultivate. Many students who participated in these programs, such as López Pacheco, as well as young Catholics of the post-Civil War generation, came to the same basic conclusions and sympathies that some socialists in Europe had held for a hundred years. This particular example of "new thinking" was, in reality, shared by Marxism-the concern that the swelling worker proportion of European societies had been left alienated and debilitated by the modern world.

For the young writer from Madrid, the Falange's ideology was not the attraction to the program. While the program may have appealed to his growing social awareness, neither in his writing nor his life story is there any suggestion that the Falange itself as an organization was of any remote interest to him. Its quasi-leftist rhetoric notwithstanding, the Falange still served the same paramilitary purpose as hooligan enforcers that it did in

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197 See Pedro Miguel Lamet, *Azul y rojo: José María de Llanos: biografía del jesuita que militó en las dos Españas y optó por el suburbio* (Madrid: La esfera de los libros, 2013).

the regime's earliest violent moments. This behavior will become apparent in the student demonstrations soon to follow in which López Pacheco had a high profile. These excursions into the "real" world of work were the types of experience that would forever turn the nature of many students' thoughts and beliefs against the regime itself. The protests that would erupt over the next twenty years, which would involve students, workers, artists, and a younger, left-leaning clergy were anathema to the Falange's ideals. The Falange would continually be called to the streets by the Francoist regime to help put such protests down.[198]

For Jesús López Pacheco, Cudillero became much more than the opportunity to leave Madrid and spend the summer working on the open ocean with the fishermen off of the North Atlantic Coast. His son, Fabio, speaks of this time in his father's life as holding an epiphanic turn in perception. The author now seemed to sense that his writing had social significance. His artistic voice was not only a personal expression, but it had an inexorable social component. It was "his work".

> … a fisherman became a metaphor for him for all who put themselves in harm's way and dedicate themselves to the needed labor that all of us collectively in society benefit from…When he was in Cudillero watching the fisherman doing something that was necessary, catching fish, feeding their families, working, in his mind his writing of poetry, novels, journalism were things that were necessary…[199]

His time among the fishermen that summer also helped form his own concept of the need to be a "true reporter," with a clear and unadulterated view of the reality that everyday people were experiencing in contemporary Spanish society under the

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[198] See the text on Antoni Tàpies and La Caputxinada in Chapter 7.
[199]Interview with López Lázaro by author, interview, July 26, 2011.

dictatorship. This perception of his role would become a hallmark of Spanish Social Realist literature of the decade.

An examination of his collection of poems entitled, *Mi corazón se llama Cudillero* (My Heart Is Called Cudillero) can give us clues about the importance of this experience for the author. The book, first published in Mieres, Asturias in 1961, is a look back on this experience through the eyes of a writer who by then had already suffered, as we will see, at the hands of both the regime's censorship as well as its judicial system. The work, in the style of the social realist approach, is a composite of images in a stripped down language that presents the world of the fishermen and their work to the reader. López Pacheco's purpose is spelled out clearly in this brief poem entitled "The Song." It reads, "Fisherman! /I want to make you a song / That is as your net /That leaves the water /But not the fish. And that remains damp."[200]

His goal, then, was to use his "poetry net" to capture the essence of the fishermen's lives and, if possible, to attempt to use his poetry as a filter that would distill the essence of their lives and work. Part of his growth as a poet, in fact, was reliant on never letting Cudillero out of his voice. "His life," said Carlos Rodriguez Suarez, the director of the Radio Nacional de España in Asturias in 1987, "has carried him to other seas far from this coast. His vital and literary peripeteia has been enriched more and more and, nevertheless,

[200] Jesús López Pacheco, *Mi corazón se llama Cudillero* (Mieres, Asturias: El Ventanal, 1961), La Canción ¡Pescador!/ Quiero hacerte una canción/ que sea como tu red. Que deje al agua,/ pero no el pez/ Y que se quede mojado.

keeps as a recording forever, as a mixture of laughter and tears, as a point of painful happiness, his pass through Cudillero."[201]

From his time in the military and throughout his time in Cudillero, López Pacheco wrote continuously. He published his first book of poems *Dejad crecer este silencio* (Let This Silence Grow) and in 1952 he received a runner up award for the *Premio Adonias*, the poetry prize still to this day given yearly in Spain, and it seemed as if the writer was establishing a name for himself as a stylistic leader among his peers. One American critic said of the little book, small enough to be put in one's shirt pocket, that it demonstrated an "awareness of the modern lack of integration" that "contributes to a certain nihilistic air." The same critic found that much of the material involved "a certain pleasure in quietness that, despite the searching note, makes itself felt." The love poems included in the selection are "exquisite". [202] Here was the voice of a young writer that reflected an eloquent, yet straight forward style. It carried some of the concise characteristics of Salinas and the imagery and sparseness of Antonio Machado, one of the major influences on this group of writers who came of age after the Civil War. There was no doubt that López Pacheco was beginning to make a mark in the literary scene of his peers, but there were changes afoot, which would further refine his politics and his growing opposition to the regime. These changes also placed him in the also sights of the regime's ever vigilant Brigada Social (Social Police).

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[201] Carlos Rodríguez Suarez, prologue to "Amuravela de los nudos marineros" by Jesús López Pacheco in *Escritores en Cudillero*, edited by Faustino F. Alvarez (Lugones, Asturias: Junta General de Asturias, 1987), 50.

[202] Howard T. Young, "Dejad crecer este silencio by Jesús López Pacheco," *Books Abroad*, 30: 2 (1956): 210.

In the preface to his collection of poetry, *Pongo la mano sobre España*, published in Argentina in 1963, López Pacheco refers to a paucity in his published poetry between *Dejad* in 1952 and his first novel, *Central eléctrico,* in 1958. His explanation reveals much of the transformation that was going on in his thinking during this period. "The poems of that first book," he wrote, "were written before I was twenty-two. They are clearly under the mark of adolescence, with all that carries with it of the inclination to abstraction, to what is metaphysical and this stage, paradoxically, is so anxious of realities, precisely because it has not acquired any." [203]

What had happened was that between his military service and his time in Cudillero, the young Jesús López Pacheco was no longer "young." Between the years 1953 and 1958, in fact, any dearth in poetry output was not indicative of his overall artistic production, as his critical works, short stories, and the development of his first novel demonstrated. The writer published poetry in journals and co-edited the literary magazine *Índice* at this time. His short story, *Maniquí perfecto* (The Perfect Mannequin) won him the inaugural *Premio Sésamo* presented by Café Sésamo in 1955.

What really seems apparent from both his time in the military and his experience in Cudillero is that this period of his life caused an internal revolution. He no longer saw himself as the introspective poet, groping for an existential meaning to life, but began to notice the world around him more. A similar transformation arose in the life of Antonio

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[203] Marcos Ana, Jesús López Pacheco, Luis Alberto Quesada. *España a tres voces* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Horizonte, 1963), 125. *Tres voces de España* included work also by Ana who was a prison of the regime after the civil war and Quesada who also edited the book. "Los poemas de aquel primer libro fueron escritos antes de los veintidós años. Están, por lo tanto, bajo el signo de la adolescencia, con todo lo que de inclinación al abstractismo, a lo metafísico y estético tiene, paradójicamente, esta etapa tan ansiosa de realidades, precisamente porque aún no ha conseguido ninguna."

José in the early years of the Republic, and, as we will see, in that of Antoni Tàpies in Barcelona in the 1960s. In all three cases, the mirror they used to reflect on themselves began to reflect other images-the images of their surrounding society. Those reflections took on a new meaning.

These years for Jesús López Pacheco were essential for crystallizing his artistic vision and voice. For him that voice was becoming infused with a Marxist realization that his art was his production - his work- and, as was true of the daily catch for the fishermen of Cudillero, his art could be sustaining nourishment for his society. Again, as the *Colección Antólogia de Poesía Social* so aptly phrases it, López Pacheco understood literature "as being at the service of the cultural materialism of resistance." When we think again of Tàpies description of the artist as laying the groundwork of change in society, López Pacheco also saw his poetry and his novels as his ultimate tools. Poetry and all of his writing had a different purpose for him then.

Student Protests and the Middle Years of the Regime

It seems that along with the consolidation of the Francoist State in the 1950s and 60s, the maturation of its administrative processes also brought about the beginning of the "fossilization" that Ruiz Bautista mentions from the introduction-a rigidity that by its very nature helped to foment a discontent among younger Spaniards. The student movements of the 50s and 60s were "weeds" in the Francoist garden and demonstrate how tenuous the line is between a mature state and the beginning of its decline. Those

protests, which were an essential story in the life of the 26-year-old Jesús López Pacheco, would be instrumental in the birth of a new literary generation, the Generación del 50.

From the subtlest clandestine activities of L'Institut d'Estudis Catalán (Institute of Catalan Studies) occurring in Barcelona in the early 1940s, academic challenges to the regime would surface in every decade of Francoist rule and became a hallmark of opposition to the regime. [204] The 1951 Transit Strike of Barcelona, fueled by the high cost of travel and the energy of student protesters, galvanized young activists in other parts of Spain and served as a model for demonstrations that broke out in 1954, 55, and 56 at the University of Madrid. The last resulted in the arrests and jailing of many students, including Jesús López Pacheco and Armando López Salinas, who had recently formed the *Congreso Unversitario de Escritores Jóvenes* (The University Conference of Young Writers or CUEJ).

The idea of a group of writers dedicated to breaking down the barriers of the constrictive discourse climate of the Francoist university and pushing for breaking the barriers of publishing under Francoist censorship was on the mind of López Pacheco as early as 1954, according again to Antonio Ferres, and by the time of the student demonstrations in 1956, he was integral to the Congress's organization. "It was a hope for liberty," Ferres wrote, "…The Congress was a ray of hope as well for many people outside of the university…In all of the meetings and encounters of anti-Francoist people,

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[204]Josep Benet, *L' intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya* (Barcelona: Publ. de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1995), 414.

it was quietly mentioned." [205] For Ferres, no one was more instrumental than López Pacheco in its planning, nor was anyone more dedicated to its cause.

> …for me, over all in terms of the organization of the Congress, Jesús López Pacheco was the most important. The behavior of Jesús during the interrogations by the Police was exemplary: he kept quiet about the existence of any relationship with persons outside of the university and during his time in the university militia, he always maintained that he had not had political contact or even received the propaganda that the police had confiscated from his house.[206]

It was the openly posted political writings of those involved in the demonstrations of 1956 that caused Franco's Social Police to seek out the young writer. On February 1, 1956, 200 single-sheet fliers of the group's manifesto appeared on the campus of Universidad Complutense de Madrid announcing its demands. The manifesto's language was, in fact, such a direct challenge to the regime that the leaders were immediately arrested and had their apartments searched. In the case of the young writer, "propaganda europeista," a veiled description of Marxist literature, was found in his flat. It is not unreasonable, given the young writer's social concerns and his growing dissatisfaction with the state of expression under the regime, to assume the truth of the charge. Yet, Francoist agents were not shy about planting such contraband material in order to create a broader case against anyone who was in open defiance of the regime. At

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[205] Ferres, 94. "Era una esperanza de libertad….El Congreso era también un rayo de ilusión para mucha gente de fuera de la universidad…En todas las reuniones y encuentros de personas antifranquistas se hablada en voz baja se encontraban desbordados."

[206] *Ibid.,* 94-95. "Pero. Para mí, la persona más importante, sobre todo en lo que a la organización del Congreso de Escritores se refiere, fue Jesús López Pacheco. El comportamiento de Jesús en los interrogatorios de la Policía fue ejemplar: calló la existencia de cualquier relación con las personas de fuera de la universidad, y sostuvo siempre que, durante el tiempo que permaneció en la milicia universitaria, no tuvo ningún contacto político y que ni siquiera recibió propaganda como la que la Policía había confiscado en su casa.

this point, there is no way to know the truth. What did happen is that the writer, along with some of his cohorts, was thrown into in Carabanchel prison in Southeastern Madrid.[207]

The language of the manifesto demonstrates a sense of outrage. Under the title "A Manifesto to the University Students of Madrid," the authors, Enrique Múgica Herzog, Jesús López Pacheco, and Ramón Tamames put forward a damning description of the state of higher education in Francoist Spain. It opens:

> From the heart of the Spanish University, the students of the Colleges and Specialist Schools of Madrid, here undersigned, in the conviction that they are exercising an authentic right and owing to the search for a means of extricating themselves from the ongoing dire situation of the university, invite their comrades of all higher centers of learning of Spain to sign this petition to the national authorities. [208]

The assumption of a "right" as well as the responsibility to act, in the eyes of a dictatorship that was in a habitual State of Exception, was in itself a call to arms. But the implications were broader and were intended to reach a much wider audience than a few disgruntled students. The implication of the disaster facing Spain that, in the authors' minds, is represented by the regime's educational policies and especially policies that had to do with free speech and open debate, was the beginning of a more organized dissident

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[207] Carabanchel was one of several "work projects" implemented by the Francoist regime using the labor of Republican Civil War prisoners in the early 1940s.

[208] Enrique Múgica Herzog, Jesús López Pacheco, and Ramón Tamames, "Manifiesto a los universitarios madrileños Madrid, 1º de febrero de 1956 " as found in Roberto Mesa, *Jaranadores y alboratores: documentos sobre los sucesos estudiantiles de febrero de 1956 en la Universidad Complutense de Madrid* (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 2006), 6467. "Desde el corazón de la Universidad española, los estudiantes de las Facultades y Escuelas Especiales de Madrid, abajo firmantes, en la convicción de que ejercen un auténtico derecho y deber al buscar el medio de salir de la grave situación universitaria actual, invitan a sus compañeros de todos los Centros Superiores de España a que suscriban la presente petición, elevada a las autoridades nacionales:"

conversation among students nationally. It did have its genesis in the earliest Barcelona demonstrations over freedom of language ten years before, but now the stakes were even higher.

After its prologue, the manifesto speaks directly to the "Government of the Nation:"

> On the minds of an immense majority of Spanish students is the impossibility of maintaining any longer the present situation of humiliating inertia in which, after not being given an adequate solution to any of the essential problems, professional, economic, religious, cultural, sports, of communication, coexistence, and representation, the best possibilities of youth are being fatally wasted, year after year, making difficult their effective and harmonious integration into society, and communicating to all of the national life, through a creeping infection, the extreme university anxiety that drags , worsening them, all problems previously silenced. [209]

The result of the manifesto was dramatic. As described in the documents amassed by Roberto Mesa in his 1982 compendium, *Jaraneros y alborotadores* (Revelers and Troublemakers), it was the catalyst of a nine-day period of demonstrations and clashes in the university and surrounding areas involving students and activists from the College of Law, the College of Arts and Letters, and the School of Medicine, as well as a counter demonstration by students of the *Sindicato Español Universitario* (SEU), the State-sponsored student union, and members of the Falange. Here is once again the Falange, acting out its role for the regime as the mobilizing agent and provocateur.

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[209] *Ibid.,* "En la conciencia de la inmensa mayoría de los estudiantes españoles está la imposibilidad de mantener por más tiempo la actual situación de humillante inercia en la cual, al no darse solución adecuada a ninguno de los esenciales problemas profesionales, económicos, religiosos, culturales, deportivos, de comunicación, convivencia y representación, se vienen malogrando fatalmente, año tras año, las mejores posibilidades de la juventud dificultándose su inserción eficaz y armónica en la sociedad y comunicándose, por un progresivo contagio, el radical malestar universitario a toda la vida nacional que arrastra agravándolos todos los problemas antes silenciados.·

The protesting students who had heeded the call of the manifesto outnumbered their Francoist counterparts considerably as the days went by, however. In other words, even in the mid- 50s one can see the capacity of the Movimiento to mobilize, especially students, coming into question. [210] Chanting "SEU, no" and "Falange, no" their demonstrations represented the single greatest direct challenge to the regime`s control of the educational institutions in its existence to that point. And Jesús López Pacheco, as Mesa's documents show, was in the thick of the protests.

The personal repercussions of López Pacheco's involvement were immediate, but his arrest and imprisonment seems to have only cemented his resolve against the regime. To his family years later he played down the severity of treatment in comparison to those who had been held in jails and concentration camps in parts of Spain during the first decade of the regime. His eldest son Bruno put his father's whole experience in this perspective:

> He talked about being in jail when the subject was relevant but it was not anything so much more significant in his life than the constant run-ins with the dictator's police who would arrive at public places to cancel his poetry readings (identifying and keeping a record of who had attended), detain people in the street for no good reason (young couples holding hands or the absolutely illegal "kissing"), violently attack at protests, call at the door for whatever pathetic excuse they made up or generally make his personal, literary and activist life difficult. [211]

Nevertheless he was resilient and determined to incorporate this experience into his writing voice. His son Fabio recollected how his father described his time in jail.

> He talked about the exercises, the mental discipline he adopted, the way he conjured up in his mind philosophical problems to keep

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[210] *Ibid.*

[211] Interview with Bruno López Pacheco by email by author, May 20, 2013. The parenthesis are Bruno's.

> himself busy; he told me for instance that he tried to focus his thinking on the texts he had read like Consolation of Philosophy or Descartes that stressed the independence of the mind over physical deprivation...Obviously one wonders to what degree all these strategies were effective--papá himself was typically quite honest about the way these were strategies he attempted, not necessarily goals he attained …[212]

It is easy to understand the young author's attraction to Boethius' text. Besides the circumstances of having been jailed for suspicion of conspiring with the enemy, the early Medieval Christian philosopher was a lover of poetry. *Consolation of Philosophy*, written in or around 524 C.E., is interspersed with verse throughout. The opening "poem" might tell us much of the mindset of López Pacheco at the time.

> Not even terror could drive from me,
> these faithful companions of my long journey.
> Poetry, which was once the glory of my happy and flourishing youth,
> is still my comfort in this misery of my old age.[213]

It was, in fact, poetry that was his first published voice as a writer and it was the voice in which he found refuge in Carabanchel. Here in a poem written in Carabanchel, March 16, 1956, he draws inspiration from one of the poetic heroes of his generation, Antonio Machado.

> **A Antonio Machado**
>
> I have taken paper and placed it
> on top of a book of verse of Machado
>
> -Machado, my friend,
> I beg you to forgive me
> for having imprisoned you with me,
> but you are so much like a river,

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[212] Interview with López Lázaro by author, April, 17, 2013.
[213] Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy* trans. by Douglas C. Langston (London: W.W. Norton, 2004), 3.

> your songs are so much like water
> you are greater than I and you know so much
> of love and of the cold,
> of fear and of terror,
> you so loved all that exists
> and you were so weary,
> And besides, it is so sad
> To be alone in jail without Machado! [214]

The author's months in Carabanchel were certainly influential in terms of deepening his resolve about confronting the regime with his art, but he was not surprised by the arrest. López Pacheco did not, by 1956, need any additional information regarding the destructiveness of the regime in people's daily lives. As his eldest son points out, the regime had its eye on these artists and protesters and would remain vigilant. A poetry reading he had set up at Café Sésamo, the same Café that awarded him a First Prize in 1954, was raided by the Social Police, and harassment for many of his friends became a regular feature of their lives in Madrid. Bruno Lázaro Pacheco believed his father regarded all of this as part and parcel of operating under the regime. His father tended to see that time of incarceration as just another example of the dictatorship's inability to allow dissent on any level. [215]

> … His anti-regime conviction was such that this was just a predictable action by a fascist state. He talked about being in jail when the subject was relevant but it was not anything so much more significant in his life than the constant run-ins with the dictator's police who would arrive at public places to cancel his poetry readings (identifying and keeping a

[214] Jesús López Pacheco, "Pongo la mano sobre España" in *España a tres voces* by Marcos Ana, Luis Alberto Quesada, Jesús López Pacheco (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Horizonte, 1963), 143. "He cogido el papel y lo he apoyado/ sobre un libro de versos de Machado.// Machado, amigo mío/ te ruego me perdones/ por haberte conmigo encarcelado…./ …y, además, es tan triste/ estar solo en la cárcel sin Machado." Trans. mine with advice from Prof. Leslie Harkema, Yale University.

[215] Bruno was kind enough to take me around Madrid in 2011 to areas of interest where we discussed at length his father's situation. One place he took me to see was, in fact, the Café Sésamo, still in its same place on Calle de Principe, 7. It to this day holds poetry and short story readings.

> record of who had attended), detain people in the street for no good reason, young couples holding hands or the absolutely illegal "kissing", violently attack at protests, call at the door for whatever pathetic excuse they made up or generally make his personal, literary and activist life difficult.[216]

And yet, throughout the protest, the incarceration, and the harassment, he wrote. The period leading up to the publishing of *Central elétrica* in 1958 and the beginning of the 1960s witnessed the consolidation of his artistic voice. It was when his artistic voice carried that quality of being second nature to his expression. He had developed a vocabulary that expressed his message. He was at home with the "realities" he felt missing in his work as a young poet.

Spanish Social Realism

It was this quest to come to terms through literature with the reality that he was witnessing in Spain that López Pacheco, like other writers in the *Generación del 50*, turned to Social Realism. The term had its origin back in the late 30s in the work of Gryögy Lukács's *Realism in the Balance* (1938) and is useful as a theoretical point of departure. López Pacheco's writing, as was true for his cohorts in Spain, France, and Italy, did reflect a break from the literary avant-garde, something Lukács advocated precisely because of the avant-garde's "growing distance from, and progressive dissolution of, realism." [217] It should be noted that Lukács's concept of "Realism," though based on its critical contestation with the avant-garde and related somewhat in content, is not the same as that of the Stalinist doctrine of "Socialist Realism." Socialist

[216] Interview with Bruno Lázaro Pacheco by email, May 20, 2013.
[217] Ernest Bloch. *Aesthetics and Politics: The Key Texts of the Classic Debate within German Marxism* (London: Verso, 1980), 29.

Realism was intended as a framework in which artists could further the purposes of the Stalinist state. It was a formulaic construct within which painters were supposed to paint and writers were supposed to write. Such works, especially during the Stalin years, idealized the socialist state and were not necessarily a reflection of everyday life.

In post-war Western Europe, specifically France, Britain, Germany, and Italy, Social Realism in film and was an attempt to confront a resuscitated liberal democratic bourgeois culture building under an American aegis. Although the new states being built appeared to offer economic hope after their virtual obliteration under the rain of bombardment for four years, the cultural wastelands they offered were regarded by these artists as empty of values. Spanish Social Realism also aligned with the Lukács break with pre-World War II and, in the case of Spanish writers, the pre-Spanish Civil War avant-garde. The voices of the social realists of the *Generación del 50* were a departure from the previous avant-garde project in Spain, in particular the Surrealism that colored the work of Federico García Lorca or the anti-realism of novelist Ramón Gómez de la Serna. López Pacheco, in his opening essay in the short-lived arts journal, *Acento Cultural*, bristled at the defensiveness of other movements, whether purism or the avant-garde, over the assertive voices of realism in his time. He wrote that such retrenchment only amounted to "protective walls" that would be "undone like castles in the sand."[218]

However, there was a stark difference in the intention and the execution of Spanish Social Realism from the Soviet model or that of Western Europe. The Spanish

[218] Jesús López Pacheco, "Realismo sin Realidad," *Acento Cultural* (Nov., 1958) 1: 1. *Acento* was published only between 1958 and 1960. Its editorial voice, including a six month a forced hiatus, when the journal was taken over editorially by Francoist Manuel Fraga.

voices were both utilitarian and urgent. This artistic expression was framed under a dictatorship, and was, in fact, a direct response to it and, specifically the world of Francoist Spain. This literary generation saw their real role as that of the reporters of their day, the messengers who could bring the real story to light, the "*actualidad*" of people's existence in Spain under Franco to light. The group was a voice for a more democratic approach to expression through writing and a lessening of censorship pressure. It was this group that included Antonio Ferres, Juan Eduardo Zúñiga, Armando López Salinas, and the Goytisolo brothers, Juan, José, and Luis, who became the nucleus of the movement critically identified today as Social Realism in Spain. No person, they felt, could hope to get an honest presentation of life in Spain from the Francoist press.

There was, of course, a concern for artistic integrity in this writing, a rawness and honesty that at the same time was overtly not polemical. This was by design. This was an attempt by the authors to place in the public sphere writing that would require the reading public to infer the social message and at the same time would hopefully finesse authorization from the regime because of the general non-polemical nature of the works. The process and the intent, polemical or not on the surface, was clearly a political one. At times, as we shall see in the next chapter, this process at least brought the works to the public successfully. It worked for Jesús López Pacheco's 1958 novel *Central eléctrica*, for Armando López Salinas's 1959 novel *La* Mina - both of which won recognition as finalists for the *Premio Nadal* - and for Juan Goytisolo's El *mundo de los espejos,* which won the *Premio Jóven de Literatura* in 1952.

By the late 1960s, two things were apparent in Spanish literature. One was that the Social Realism of the 1950s had, in fact, helped provide cover from the regime when the authors already had records for civil protest. And secondly, the regime had also been developing its own subtle message through the passage of so-called liberalizing laws such as the Ley de Prensa (Law of the Press) of 1967. The *Ley de Prensa*, or the Fraga law, so-called for its designer and promoter, Manuel Fraga Iribarne, Ministro de Información y Turismo, masked an even more sinister attempt to control the national conversation on the need to open Spanish society to the democratic West. A broader discussion of the Ley de Prensa and Fraga's role as a quasi-liberalizing agent will take place in Chapter 5.

In fact, in 1967, writer Juan Goytisolo focused on the inability of the political left in Spain to ever directly confront the rhetoric of the regime and to question its very substance. He wrote:

> The language created and utilized by the regime during its twenty-five years of governance has not been the object, until now, of any serious analysis on the part of the Spanish left. The critique and denunciation of the semantic edifice, which would carry with it the critique and denunciation of the very fundamentals of its existence…sooner or later, experience will obligate us to recognize that the negation of an intellectually oppressive system begins with the negation of its sematic structure.[219]

In the end, whether completely successful in its mission, Social Realism in Spain was the fulfillment of a need to come back to a portrayal of reality not identifiable in the

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[219] Juan Goytisolo*, El furgón de cola* (Paris, Ruedo ibérico, 1967), 19, n. 2. "El lenguaje creado y utilizado por el Régimen durante sus veintcinco años de gobierno no ha sido objeto, hasta ahora, de nigún análisis serio por parte de la izquierda española. La crítica y denuncia del edificio semántico en que se apoya llevaría, no obstante, consigo, la crítica y denuncia de los fundamentos mismos de su existencia…tarde o temprano la experiencia nos obligará a reconocer que la negación de un sistema intelectualmente opresor cominza necesariamente con la negación de su estructura semática."

Francoist press, given the political and social repression of the regime. For Jesús Lopez Pacheco, who also understood this need, there was a somewhat broader message that was evident in the writing of his cohorts. Again in his article in *Acento Cultural* the author placed the appearance of the Social Realist movement in a broader context of European literature as a natural part of the flow of history.

> Certain historical situations usually provoke the rebirth of realism. I say rebirth, because realism, in my opinion, is a tendency that remains always latent in the course of the history of literature and, in general, of art. It bursts forth each time more fully, more appropriate to the cause of man, to the cause of his real interests. [220]

Here is a distillation of what had become his literary message that would radiate through the author's work. It is about as close to spelling out as the author can come in a magazine published during Francoism, his true artistic and political vision without literally declaring himself a Marxist writer. This idea of realism, the reasserting of a literary accounting of contemporary reality at the service of human material interests, is a talisman of Spanish Social Realism.

At the same time, Social Realism in the years of the regime was also a reaction to the previous Spanish literary avant-garde, something Lukács had predicted because of the European avant-garde's "growing distance from and progressive dissolution of realism." [221] The implications of what López Pacheco was saying in 1958 were clearly in line with

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[220]Jesús López Pacheco, "Realismo sin realidad", *Acento Cultural,* 1(1958), 5-7. "Determinados situaciones históricas suelen provocar el renacimiento de realismo. Digo renacimiento porque el realismo, en mi opinión, una tendencia que permanece siempre latente en el curso de la historia de la literatura y, en general, del arte. Y, progresivamente también va rebrotando cada vez más hecho, más adecuada a la causa del hombre, a la causa de la lucha por sus intereses reales.

[221]Ernest Bloch, 29. It should be noted that Lukács's concept of "Realism," though based in its critical contestation with the avant-garde and related somewhat in content, is not the same as that of the Stalinist

neo-Marxist thought that argued that it was time now, after the Second World War, to move away from what Lukács considered artistic bourgeois navel-gazing to a world of real-life problems, the problems of every-day working people.

That "growing distance" from the avant-garde for this generation of Spanish writers was great. They were a generation that grew up in, but did not participate in, the Civil War. Their sense as children themselves was of the war and its aftermath. The earliest, darkest years of the Francoist repression ensured in them an antipathy toward the regime. To Antonio Ferres it was more than material loss. "In my memory of those years," he said, "the worst was not the hunger, not even the fear; the worst was being disoriented. The repression was so great. For months people were shot daily…by the hundreds." [222] For all of these writers, the later years, the years of the regime's consolidation, evoked the repression of their voice, the ability to express their art freely and that was a hunger far more profound.

However, and this is true throughout López Pacheco's writing, the classical terminology or rhetoric of Marxism rarely appears in his work. The subject matter, the concern for the primacy of work in society, the concern for alienation from work and from purpose are abundantly apparent from *Central Eléctrica* on. He speaks later on about how his political ideology, however, is readily apparent to those who want to look. He sees it as a part of his voice, but only a part.

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doctrine of "Socialist Realism," which was intended as a framework in the Soviet Union in which artists could further the purposes of the Communist state.

[222] Ignacio Echevarría," Entrevista: Una generación olvidada: Antonio Ferres y Juan Eduardo Zúñiga, *El País,* November, 2, 2002,

It could be because he grew up in Spain under Franco, where one only dared to express social concerns in print with a tempered voice. It could be because, even in Canada in the 1970s, to be blatantly and rhetorically Marxist would have garnered suspicion, especially given his immigrant status. Yet, even in his interviews in the 1980s he did not slip into political rhetoric of any kind. There was another side of López Pacheco that shunned formulas and shunned rigid ideology, which could, he thought become just as repressive as a political system itself.

In his later years in exile, after the fall of the regime, Jesús López Pacheco would disparage labels such as Social Realism. The author would eventually see such critical frameworks as creatively too confining. In his 1985 interview, López Pacheco suggested a view of Social Realism itself as having a much wider palette than critics assumed.

> …in principle, I conceive realism in a broad manner, a little in the manner of Brecht; within realism I include a great variety of techniques and, of course, any game of the imagination that is depended on the realist intention of the work. I don't believe realism is a photographic copy of reality. [223]

However, confining or not, the label of Social Realism stuck with him and in fact Jesús López Pacheco's 1958 novel *Central eléctrica* is today considered one of the premier examples of the genre and is taught in literature classes in Spain and elsewhere for its poetic and social emphasis.

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[223] Duran de Cogan, 37. The passage from the interview extends this point. "…en principio, el realismo lo concibo en una manera amplia., un poco a la manera de Brecht dentro del realismo incluyo una grande variedad de técnicas y, desde luego, cualquier juego de la imaginación que esté en función de la intención realista de la obra. No creo que el realismo debe ser una copia fotográfica de la realidad."("…in principle, I conceive realism in a broad manner, a little in the manner of Brecht; within realism I include a great variety of techniques and, of course, any game of the imagination that is depended on the realist intention of the work. I don't believe realism is a photographic copy of reality." The interview was in an issue of the magazine entirely dedicated to his work.

From *Central eléctrica* to Canada: The Search for Home

In the case of Jesús López Pacheco's best-known novel *Central eléctrica*, by 1962, 50,000 copies of the book were in print in Europe in five languages and the critics had come to see this as the work of a fully developed artist.[224] The novel painted a dismal picture of rural life in Francoist Spain. It takes place in a small pueblo threatened with extinction by the building of a nearby hydroelectric plant. The book was also directly related to the author's own experiences as the son of an engineer, who worked on similar projects for the regime. For López Pacheco the writing and publishing of *Central eléctrica* was that moment where many of the elements of his life, the influences and his personal inquiries coalesce around a work. The same was true for Antonio José and his opera, as well as Tàpies' shift in his work in the early 1950s. But as important as their understanding of their artistic direction, the consistency in their thought and in their beliefs as artists is evident from their own writings from early in their careers to the end of their lives. In terms of Jesús López Pacheco, that consistency is evident when he discusses later in life the comparison between his form and purpose for *Central elétrica* and that of his later work. He draws lines of connection between the 1958 work and his second novel *La hoja de parra* (The Fig Leaf), published first abroad in Mexico in 1973.

> The elements that are usually called "imaginative" in *Central eléctrica* are scarce and the realism is that which is usually termed "traditional;" on the other hand, the realism in *La hoja de parra* is much more imaginative, over all in the second part, and the technical and stylistic tricks are more abundant and varied. But the critical intention…is constant in both. While in *Central eléctrica* there is over all a desire of the exaltation of work, in *La hoja de parra* that principal intention has

[224] Ignacio Soldevila, 22.

> been transformed in the critical sense. But both have a common function: they are trying to present a society in critical terms.[225]

The book has many aspects of it that confront the regime, but that also tell a broader anti-corporate and anti-progress-as-perfection story that could be transferred to many cultures in the West in the 1950s and 60s. The prospect of the loss of a town and a way of life are the backdrop for both narratives.[226] The nature, however, of the dictatorship's centralizing mission, the promotion of the dominant control of the center, Madrid, over the whole of the country is a major factor in this Spanish version of modernization.[227] Looking back now, the novel takes on a portentous meaning after its publication, when one of the regime's pet hydroelectric projects, a dam just outside of the pueblo of Ribadelago in the province of Zamora, burst without warning. The dam, a two-year project finished in 1956, was intended to feed power to a rapidly expanding Madrid, but it ruptured on the night of January 9, 1959, inundating the small town, destroying sixty percent of the housing, and killing one hundred forty-four people. Investigations afterward, not released by the Francoist- controlled press to the public, implicated shoddy design and construction. The head of the company responsible, tied to Franco's family, would serve

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[225] Durán de Cogan, 37. "Los elementos que suelen llamarse imaginativos, sobre todo en Central eléctrica son escasos, y el realismo es el que se suele llamar tradicional; en cambio, el realismo de *La hoja de parra* es mucho más imaginativo, sobre todo en la segunda parte, y los trucos técnicos y estilísticos son muy abundantes y variados. Pero la intención crítica…es constante en las dos. Mientras que en *Central eléctrica* hay sobre todo un deseo de exaltación del trabajo, en *La hoja de parra* la intención principal se ha transformado en sentido crítico. Pero las dos tienen una función común: están tratando de presentar una sociedad en términos críticos." (trans.is mine)

[226] Take, for example, the Elia Kazan movie *Wild River* from 1960 starring Montgomery Cliff, the story of a company man being sent out to try to convince an older resident that she needed to move before her small farm and her whole existence were wipe out by the rise of the water levels behind a new dam.

[227] As mentioned, the bad construction in Zamora resulted from a rush to provide electric power for a burgeoning Madrid market.

less than a year in prison and, later in the decade, he would receive the *Gran Cruz de la Orden del Mérito Civil* for his services rendered to the state.[228]

The stark realism of the novel portrays its characters, but does not "editorialize" on their lives. One technique López Pacheco utilizes is that of brief chapters as snapshots of the small pueblos in 1950s Spain under the pressure of a rural electrification program. He sets a picture of their life working in their small sections of fields in real and poetic terms.

> The men of Aldeaseca work on their plots together with their wives and children. Gervasio works and at the side of his mother, an old woman, whose dry skin is already like the land, reddish and rugged, who doesn't stop talking while she sticks in and yanks out the hoe…Near them the river, broad and strong, its current resonating with gentleness and force. In almost all of the plots someone is working. The bare torsos of the men or the white shirts and black or colored scarves the women wear on their heads create a calm brown or harsh yellow from the plots and the shades of grey, making the countryside almost come alive with their movements, almost rhythmical. But dominant is the yellow, an anguished yellow, without water, that is weaving itself in the plots near the river, made darker by the hoe and the arms, willing to receive the seed, the wind, the sun, and the water.[229]

Here is clear, concise imagery, yet with this almost pointillist use of colors and space lay the idea that reality is never precisely what it seems. In one way this idea defies

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[228] See José Lera, "40 años de la tragedia de Ribadelago, en la que murieron 144 personas", *El País*, January 10, 1999 and Tomás F. Ruiz, "La presa que se tragó a un pueblo", *Publico.es*, February 20, 2011, viewed July 27, 2013, http://www.publico.es/espana/362256/la-presa-que-se-trago-a-un-pueblo.

[229] Jesús López Pacheco, *Central eléctrica* (Barcelona: Ediciones Destino, 1970), 37-38. "Trabajan en sus parcelas los hombres de Aldeaseca, junto a sus mujeres e hijos. Trabaja Gervasio y al lado su madre, una mujer vieja, seca cuya piel es ya de tierra, rojiza y arrugada, que no deja de hablar mientras clava y desclava la azada… Cerca de ellos, el rio, ancho y fuerte, sonando su corriente con suavidad y fuerza. En casi todas las parcelas se trabaja. Los torsos desnudos de los hombres o sus camisas blancas y los pañuelos negros o de color que llevan las mujeres a la cabeza, resultan sobre el quieto pardo o el duro amarillo de las parcelas y el gris de las "cortinas", haciendo vivo el paisaje con sus movimientos casi rítmicos. Pero domina en él el amarillo, un amarillo angustioso, sin agua, que va abriéndose en las parcelas próximas al río, hecho más oscuro por la azada y los abrazos, dispuesto a recibir ya la semilla, el viento, el sol y el agua."

the nomenclature "social realism" itself and results in an observation made by López Pacheco who saw in the use of the term "realism" an ambiguity: there is really no such thing as a "reality", only realities that we all live with and try to insert into life together. If anything, one could say that López Pacheco saw life as multi-real. His imagery is at times stark, at times fully poetic and rapturous. It is also the literature of a deeply concerned human being who let the intensity of the images speak for themselves without the need for polemic. And at times that was lost on the Francoist censor, as those writers who espoused this form and style had hoped. The most telling comment made about this book was made by the regime censor, who perceived signs of sympathy for workers and peasants that could be construed as a "stinging social critique." In the end, the censor thought the work was too "intellectual" to be much of a threat. "In my judgment," he wrote, "the book will not get much dissemination, because few will buy it." [230] It turned out, in the end, the censor's judgment was in error.

In Eduardo Ruíz Bautista's examination of this document, he comments that, regardless of the seemingly cerebral approach of López Pacheco, the censor "could not rely on widespread ignorance or reduced dissemination" as a basis for a decision to publish. In fact, the book was not finally approved for authorization to publish until over a year later in May of 1958, by which time, it should be noted, the book had already garnered critical acclaim and been publicized as a finalist for the Destino's *Premio*

[230]AGA, Caja 21/11656 "…a mi juicio esta novela no puede ser reprobada en globo. Entre muchas razones, porque al ser muy intelectual su exposición, no creo que tenga mucho difusión."

Nadal, as previously mentioned.[231] Being awarded as a finalist for the 1958 *Premio Nadal* for literature was no small side light. The finalist position for the young writer projected him into the forefront of a contemporary Spanish fiction movement. To this day the novel serves as a hallmark of a contested reality of life under the regime. The delay, in this case, seems to have aided the book's sale.[232]

This type of notoriety also put a focus on López Pacheco and the other writers of the *Generación del 50*. Besides the police breaking up poetry readings, the authorities seemed to be on to some of the gatherings that included writers from this group. An homage to legendary poet Antonio Machado, planned by several contemporary Spanish writers, was to take place in Collioure, France in the spring of 1959 on the twentieth anniversary of the poet's death. Machado, a strong supporter of the Republic, had been buried in Collioure where the poet died after fleeing the advance of Franco's army in Catalonia.[233] López Pacheco had corresponded with José Goytisolo, poet brother of Juan, in early 1959, about the possibility of attending. Goytisolo had offered the madrileño writer a place to stay in Barcelona from where they could make the quick trip across the border. But as much as he wanted to go, it was impossible for him. López Pacheco could not secure a passport. Instead, he went to Segovia north of Madrid and attended a brief and private ceremony that had the air, from the report of López Pacheco, of maintaining secrecy. He wrote to Goytisolo:

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[231]Eduardo Ruiz Bautista, *Tiempo de la censura: la represión editorial durante franquismo* (Gijón, Spain: Ediciones Trea, 2008), 83.
[232] See Santos Sans Villanueva's review of *El homovil*, "Imaginativo resultado de la exasperación" in *Revista de libros de la Fundación Caja Madrid*, 74 (Feb., 2003), 44-45.
[233] He had spoken at the Anti-fascist gathering in Valencia mentioned in chapter 3.

> Some poems of Machado were read, there were some words - a few -, - some crying-nervous…, but the day was very clear. On the patio of the house where the poet had lived, a very small patio, we spent a half hour, tense and crammed together. Given the private, intimate nature of the act, it was good that so many attended from Madrid. ¿Two hundred, three hundred? Maybe more.[234]

Considering the nature of the intentionally low key ceremony, the attendance was remarkable. In Colliure, in the more open atmosphere of France, the homage to the poet had been far more conspicuous, and from documents seems to have been well known to Spanish authorities. [235]

The ongoing tension between the author, his colleagues, and the regime in the late 1950s and 60s would play out in the ability of the writers to publish freely and is the subject of the next chapter. What can be said now is that while López Pacheco was being singled out by the regime for his activism in the 1950s, the obstructive edits demanded by censors on his work and at times the outright denial of its publication in the 60s created a serious dilemma for him and his family. He was gaining literary notoriety, but that notoriety also came at a price. If he wanted to maintain his life in Spain, and that of his family's, he needed to work and in order to work he had to write. To a great extent what this meant for him was to work within other areas of literature, those of critical writing and translations of works from abroad. Fortunately, López Pacheco spoke fluent Italian and read Russian, German, and eventually, English, well.[236] His translation work in this period extended from twentieth

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[234] AAUB, GoyC 3389, Jesús López Pacheco letter to José Goytisolo dated March 4, 1959. See also letters 0372, 0373,0374,0375,0390, and 0391.

[235] See Chapter 5, note 38 where colleague Armando López Salinas, who did attend the homage in Collioure, is reported in a censorship document to have attended the ceremony.

[236] His English translation of note was the first translation into Spanish of Edgar Lee Masters', *Spoon River Anthology* in 1993.

century Italians poets Luigi Bartolini and Carlo Bertrocchi and novelist Natalia Ginzburg, to Bertolt Brecht and Yevgeny Yevtushenko. The work of Yevtushenko was permitted by the Francoist censors without question as he was a known objector to the Soviet state. But an examination here in terms of López Pacheco's work on Brecht, the first translation of these works in Spanish, is important. It gives us a perspective on demands put on him by the regime even to finesse this type of work.

In 1964 López Pacheco formed a small publishing company, Editorial Horizonte. One of his first projects was to publish works, previously unpublished in Spanish, of poet and playwright, Bertolt Brecht. As editor and translator, he submitted applications to the Ministry of Information and Tourism Department of Censorship for both the prologue and for his translation of a set of Brecht poems. The work *Poemas y canciones* (Poems and Songs) did not go by the censor untouched.

Brecht's Marxist sympathies, his "tendencia marxista,*"* were noted in the censor's report, but by the middle 1960s, a foreign author with the prestige of Brecht could get by if he or she did not get too close to the cultural bone of National Catholicism. For Francoist censors this meant that an author's work could not in any way be considered a denigration of the State or the Church. In the case of these poems by Brecht, the censor granted authorization based precisely on these rationales with two caveats. The censor wrote in his report to the ministry:

> The tendency of the author in part is countered by the fact that this is a well-known person and is in current literary media. This leads to a greater leniency in considering his works… Naturally we considered (and this should be stated in the prologue) that he tended to attack the regime and

> militarism of the Nazis and not our institutions, which could not have been on mind of the author. [237]

So even though he was a Marxist and once an enemy of the Francoist regime's close former ally, the Third Reich, his poetry was not making aspersions directly at the regime, and therefore, the set of poems would be authorized…with a few minor changes, it seems. Publication could go forward, the censor concluded, but only with *supresiones* (deletions) from pages "1, 6, 18-19, 32, 58, 70a, 72, 114, 131, y 152." [238] However, the parenthesis in the report is also important. It refers directly to the editor and translator himself, López Pacheco, who was also the author of the prologue. It was necessary, then, for López Pacheco to rewrite the prologue so that it would notify the reader that any anti-fascist remarks of Brecht should not be misconstrued as a denigration of the present regime in Spain. Such were the circus hoops that authors and editors had to jump through with the regime.

That Jesús López Pacheco was enamored with the work of Brecht, and was well aware of the poet and playwright's political leanings, seems clear. This implies to us two things about the author's motivations. One is that he was attempting with this company, even if he struggled to get his own work past the censors at this period, to at least secure a place for authors whose literary voices he respected. Secondly, his own experiences with Francoist censors gave him insight into which of these authors might be "acceptable" and

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[237] AGA, Caja 21/15057 Ex. 1264-64 "La tendencia del autor viene en parte contrarrestada por el hecho de tratarse de una persona muy conocida y de actualidad en los medios literarios. Esto nos lleva a mayor indulgencia en la consideración de sus obras. "…Naturalmente consideramos (y ello debería hacerse constar en el prólogo) que tiende a atacar el régimen y militarismo nazi, y no nuestras instituciones que no podían estar en la mente del autor."

[238] *Ibid.*

reach the Spanish reader. This same determination, as we shall see in the next chapter, is a large part of his endless attempts, and that of other Spanish authors, often times fruitless, to get to the Spanish reader messages that were forbidden. That determination also would absorb much of his energy through appeals over his own work, appeals that would push him to the edge of exile.

Toward the end of his and his family's life in Spain, the author had - or better put, made - the opportunity to travel outside of the country, in particular to countries where his work was openly published such as Italy. He also travelled to the Soviet Union and Cuba. These trips were vital to him, although not achieved easily, especially those to the two Communist countries. For López Pacheco, the frustration of trying to publish freely in Spain and provide for his family was becoming an enormous psychological, political, and economic obstacle. The subject of his travel, however, raises a question as to what kind of restraints actually existed on his life in Spain and those lives of many of his cohorts. Was the Francoist regime by the 1960s actually, as Linz predicted, somehow more "pluralist," in the late twentieth century meaning of a diversity of voices and agency within a democratic environment?

Jeremy Treglown's 2013 work *Franco's Crypt: Spanish Culture and memory since 1936*, seems, at least in terms of López Pacheco, to point in that direction, and his observations on the author's situation raise several questions. Treglown uses the publishing of *Central eléctrica* as an example of a number of works that "contradict the still-widespread idea that Francoist censorship prevented any form of intellectual or creative opposition." The problem is not that the Francoist regime prevented any form of

creative and intellectual opposition; if this dissertation assumes anything, it assumes that there was much more going on of a dissident nature in artistic expression during the Francoist regime than has been recognized. The reason is not, however, because the regime did not try hard enough to contain such expression. In terms of censorship, as we will see in the next chapter, the regime had an abundance of tools and approaches at its command and it used them often adroitly to make life for artist of literary expression at times intolerable.

In general, the problem with using the life of Jesús López Pacheco and his novel *Central eléctrica* as examples of how dissident expression got through the Francoist censorship sieve is that they are the wrong examples to use. Jeremy Treglown spends several pages discussing the 1959 hydroelectric damn disaster at Ribadelago and López Pacheco's novel. He mentions López Pacheco's connections to the Universitario de Escritores Jóvens, how that group had been suppressed in 1956 and how the young writer was "briefly imprisoned."

> Yet his new novel was published in April of 1958 by Ediciones Destino, and although some of his subsequent work was banned, he was able to publish it abroad and came and went freely between Spain and literary events in the Soviet Union, Cuba, and elsewhere. Perhaps the regime hoped he would leave, as eventually he did-though not until 1968, when he took a university post in Canada. [239]

The capacity of Spanish authors and López Pacheco specifically to occasionally publish abroad will be handled in the next chapter on Francoist censorship. In terms of the environment under which López Pacheco and other Spanish writers were living in

[239] Jeremy Treglown, *Franco's Crypt: Spanish since 1936* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux: New York, 2013), 54.

this period of Francoism, there seems to be the implication here that a more rigid regime would never have allowed an author of the repute and politics of a López Pacheco this type of publishing "freedom." After all, taken one way, *Central eléctrica* seems to implicate the regime and its project.

The most obvious flaw here is that the damn break received very little notice in the national press, as the regime was quite capable of controlling that dissemination. The regional reports clouded the facts sufficiently that the real cause was not immediately apparent. *Central elétrica*, then, having been published nine months before the incident, a clear work of fiction sitting at the office of censorship for a year before that, would not be an immediate concern for the regime, even if one of the censors happened to put two and two together years later and realize how prescient the book truly was. The book was never a threat to the regime at the moment in any way, shape or form. For historians, the incident describes a continual dark side of the regime's manipulations of the public welfare. The novel's real historical power, strengthened by its eloquence, is that in hindsight it intuited, and the real catastrophe confirmed, this appalling lack of concern of the regime for its citizens. This power is what an artist such as López Pacheco seeks long term, and any obstacle, especially those as arcane and debilitating as the Francoist censorship process, is anathema to that expression.

In terms of López Pacheco's travel, he never did travel "freely" outside of Spain to destinations such as Cuba or the Soviet Union (he went to both places once). As a translator of Italian works, he could travel to Italy as well as France. However, his passport, which finally he had obtained after years of struggle, clearly restricted travel to

either of the Communist countries.[240] The only way he could travel was in violation of that restriction, which he did. That he was not caught making either of these two trips can only be blamed on the lack of Spanish international intelligence to completely control such travel. There is no doubt that travel to Western Europe was more frequent for Spaniards in the 1960s, but rather than that fact being a sign of a change in the Francoist regime's autocratic heart that opened up some loophole in the culture, it reflects a much stronger practical concern for the regime. Its economic welfare was rapidly becoming dependent on Western Europe as a haven for out-of-work Spaniards, not to mention incoming tourists.

However, there was another purpose of travel for Jesús López Pacheco. He wanted to leave Spain; he wanted to move his family at least where he could work freely, where he could publish his work without harassment from censorship, where he and his wife could raise their children in an academic environment in which they could themselves freely flourish. Neither the Soviet Union nor Cuba, where he had had an offer to teach, was his choice in the end. He sensed that even though there was much to be commended in both cultures, their restrictions would just be replacing the ones he lived under in Spain with a different set. His own ideology was evolving as the 1960s came to a close, and his own writing took moved away from any adherence to one stylistic prism. At any rate, when the offer came in 1968 to move to Canada and teach for a year at the

[240]Fabio López Lázaro, email, April 17, 2012.Answers to inquiries sent by the author through email on April 14, 2013

University of Western Ontario, it seemed like the opportunity he needed to take for his art and his family.

Exile

The year leading up to his exile was spent in constant struggle to earn a living, not to mention, to decide what his alternatives were. By 1967, the regime, through its censorship, had worn away any hope for López Pacheco that he would ever be able to publish in Spain without incalculable appeals. The three year battle with the censors over his children's story, *Juguetes de la Frontera,* was both emblematic and the culmination of his travails over the years. From the continual scrutiny and insistence that he edit out minute references in his work by the dozens, to stripping whole poems from his books of poetry, to outright denial of publication for whole works, at times there was little for him to do but his translations. He was adept at language and translation came easily. But all this work in the end earned him very little. The denial of his ability to freely publish his own work and the economic circumstances he and his family were in finally took their toll. At first, López Pacheco weighed whether, because the whole of his body of works, poetry, novels, and translations were published there, the Soviet Union might be where he and his family could best survive. He received, as well, an offer to teach in Cuba. In the end, it would be to a modest regional university in western Ontario where he decided to take an offer of a one year position. There was the hope that he would then be able, with the possibility of a reappointment at the university, to file for more permanent status. The pay would be better and he could have his summers to write. So Jesús, Marisol, and their three children left for North America.

Is there a difference between exile and self-exile? On one level, one who is an exile is forced to leave, and one who is a self-exile chooses to leave. So on the surface, Jesús López Pacheco was a self-exile. He could have stayed in Spain. As a writer in Spain he could have fought the regime in endless battles over the next eight years - the time it took for *La hoja de parra* to finally be authorized for importation back to Spain from where it was written - or, as he chose to do, he could leave.

And yet, there is the reality of this later exile and that of others of his colleagues, such as Ferres or Juan Goytisolo in the late 1960s, which sets them apart from the panic of artists and academics at the end of the Spanish Civil War fleeing the advance of Franco's army. These are people that engaged in *autoexilio,* self-exile. But in the case of López Pacheco, he did not see this as a choice at all. "It was a self-exile, yes," he said, "but not for pleasure, but out of disgust, and material and moral necessity."[241] For him it seems that, after continued battles with the regime over redactions or banning of the publication of his works he had run out of options. The conjecture, nevertheless, by Jeremy Treglown that possibly the government was happy to have him leave could certainly be true. However, if so, that was not exactly the behavior displayed by the Francoist regime soon after the family was settled in Ontario.

As Bruno Lázaro López tells the story in his documentary film on his father, after the family's move to Canada the regime tried to convince the Canadian government that he was dangerous and should be returned to Spain, because he was a Communist provocateur. The logic here defies imagination as one more Communist under the table in

[241] *Ibid.,* 35. "…fue un autoexilio, sí, pero no por gusto sino por disgusto y por necesidad material y moral."

the early 1970s was the last thing the Francoist regime needed. The government of Canada, after some thought, granted the writer permanent residence instead.[242] It seems the regime, or the functionaries responsible, believed that a re-domesticated López Pacheco might be better than a López Pacheco unsheathed and on the loose. It turns out in the end that neither side truly understood the author.

The summer months in Canada provided Jesús the time when he could get away from teaching and concentrate more on his own writing. His discipline was impressive and involved. His son, Fabio, describes his father's habit of taking a break in the afternoons in order to read to his wife, Marisol, or to any of his three children, Bruno, Fabio, or Alejandra, bits and pieces of what he was working on. He wanted their advice on whether he was getting across his meaning clearly. Preciseness in language was an obsession for him and he was convinced in the end that "any kind of programmatic thinking exploited the lack of precision which most people would accept."[243] He was in a constant search for a reality within reality that sets him off from other writers of his time.

At one point in the already cited interview with the author published in the *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, Mercedes Durán de Cogan turns to the nature of his exile. He recalls a poem of his.

> I have a bad memory for my own verses, but it seems to me that in a sonnet titled "De amor y de rencor" (Of Love and Rancor), I said something like: "To be a Spaniard, I tear myself away from Spain," a verse that is completely ambiguous and intentionally ambiguous: I tore Spain from me? Me from Spain?...; poetically, it goes both ways. I tried to tear Spain from me and I tore myself from Spain. This supposes an interior exile that already existed before the real exile of emigration. And this real

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[242] *Ibid.*
[243] Interview with Fabio López Lázaro, July 26, 2011.

> exile supposes a continuing rethinking of Spain, but with a distance that I didn't have before, with new coordinates and possibly with less of the fog of passion, of rancor, and of love.[244]

It is true that Jesús López Pacheco did not leave Spain with his family exclusively for political reasons. It was his politics that had made the publishing of much of his work often impossible and he felt a great deal of responsibility, given his political stances and continued harassment by the regime, for his family's future. Clearly, there was the possibility for himself of teaching and writing without the eye of a dictatorial regime overseeing his production. He was, in analytical and emotional terms, a writer who integrated his poetic literary vision with his analytical tools. He knew he would be constantly harassed if he did not alter his artistic voice; he was not about to do that.

And still, after more than a decade as a Spanish immigrant teaching at the University of Western Ontario in London, the petals began to fall off the rose of his academic experience. Jesús López Pacheco came to believe that the air of North American democracy in effect did not permit students to breathe so freely. There were, lamentably to him, restrictions in thought and action that he alludes to in interviews and in his work itself. He would not deny, first off, his debt to the freedom he and his family achieved by leaving the intellectually stultifying atmosphere of the Francoist university. Again, from his perspective in 1985, twenty years after his exile from Spain and less than

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[244] Durán de Cogan and López Pacheco, 34-35. "Tengo mala memoria para mis propios versos, pero me parece que en un soneto creo que titulado "De Amor y de Rencor" digo algo así como: "Para ser español me arranco a España," verso que es completamente ambiguo e intencionadamente ambiguo: ¿me arranco a España de mí? ¿a mí de España?...; políticamente le van los dos sentidos. ¿Intenté arrancarme a España de mí y me arranqué? a mí de España: esto supone un exilio interior que ya existía antes del exilio real de la emigración. Y este exilio real supone un continuo repensar a España pero con un distanciamiento que antes no tenía, con unas nuevas coordenadas y quizá con menos niebla de pasión y de rencor y de amor."

a decade after Franco's death, he cites what to him were the basic differences, both socially and academically, between Spain and North America. This is quoted at length, because it presents to us the clearest description yet of his world view, and where his thinking was going toward the end of his life. The very debate he engages in here has particular relevance to one still very present in the American university, and American educational institutions in general and his words are presented in full.

> The Canadian university had helped me to see with more clarity the excessively traditionalist, dogmatic, closed aspects that there were in the Spanish university, (aspects) that I myself had complained about and whose existence had contributed to the initiative the I, together with my friends and companions, had organized, a national congress of students, in order to seek reforms in the Spanish university. And these reforms, it appeared, had been made and were in process in the Canadian university. On the other hand, the relationship between the university and North American society is totally new to me. This is a society much more technically developed with economic institutions much stronger than those of Spain. Beginning with the most positive, both Canadian and American universities have available an organization of some means that for any Spaniard of the 50s or 60s , including now, are worthy of admiration and respect: loaded with libraries, and an abundance of media, instantaneous access to the most advanced technological media for teaching, etc. But, on the other hand, the submission of the culture and the university, therefore, to financial institutions, to the pressure of groups of capital is very great. Many times I have drawn a parallel between this situation and the dependency that our (Spanish) universities have had with respect to the Church and even governments. This continuous and very strong pressure on the part of large companies that, in direct and indirect ways, finance the universities influences the creation of a submissiveness of the university to the necessities of the market. The university is seen obligated to produce graduates that coalesce precisely around what industry needs, which doesn't always coincide with what society needs and often is contrary to it. This is completely opposite of what occurred in Spain where one studied things completely irrelevant, in many cases to Spanish society. Here everything is "relevant" or almost everything. The culture and science, on the other hand, are held as Indians, in reservations that "protect", but in reality isolate them. And separating life from culture is wrong for life and culture, since on the one side it promotes elitism and on the other anti-

> intellectualism, disinformation and the trivialization, so typical of the middle class. On the other hand, this makes, in Canadian society and North America in general, the interrelationship between the university and society very mediated and, in some cases, very small. [245]

His literary experimentation later in life, first with *La hoja de parra* and then culminating in *El homovil,* which were reminiscent of the Spanish avant-garde of the 1930s or as contemporary to the work of the magical realist of South America, was an indication of his always-alert and facile mind. While he searched endlessly for new ways to explain his sense of the importance of work that engaged the individual in society, his critique was still, until the end of his life, that modern humans were not only stymied by the corporate structure of their societies and their education systems; he believed humans had allowed themselves to become totally subservient to it. But never, even in the darkest moments of his contest with the Spanish dictatorship that he so reviled, or in the pressures of starting a whole new life for himself and his family across the Atlantic, or even in his disillusionment at the motivations of his new society, did he ever abandon his vision for the world. In the end, he still held that every society could come to honor the role of work, not as an economic statistic or a status marker, but as a need of the people in order to understand themselves fully. And right there at the center is the role the artist plays, as integral to life as the fisherman's catch or the baker's loaf of bread.

In the last paragraph of his eloquent *Preludio Cromático*, the opening thought to his *Ecologas y urbanas*, published the year before he died, Jesús López Pacheco wrote in

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[245]Durán de Cogan and Jesús López Pacheco, 36-37. The full Spanish of this portion of his 1985 interview is presented in the appendix at the end of this chapter.

a tone somber, surreal, and yet uplifting, a reflection on snow as an allegory of death and life, a reflection that probably only a Spaniard transplanted in Canada might fully appreciate. It went:

> The city was completely covered by a thick layer of snow.
>
> When the light of dawn permitted distinguishing a white thread from a black thread, they didn't have a remedy more than accepting what they were seeing without being able to comprehend it, what had left them paralyzed in silence: the snow that was falling was green. As the grass.[246]

[246] Jesús López Pacheco, *Ecólogas y urbanas: Manual para evitar un fin de siglo siniestro*: versos, acciones, prosas, refranes, juegos y muchas otras cosas (Vitoria-Gasteiz: Bassarai, 1996), 14. "La ciudad la luz del amanecer permitió distinguir un hilo blanco de un hilo negro, no tuvieron más remedio que aceptar lo que estaban viendo sin poderlo comprender, lo que los había dejado paralizados en silencio: la nieve que caía era verde. Como la hierba."

Chapter 5 - The Unread Verse: Francoist Censorship and Jesús López Pacheco

The verse you read is not
verse because I write it.
It is verse because you read it.

The verse you read is not
verse because you read it
It is verse because it reads you.

-Jesús López Pacheco, *Asilo Poético: Poemas escritos en Canadá, 1968-1990* [247]

In order to understand fully the exile of Jesús López Pacheco from Spain in 1968, one needs to understand the Francoist censorship process that the writer struggled against. This was the period of the regime when his work most closely intersected that process and that process devoted its most focused energies to the field of literature production. That process would also destroyed much of López Pacheco's ability to support his family through the means he was trained. That, in fact, given the regime's cultural project, was its purpose.

Franco censorship was always a *proyecto en proceso* (work in progress) over its forty-five years of existence and those years include a brief post-Franco "afterlife". As a day to day operation the Francoist censorship department became dysfunctional by the mid-1980s, a shadow of its consolidated years. During its consolidated years between 1950 and 1970, however, its effects could be devastating to an author's work and to this day its ghosts still haunt the public library bookshelves of Spain.

[247] Jesús López Pacheco, *Asilo Poético: Poemas escritos en Canadá, 1968-1990. "*El verso que lees no es/ Verso porque lo escriba./ Es verso porque lo lees.// El verso que lees no es/ Verso porque tú lo leas./ Es verso porque te lee."

There are major benefits for a researcher in examining the censorship records of the regime in Spanish archives. The assiduousness of the Francoist bureaucrats of the Ministry of Information and Tourism is at times impressive. But, what is important historically from the point of view of literature is that these document pouches of applications sent to the Department of Censorship in the Ministry include original manuscripts presented to the Ministry in the form of applications for authorization to publish. In the case of a Spanish writer like Jesús López Pacheco, by the nature of his conflicts and the nature of the obstructions to his work that the regime placed in front of him, we finally have the ability to see the complete work as the author intended it. The chance of reading the censorship documents with the original texts offers us the possibility of meeting López Pacheco's poetry and his novels in their "purist," un-redacted form.

In fact, to this day there are many copies of his books that were authorized but left scarred by redaction that still populate bookshelves in libraries and universities throughout Spain, and for that matter throughout the world. A 1961 copy of *Canciones del amor prohibido* at Northwestern University is not the book of poetry that the author wrote and that his publisher presented to the censors in Spain, nor is the copy of his book sitting in the New York Public Library, nor in the library at the University of California, Berkeley. This phenomenon is a part of the vestiges, or call them literary ghosts, of Franco censorship that still haunt the libraries and universities around the world almost forty years after the end of the dictatorship.

Professor Jordi Cornellà-Detrell, who has been studying the long term effects of these practices, points out that even censor-redacted versions of some authors' works have been reissued by Spanish publishing houses long after the transition to democracy-without changes. These are not only available in many places in Spain, they are often the only editions that are available anywhere. Having the opportunity to see an author's initial plan for a work, then, is not only helpful to understanding its meaning, it is essential to placing that work in its historical context.[248]

Whether novels, poetry, or children's stories and whether written before or during the regime, literature itself as we have seen was a main focus of Francoist censorship. Far more than any other forms of artistic expression, with the possible exception of film-and with film the dissemination could be much more easily restricted-literature was the most important element to the Francoist censor, the bulwark of cultural protection against the decadence of liberal democracy.

This chapter is not about the inadequacies, the bad administration, or the failed policies of Franco censorship. It is about its success - at least to a point. We will try to look at the regime's process both as it was historically over the years and then, how it specifically dealt with the work of Jesús López Pacheco. This chapter, moreover, is not

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[248] Speaking of the publishing of Ian Fleming' Dr. No which the Franco censors had sent back to the publisher for revisions, Cornellà-Detreell remarked "The effects of censorship on this text, however, did not end with the regime's collapse, since expurgated versions of *Dr No* were reprinted in 1996, 2001 and 2011. Fleming's novel is by no means an exception; similar examples include John Dos Passos's *Parallel 42*, Muriel Spark's *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*, and Ira Levin's *Rosemary's Baby*, Carson McCuller's *The Member of the Wedding* and J.M Cain's *The Postman Always Rings Twice*, to name but a few examples."Prifysgol Bangor University, Uk. http://www.bangor.ac.uk/ml/full.php.en?nid=10029&tnid=10029, viewed 1/3/13. See also Jordi Cornella-Detrell, *Literature as a Response to Cultural and Political Repression in Franco's Catalonia* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Tamesis Books, 2011).

fundamentally about the arbitrary nature of the process, although that will be apparent, or the inconsistencies, although they could be glaring.

One of the best ways, however, to appreciate fully the depths of the duration of Francoism, and the persistence and determination of its opposition, is to plumb the depths of the censorship process and we will attempt through the work of Jesús López Pacheco to do that. He was an opponent who, as a writer living under the dictatorship, went through the regime's top-down corporate process from the bottom up. He attempted to break its hold on his expression. He failed, but in his failing he left a record of his opposition that is a memorial to it. At the same time, the beauty of his artistic expression, some of it presented here for the first time in English, lives on its own today precisely because he continually confronted the Francoist regime. He never lost sight that his opposition to the regime was based on humanist priorities that the regime insulted. To magnify his priorities is the true purpose of this chapter.

The concern about literature within the regime was palpable. By the end of the Spanish Civil War, Spain, which had lagged behind the rest of Western Europe in literacy, had achieved a literacy rate of over 70 percent of the population. [249] Daily newspaper consumption had grown geometrically. Arts criticism in music, literature, and painting was a weekly, if not daily part of newspapers from Madrid to Barcelona to Bilbao to Sevilla. What this circulation meant was that literature and the messages that

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[249] Boyd, 169. See also UNESCO, *Progress of Literacy in Various Countries Since 1900: a preliminary statistical study of available census data since 1900.* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1953), 133. Boyd has Spain crosses the "literacy transition" by 1930 at 73% and Unesco figures for Spain have it still in that area (76.8%) in 1940.

writers brought, along with the criticism and notice of their work, were reaching a more attentive audience. Their message then became increasingly important to those in power.

It is no wonder that the Francoist regime as it came to power understood it needed to control the press and radio, the main vehicles that disseminate the day to day authority of the regime, especially in time of war. But for a regime dedicated to eradicating the influence of the culture of Second Republic, all written word in this more highly charged era of literacy would be a major component throughout the regime's existence. While this was equally true of the Fascist regimes of German and Italy of the 1920s and 30s, whose cultural overthrow was aimed as well at their immediate liberal democratic predecessors, but the Francoist regime's practice, honed through four decades, makes its case more refined.

The specific case of Jesús López Pacheco can tell us a lot about the history of Francoist literary repression as it engages the work of one author. Beyond the work of López Pacheco, we will examine the regime's censorship of the work of novelist Pio Baroja, poet Federico García Lorca, and authors contemporary to López Pacheco, in order to help to place López Pacheco's confrontations with the regime in context. The documents examined for this research demonstrate the fundamental fear of the regime that literature could be used to infect the culture. That literature included books that had been on the bookshelves in libraries and stores in Spain for decades.

The intersection between the work of López Pacheco and Francoist censors occurred in the so-called middle period of Francoism, the 1950s through the 1960s. It is this period, full of what Ruíz Bautista called the "sullen gestures," which defined the

consolidated process that attempted to suffocate the art of many contemporary Spanish writers. The manipulations inherent in Francoist censorship process could be subtle. Bautista again cautions us that the Franco mechanisms were not one-dimensional. He writes that:

> one of the most serious traps that investigators have fallen into about censorship has been to present a static conception of it….The silent work of censorship was being developed as much when it immobilized or crippled a book as when it let another be circulated without complications or impediments or when it ordered the seizure of an edition that in that moment counted on regulatory approval. [250]

And, as we will see in regards to the work of Jesús López Pacheco, this last component of censorship could be damning for a book.

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[250] Eduardo Ruiz Bautista, *Los señores del libro propagandistas, censores y bibliotecarios en el primer franquismo* (Gijón, Spain: Editiones Trea, 2005), 441-442 …uno de los más graves errores en que ha incurrido las investigaciones sobre la censura ha sido presentar una concepción estática de la misma…La sorda labor de la censura se desarrollaba tanto cuando inmovilizaba o mutilaba un libro, como cuando dejaba que otro circularse sin complicaciones ni impedimentos o cuando ordenaba el secuestro de una edición que en su momento contaba con la autorización preceptiva.". See also Ruiz Bautista´s *Tiempo de censura: La represión editorial durante el franquismo* (Gijón, Spain: 2008). Two earlier books still helpful in judging purposes and intent of the regime's censorship are the 1980 work of Manuel L. Abellán and the 1981 work of Román Gubern. His is a broader work that encompasses the areas of film and journalism. Although the author did not have available to him the resources of modern Spanish archives, in particular documents of censorship, the broader nature of his study helps place censorship in perspective. See Manuel L. Abellán, Censura y creación literaria en España, 1939-1979 (Barcelona: Ediciones Penísula, 1980) and Román Gubern, *La censura: Fucnición, politica y ordenamiento juridical bajo el franquismo (1936-1945)* (Barcelona: Ediciones peninsula, 198). Also see for literature directly the work of Hans Jörg Neuschäfer, Adiós a la España: La dialéctica de la censura. Novela, teatro y cine bajo el franquismo (Barcelona: Anthropos Editorial, 1998). For a more recent study on Catalan literature under the regime in Catalonia, See Jordi Cornella-Detrell, *Literature as a Response to Cultural and Political Repression in Franco's Catalonia* (Woodbridge, Suffolk,UK: Tamesis Books, 2011).
My own research in the *Archivo General de la Administración en Alcalá de Henares* (AGA) involved work in September, 2010, and September, October, November, and June of 2012 and the examination of documents of censorship reports from 1941-1978, as well as a new archive that became available to me at the AGA of the personal letters of Jesús López Pacheco (AGA-JLP). I was generously granted permission by Fabio López Lázaro and Bruno Lázaro Pacheco, sons of the author, to view this new archive, which, as of yet, has not been open to the public due to ongoing organization.

Francoist censorship processes did not only extend to literature alone, as we saw in the last chapter. It was a young Jesús López Pacheco that found the climate of the Spanish university so anathema to his own idea of free expression that he and others would take to the streets in protest. It was the censorship of literature, his vehicle for expression, which became a preoccupation, however, for much of the remainder of his interaction with the regime. That censorship was at times successful, but as we shall also see, in important ways, not always. Some authors-and López Pacheco was one-did not quit without a fight and not without those fights having some longer term effects on the regime's credibility.

The Francoist Middle Years: Censorship of Literature under National Catholicism

State censorship of art is not new. It has existed since classical times in every dictatorship, republic, or monarchy in Europe. The Franco version of it carries many of the traditional characteristics of state censorship, in particular that of holding up the moral arm of society. But there was in this Franco version a line of development tied to the regime's place in the history of twentieth century Europe, not to mention to the regime's longevity, that requires some scrutiny.

The mission of Francoist censorship, and the censorship of literature in particular, was to enhance and protect the regime's cultural project of National Catholicism. With the understanding of National Catholicism as the philosophical map, then, we can examine the historical context and the mechanisms of its censorship. Censorship was conducted during the regime by four different ministerial bureaucracies. From 1938 to 1941 it was handled by the *Ministerio del Interior*, from 1941 to 1945 by the *Delgación*

de la Propaganda, which was the auspices of the *Falange*, from 1946 to 1951 under the *Ministerio de Educación*, and finally from 1951 on under the *Ministerio de Información y Turismo* (MIT). It would be the regime's phalanx of censors under MIT, who would directly affect the work of Jesús López Pacheco.

In reality, there were two forms of censorship in the regime's process arsenal: 1) explicit censorship, where the actual contents of the work were accused of infractions as described in the categories on the forms i.e. defaming the State or the Church, and 2) implicit censorship, or bureaucratic censorship, where there might be suspicions by the censors that the author has ulterior motives, but that it is not so obvious in the text per se. Both types would be employed on the work of Jesús López Pacheco and sometimes both at once.[251]

The bureaucracy of Francoist censorship scrutinized written work to be published in Spain until the end of the transition to democracy in the early 1980s, using a battery of censors, who worked steadily, culling out what was authorized and what was to be denied publication. Whether literary works or bicycle manuals, the operative state document governing authorization of a written work was the *Ley de Prensa de1938* (Law of the Press of 1938) drawn up by the *Jefe del Ministerio del Interior*, Ramón Serrano Suñer. Decreed in Burgos in the middle of the Civil War, the law was intended to "correct" for the mistakes that had occurred in publishing and in the press during the Republican years. These corrections were necessary, according to the law, in order to alter "liberty understood in the democratic sense", a liberty that had fostered an anti-nationalism and

[251] See the section *Juguetes de la frontera* and Countering Censorship, 39.

the "destruction of the State by 'hidden powers'". The law was making the corrections in order "to transmit to the State the voices of the Nation and to communicate to it (the Nation) the orders and directives of the State and the Government." The "voices" here are not those of individuals, but of a "sense" of the Nation as defined, in the end, by the State itself. [252] The intention of the law was to cover all publishing, not merely periodicals, and all such publishing was to serve the need of the State. Moreover, the language of the law's preamble is not that of a war-time restriction and the law would not be merely a war- time edict. It became a template for long term, institutionalized censorship patterned after the Italian Fascist model of Mussolini with the flavoring of Nazi censorship thrown in for good measure. **[253]**

The Ley de Prensa de 1938 remained wholly in force until 1966 when Manuel Fraga Iribarne (1922-2012), the then *jefe* of the Ministry of Information, proposed a change. Fraga, by that time sensitive to foreign pressures, wanted to "reform" the law, making it appear to conform more generally to censorship and press freedom laws of Western democracies. [254]Article three states that "The Administration will not be able to apply prior censorship nor demand an obligatory consultation, except in states of exception and of war expressly provided in the laws."[255] Even granted that the use of

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[252] Boletín Oficial del Estado (BOE), 24-IV-1938: Ley de Prensa de 24 de abril de 1938, preamble, 6938.
[253] See Ruiz Bautista, 287. Manuel Torres López request to the German ambassador in 1940 for a list of German authors that should be censored.
[254] José María Marín, Carme Molinero y Pere Ysás, *Historia Política de España: 1939-2000,* Volume 2 (Madrid: Ediciones Istmo, 2001), 141-142. See also Pere Ysás *Disidencia y Subversión: La lucha del régimen franquista por su supervivencia, 1960-1975* (Barcelona, Crítica, 2004),
[255]*Boletín Oficial del Estado,* no. 67, March, 19, 1966, 3310. Article Three states: "La Administración no podrá aplicar la censura previa ni exigir la consulta obligatoria, salvo en los estados de excepción y de guerra expresamente previstos en las leyes. Also see Manuel Ruiz Romero, "Censura y consignas en la prensa franquista. Algunos ejemplos de dirigismo informativo," *Ambito*, 9-10 (2003): 208-209.

"state of exception" by the regime throughout its years was arbitrary and would appear almost instantaneously when domestic conflict arose, on the surface the law's article seems to contain a restriction on censorship. In reality, the *Ley de Prensa de 1966* was, if anything, more sophisticated in its restrictions on publishers than the 1938 law. True, a publisher did not have to technically apply for an authorization, but few who had had experience with the ministry failed to do so. Without authorization from the ministry, and because the 1966 law defined itself as beholden to all prior "fundamental laws of the state" (article two), a publisher who skirted the procedure was completely exposed if the regime decided to prosecute. Instead of holding the writer as solely responsible for the work, it held that any company that published work deemed questionable could be taken to court and fined by the regime. The threat of bankrupting a publishing company that engaged in continually pushing the envelope with such material was sobering. Under the new law, a work could be given what was termed an "administrative silence", a warning to the publisher of possible legal problems ahead based on the work's content. Such a rating meant that the Spanish penal code could still make the publishers vulnerable to prosecution based on all prior laws and statutes, including that of 1938. In effect, the new law of the press merely enhanced and did not replace the earlier law. The *Ley de Prensa de 1966* was virtually useless as an assurance of freedom of the press.[256] The law is also an example of the regime's continual message from its first year in the middle of the Civil War that nothing of its essential architecture would be permitted to derail its cultural project.

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[256] *Ibid.*

One other statute should be mentioned because it will play a role in the Francoist censors' judgment regarding the children's stories of the three authors: the *Estatuto de Publicaciones Infantiles y Juveniles de 1967* (Statute of Children and Youth Publications of 1967). The list of objections to certain types of publications for children is long, but one section is indicative. Chapter 2, Article 9, Section (e) reads:

> For compliance to the provisions (of the law), the contents of children and youth publications should be avoided when they involve or could involve: (e) an assault on the values that inspire Spanish tradition, history, and life, or a distortion of its meaning, such as those of a human, patriotic, familial, and social nature in which the order of Spanish harmony are based. [257]

The scope of what could be included under this one sub-section was indicative of the flexibility the censors had. But as already implied, what they did not have on paper, they could self-define arbitrarily as long as they could affirm they were enforcing the regime's cultural mission.

What was emblematic of the censorship in the early years of the regime was its lack of consistency in execution, although not in its intent. The years of the most overtly violent repression, the first decade of Francoism from 1936 to 1946, with thousands in prisons and concentration camps as enemies of the state, tended not to be the years of the most sophisticated censorship. Part of the problem was the daunting task in front of the censors. Under the auspices in those years of the both the *Ministerio de Interior* and the *Delegation*, censorship of the press and literature had begun to take on the task of a

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[257] BOE, February 13, 1967, pg. 1964. "Para el debido cumplimento de lo dispuesto en el artículo, en el contenido de las publicaciones infantiles y juveniles habrá de evitarse cuando suponga o pueda suponer: e) Atendado a los valores que inspiran la tradición, la historia y la vida español o tergiversación de su sentido, así como a los de índole humana, patriótica, familiar y social en que se basa el orden de convivencia de los españoles."

wholesale review of Spanish literature from the first third of the twentieth century. [258] The reason was clear. If the state was going to uphold its paradigm of National Catholicism, a cultural house cleaning was in order. For the New State to pay homage to the glories of Spain's religious and imperial past, and at the same time disparage and discourage the secular, decadent mores of the liberal democratic Second Republic, there was no better place to begin than by removing from Spanish society the literary pollution of secular, decadent authors.

The general administrative process of the Francoist censorship remained consistent, although the forms of the censorship reports themselves altered slightly. What must be remembered, however, is that at no time whatsoever in the long years of regime censorship of literature did its grand essence, its *raison d'être,* ever once falter. As the narrative of these children's stories under Franco censorship unfolds, it is essential to recognize that its canon of National Catholicism would drive all of its cultural censorship endeavors. In other words, intent matters.

In terms of the censorship process itself, the regime required that a formal application be submitted to the governing ministry of the time. Whether the application was submitted by an author or by a publisher representing the author, the process was not seriously altered, no matter what the name or supposed orientation of the ministry throughout the regime's history. In the early 1940s, under the Delegación guidelines,

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[258] Eduardo Ruiz Bautista*, Los señores del libro*, 21. It should be pointed out that Ruiz Bautista's comprehensive work covers the early years of the regime. My own research by its nature covered looking through specific censorship reports for specific authors, but over a longer period between early Francoism and into the late 1979s after the dictator's death. Observations regarding the content of the censors comments and the sophistication of the apparatus are made based on that research.

books were placed into one of five categories: books on 1) politics, history of Spain, and political science, 2) religion or Catholic pedagogy, 3) science texts, 4) military history or military technology, and 5) light or recreational reading. What was missing in this early framing of materials was where to put contemporary literature. Yet, as we shall also see, literature was certainly not disregarded. The censors arranged it according to its subject and as the years passed literature required more and more attention.

By 1944 this load, which, when one considers the variety of materials for which the censors were responsible, could be enormous. In general the process involved a review of the work by the censor, euphemistically dubbed a "reader", who then filled out a form, the nature of which will be discussed in a moment. If there were questions about authorizing a work or not, the censor could turn that work over to a second censor for his opinion or kick the whole thing upstairs to the Director. *El jefe* then would render a decision. In any case, for a work to be authorized, denied publication, or suspended from publication, the Director's signature was required.

In reality, censor's report could result in one of four decisions: 1) the recommendation could be to authorize a work, 2) to deny publication outright, 3) to suspend any decision pending redaction by the author, or 4) to suspend a work from publication *after* a publisher had started a press run. The last, though not as common, did happen and happened, in fact, to Jesús López Pacheco's children's play. It was a costly mistake for a publisher to make, as it would mean the books, if already distributed, would have to be pulled from the shelves of every bookstore where they had been sent. Probably one of the most damning results for an author, however, was the demand that the author

make massive revisions to a work. This was common. The censors would specifically cite passages and pages that had to be suppressed. Often these demands would be so extreme, as was the case with López Pacheco's collection of poems, *Canciones del amor prohibido* (1961), that the decimated manuscript would be a shadow of the author's work. The required redaction could not only be extremely tedious (all applications then had to be resubmitted), but such an exercise could be heart wrenching for an artist to undertake. [259] Finally, a three by five blue card would be stamped and inserted into the folder of censorship documents, filed with a record or *expediente* number, with the result of the review. For most publications judged by the censors to be of little political, social, or religious import the whole process generally took anywhere from a day or two, to a week. For these three authors and others of whom the regime's censors were suspicious, approval, if at all, could take years.

When one looks at the censorship form in use by the regime in the 1950s versus the form in the early 70s there are differences. For example, the form used in the 50s (earlier censorship forms were a variation of this) had on its second page pre-printed categories where the censor, or "reader" could fill in if the work was guilty of 1) attacks on the dogma (of the regime), 2) on morality, 3) on the Church or its priests 4) on the Regime and its institutions, or 5) on persons that work with or have worked with the regime. By the 1960s the censors were only utilizing certain main parts of these forms, leaving completely untouched the categories of objection. From a bureaucratic sense this

[259] AGA, Caja 21/13170 Ex. 932-61. The censor demanded suppression of poems on pages 16, 18, 19, 21, 31, 51, 52. JLP appeals this decision, but eventually submits alternative poems and the work is authorized a year later.

omission made sense because, given the quantity of work that passed across a censor's desk, most of those critical assessments could be written in the report (*informe*) portion of the document saving the censor from having to duplicate his work. The censor would provide a synopsis of the work and would use this space to make the comments about the specific violations, if any.

While the process of Francoist censorship might have been consistent, the decisions of the censors and the administrators in the early years were often not. In fact, the combination of inconsistency and obsession is impressive. When the job required a wholesale review of books by hundreds of authors, as went on in the 1940s, the documents, moreover, demonstrate that this combination bordered on incoherence. The treatment by the *Delegación* of the work of novelist Pio Baroja (1872-1956), who remained in Spain during most of the rest of his life, and that of poet Federico García Lorca (1898-1936), who was executed by the Nationalists in Granada at the beginning of the Civil War, presents a conspicuous contrast. Although both represented artistic work anathema to the regime's sensibilities, of the two, Lorca was the more notorious at the time. The poet's death at the hands of the Spanish military at the beginning of the Civil War with the complicity of the *Falange* was well published in both the Republican and foreign press in 1936, not to mention the fact that his execution warranted a direct order from the general in military control of Granada, Quiepo de Llano. No literary artist, either during the war or after, was more legendary as a symbol of Republican values to both his supporters and to the regime than Lorca. The divergent treatment by the censors of the works of Baroja and Lorca, works that had been on the shelves and accessible in Spain

for years-in the case of Baroja since 1900, demonstrates some of the arbitrariness of early regime censorship. [260] As the regime moves into its middle years and becomes administratively more consolidated by the censorship process becomes more consolidated and consistent as well.

Censorship documents, starting with the earliest available from 1938 and extending throughout the history of the regime, show a constant obsession with Baroja's work, covering the full length of the years of the dictatorship. There are twenty pages of reviews done on Baroja's fiction available on the data base at the *Archivo General de la Administración* (AGA) with many works being reviewed several times. The reason for this is that various publishers would over the years resubmit works by the legendary author of the *Generación 98* that had been denied or suspended publication in hopes of breaking through the censorship wall. This was a reoccurring, although inconsistent, bureaucratic dance that went on between publishers and the regime and would last throughout the years of the dictatorship. [261]

The Baroja censorship reports from the early 1940s are indicative of both the mind-set of the censors and the regime's cultural project. On one day in September of 1942, Baroja's work received a blanket inspection covering twenty of the authors' books. All twenty were suspended from publication. The brief one or two word editorializing

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[260]AGA, under the heading of la Cultura (03). Baroja´s first actual published work was a book of short stories, *Vidas sombrias* in the same year as the novel, *La Casa*, 1900. For Lorca as a symbol of Republican values see Sandie Eleanor Holguín, *Creating Spaniards: Culture and National Identity in Republican Spain* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002).

[261] The numbers in front of the Baroja titles listed above are the file record listing from the AGA (expedientes), and the works of the authors are listed in the digital catalog alphabetically by author or title in AGAs data base, and area of concern his case is in Cultura (03) and the sub-section of Records of the censorship of books *(Expedientes del libro)*. See below.

comments were hand-written and at times acerbic in tone. They are also revealing of the mission of the censor. A partial list with the original publishing date and the censor's comments is presented below.

La Casa de Aizgorri (1900*)* ("Clearly, the vicar is a hypocrite")
Camino de Perfección (1902) "Anarchism and Anti-clericalism" - "Against the liturgy of the Church" - "Blasphemies against the Sacred Eucharist*"*
Mala hierba (1904) "For Baroja, there is no morality."*La Busca* (1904) "Anti-clericalism" - "a priest commits infanticide"
Aurora rojo (1905) *"*anarchism*"*
Paradox Rey (1906) "scandalous and immoral"
Zalacain el Aventurero (1909) "anarchistic and stupid" [262]

There is an obvious concern here with the moral propriety of Baroja's work. As the *Delegación* was under the control of *FET y JONS*, which included both the *Falange* and Carlists, it is not surprising to see that censorship towed a line between both political and ecclesiastical literary offenses. The comments regarding morality, aligned with National Catholicism, often were a hook upon which Francoist censors hung their criticism, and they exist in censorship documents into the mid-1970s, just prior to the dictators death.. It is easy to recognize from these the preoccupation of the censors with a writer such as Baroja, whose books at times had the undeniable ring of anti-clericalism. Even though the Church had its own apparatus for censorship, it was the regime that

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[262] AGA Caja 21/06952. The Spanish comments by the censors are listed in parenthesis. Ex. 843-*La Casa de Aizgorri* (1900*)* ("Claro. El Vicario es un hipócrita,"
Ex. 844/42*1*-*Camino de Perfección* (1902-"Anarquismo Clerófobo" " Contra la Lylcria Católica" " Blasfemias contra la " Sagrada Eucaristía"
Ex.848-*Mala hierba* (1904) "Para Baroja no hay moral posible"
Ex. 847 *La Busca* (1904) "Anticlericalismo", "un sacerdote comete infanticidio"
Ex. 849-*Aurora rojo* (1905)*"*anarquismo*"*
Ex .842-*Paradox Rey* (1906) " escandalera e inmoral"
Ex. 846-*Zalacain el Aventurero* (1909) "anarquizante y estúpido"
All were suspended as of 9/29/1942, except for *Paradox Rey*, which was suspended on the 9/20.

claimed primacy in the area of culture, as the guardian of Spain within its National Catholic agenda and, hence, the true arbiter of the public availability of literature.[263]

The pointed political commentary in this list, as well as showing a penchant for denigration of the literary worth of a particular work, is also typical of the censors throughout the years of the regime, although these earlier examples are nowhere near as formalized as those of the 1950s and 60s when the work of Salinas, López Pacheco, and Ferres appear. This is in part the reflection of a group of functionaries, who actually fashion themselves literary critics, and who see themselves in the role of not only guardians of the State's morals, but watch dogs of artistic expression itself. That the censors would take on the opus of Baroja, one of the most influential and artistically respected writers associated with the *Generación 98* demonstrated their seriousness in routing out the previous Republican culture, if not a total understanding of the task before them or the interpretive tools with which to execute it.

However, Lorca documents in the AGA tell a different story. The censor reviewed "*Selección de Poesías*" published in Spain by Editorial Alambra on November 11, 1943.[264] The work was authorized on the 25th. The censor's report simply states that there were no dogmatic or critical reasons that the work could not be published. In the case of Lorca´s *Canciones* and a *Libro de Poesía* of 1945, the works were also authorized, as was an importation of *The Complete Works* from Argentina. The comments on the later authorization by the censor reveal knowledge about the

[263] Ruiz Bautista, *Los señores del libro*, 341-342
[264] AGA, Caja 21/7290 Ex. 7537/43

circumstances of the poet's death and mention allusions to it in the editor's prologue. Still, the Francoist functionary felt there was literary value. He writes in the censorship report:

> It (*The Complete Works*) is preceded by a prologue of biographer-critic Guillermo de Torre, which discreetly alludes to the death of G. L. Also this is done on pages 10 and 15 to his friendship with Don Fernando de los Rios (educator and member of the Free Institute of Teaching). The allusion to (Lorca's) death figures on page 17. In "El Retablillo de Don Cristobal" (page 208), there is an allusion of a jocular-political nature. The latter is written in a casual and popular language that the author explains and justifies in a brief little prologue. Aside from the indications made above, the volume has the characteristics of the work of Lorca and notable literary and poetic worth, offering no other censurable material.[265]

By 1955, matters regarding Lorca had changed. The censors, then under the MIT and a Falange director, Gabriel Arias-Salgado y de Cubas, became more sensitive to the executed author's work. An example of this new tone comes from an unusual place, an application for publishing from Union Musical Ediciones (UME). The publishing of music manuscripts did not normally fall under the MIT censorship job description, but UME was not taking any chances; the music contained lyrics and the words of Lorca. Fernando J. Obradors (1897-1945) had composed a setting of one of Lorca's poems from *Romance Gitano* (1928), one of Lorca's most famous collections of poems that include *La casada infiel* (The Unfaithful Wife). Besides the theme of infidelity, the poem

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[265] *Ibid*. "Va precedida por un prólogo biográfico-critico de Guillermo de Torre, en que se alude discretamente a la muerte de G.L. También, se hace en (pgs 10 y 15) a su Amistad con Don Fernando de los Rios (educador y miembro del Instituto Libre de Enseñanza). La alusión a su muerte figura en la página 17. En "El Retablallo de Don Cristobal" (pg. 208) se hace una alusión de carácter político-jocoso. Este último extremes está escrito en un lenguaje desenfadado y popular, que el autor explica y justifica en un breve prologuillo. Aparte las indicaciones hechas más arriba el volumen posee las características propias de la obra lorquiana y notable valor literario y poético, no ofreciendo por lo demás material censurable."

concerns gypsy identity, a common theme of Lorca's. The music was composed in 1941 and UME was attempting to have the work reissued. The censor makes one and only brief comment. “The music section is acceptable, BUT THE LYRICS CANNOT BE AUTHORIZED.” The typed capital letters are the censors. [266]

Over the years of the Francoist censorship process, and apparent in the description of the handling of Lorca’s work discussed above, there *is* an inconsistency in behavior by individual censors that can be termed arbitrary. It is, however, “arbitrariness” still falling well within the confines of the censor’s mission to uphold the National Catholic paradigm and protect the culture from unwanted outside influences. Change within the administration in this strict top- down bureaucracy of Francoism had much to do with some changes in direction. What we saw in the case of Antonio José and the decision to carry out his execution was an early example of how those changes within the upper levels of Francoist functionaries could at times affect outcomes. The vagaries in the rationale of the censors were relatively minor overall, however. It was the consistency in their adherence to observing the goals of protecting and purifying the culture that would affect so severely the life of Jesús López Pacheco.

López Pacheco and the Wall of Censorship

The censors, as was pointed out by writer Antonio Ferres, did not pay much attention to the earlier works of the *Generación del 50*. The introspective early poetry of Jesús López Pacheco was of a nature that offered no red flags either. The censors were concerned in the early years of the regime, as we’ve seen, with cleansing the culture of

[266] AGA, Caja 21/01120, Ex. no. 3187-55.

older works or works from abroad. His first title, *Dejad crecer este silencio* was authorized without much comment, although the censor found the work obscure and impossible to understand. [267] As important to its authorization was that the poetry had already won a Premio Adonáis de Poesía for 1953 and the censor makes note of that fact in his report. Such publicity often, as mentioned, could protect a work from outright denial of authorization.

Between the publishing of this book of poetry and López Pacheco's first novel, *Central eléctrica* in 1958, the censors were not perusing his work, rather the regime was pursuing him. This was the period of his developing radicalism, first through his experiences in Cudillero that placed him in the middle of the working world of Spanish fishermen and then his incarceration in 1956 by the regime for his participation in the student demonstrations in Madrid. It is easy to understand that for a writer now more conscious of the reality of the world in which he lived, his art would approach that world through different eyes. As his own life and his own freedom came into focus through his political confrontations with the regime, as noted in the preamble of *Pongo la mano sobre España*, this would be the time when he left the introspection of his early work to concern himself more with the condition of his society and those who found themselves

[267] AGA "El poeta no le hace entender." In the official application by the publisher, Ediciones Rialp of Madrid warranted that the application was being made in compliance with the Ley de Prensa (Law of the Press) of April 29, 1938. This reference to the law that dated from the middle of the Spanish Civil War carried the historical implication that the regime based itself on regulations passed during the years of its provisional government in Burgos and is important in establishing the bureaucratic line of the regime. In every way the regime sought to date its legitimacy from the beginning of the conflict, not the taking of Madrid in April of 1939. All regulations put into play before the end of the war were considered valid unless the regime had updated or revoked them. In the regime's eyes, at least, 1936 was the beginning of the "New Spain".

fighting its repression. It is in his first novel, *Central eléctrica,* that the tone of his writing caught the eye of Francoist censors as having an unmistakable resonance of social concerns, if not outright socialist sympathies.

This last was no small matter for an author writing under the Francoist regime. There was, what one might call, an institutional memory regarding authors. We will see this from this point on in the regime's handling of the work of López Pacheco that comes across the censors desks. Once a censor had started questioning the political and social voice of an author, and especially when one's work had been previously rejected, that familiarity could breed contempt, and seriously affect to what degree that author's voice would be heard.

And there could be no doubt that the author wanted his voice heard, as a stanza from *Pongo la mano sobre España* (1961) reveals. "Si no supiera que un día/mis versos serán cantados/ por otra voz que la mía/ jamas los escrbiría." (If I didn't know that one day/ my verses will be sung/ by another voice than mine/ then I never would have written them.) [268] This need by the end of the 1950s sprang out of his intensifying social belief that humans were in the struggle of life together and that his role as an artist was to confirm this struggle by affirming his part in it. Such a stance continually put him in opposition to the regime's understanding of the role of a member of Spanish society, the role to further the enterprise of the state. That the more personal and analytically existentialist side of his poetry is set aside, but not the social existentialist side, might be one way to put it. As he took on the role of narrator in *Central eléctrica*, observing the

[268] Jesús López Pacheco, *Pongo la mano sobre España* (Rome: Edizioni Raporti Europei, 1961), 109.

rural Spanish landscape of the 1950s- a society struggling to survive under Francoist modernizing ventures-his work began to reflect what Sartre saw as the individual's recognition of social responsibilities. [269] The conscious leap for the author, his reflection of the oppression in that society, will put his art for the first time in direct conflict with the regime's rawest purposes.

While the award to *Central eléctrica* of the *Premio Nadal* of 1958 gave the book a certain legitimacy and the writer himself a shield, *Central eléctrica* also caught the eye of the censor for its tone. The book got to the censor on April 4, 1957, was tentatively authorized on the 21st, but was not finally approved for circulation until May 17, 1958 over a year later. The censor readily admits that López Pacheco had, in fact, used a social setting that shows off social problems. He goes on to comment in his report that:

> I don't deny that in the background there beats hurtful social criticism. Nevertheless, in my judgment this novel cannot be reproved in total. Among other reasons, because of it being very intellectual, I don't believe its exposure will have much diffusion. And those that read it have more criteria. [270]

There is an anti-intellectual smugness in the censor's authorization that seems strange, until one realizes that this book had already received commendation and publicity. Only intellectuals will read it, therefore it could not be a danger. This patina of anti-intellectualism will be amplified more in later years by Antoni Tápies with regards to

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[269] The idea of a "social" existentialism is most clearly enunciated by Sartre is *Anti-Semite and Jew* which delineates the terms of a social contract that is a call to responsibility of the individual for the whole. Read especially his descriptions of the anti-Semite and his conclusion. Jean-Paul Sartre, *Anti-Semite and Jew* (New York: Schoken Books, 1965), 37, 125-130.

[270] Caja 21/11656 Ex.1633 "No niego que en el fondo late una hiriente crítica social. Sin embargo a mi juicio esta novela no puede ser reprobada en globo. Entre muchas razones, porque al ser muy intelectual su exposición, no creo que tenga mucha difusión. Y los que la lean tienen más criterios." Ruiz Bautista alzo cites this same Caja and expediente. Bautista, *Tiempo de censura*, 83.

the regime's whole approach to art and is a major part of the painter's critique of Francoism. The censor's response to the novel would seem to be a rather tepid handling of the author, especially one with a criminal record. Considering the amount of copies of *Central eléctrica* that went into print inside and outside Spain over the next several years, it seems that the regime slightly underestimated the appeal of the author´s work. The fact that the censors allowed the book to be published was due more to timing than to censorship oversight, let alone any policy of tolerance for criticism, as pointed out in the last chapter. The events that would occur months after its publishing at Ribadelago could not, obviously, have been remotely on the censors' minds. And at any rate, as we saw, the regime covered its tracks at Ribadelago by keeping the issue under wraps through censorship on a national level.

There is another point to emphasize, however, when observing the behavior of the regime's cultural watchdogs. The Francoist literary censors were not infallible; works got through their sieve that might not at another time, even works that were seen as critical of the regime´s operations. Such oversight was not often and it was not the rule. Besides, the censors did have a learning curve; the ministry was more observant of the author's work in the future. By 1961, the censors were fully prepared to begin throwing severe obstacles in front of the work of Jesús López Pacheco.

That year was a busy one for the author and for the Ministry of Information and Tourism in regards to censorship of his work. On January 10, 196, both his collection of poems *Pongo la mano sobre España* and his ode to working on fishing boats off the coast of Asturias, *Mi corazón se llama Cudillero* appeared on the desk of the censor. In

February, *Canciones del amor prohibido,* a book of poems dedicated to his wife, Mirasol, was presented to the ministry from the Barcelona publisher Literaturasa. In order to get authorization for *Canciones*, however, López Pacheco, after appealing an involved set of edits, was forced to agree to the redaction of the manuscript. *Pongo la mano sobre España* was denied publication outright. An examination of all three tells us much about the biases of the censors and the author's struggles with them that would last until he left Spain.

It was apparent that *Pongo la mano sobre España* antagonized the censors. Francoist censors did not hesitated to consult with one another or their superiors when there were doubts about an author's political or social message. Not only did the top-down structure of Francoist bureaucracy dictate such care, but it could save a censor from the embarrassment of misjudging a seemingly innocent work. The censor in this case, F. Herrón, believed several poems were "suspicious." "By the matrix they offer and the intention that the stanzas could hide, we consider that it should be the Director General of the department who decides about the appropriateness of its publication." [271] In particular he questions poems on pages 25, 52, 57, 62, and 84. So the censor decided to pass the book on to another reader to get an additional judgment. The next censor flat out rejected the collection for publication and this was signed off on by the Director General, F. Jon. on the 19th of January. The poem dedicated to Machado from 1956, discussed in the last chapter, is one of those listed as suspect of "hidden intentions." The first censor spells out

[271] AGA, Caja 21/13114, Ex. 125-61. "Por el matiz que ofrecen y la intención que pudieran ocultar las estrofas, estimamos que debe ser la Superioridad la que decida acerca de la conveniencia o no de su publicación".

more passages for concern in the poem than does the second censor, but both see the same problem: to them there is political intent that runs counter to the regime's beliefs. His comments more generally condemn the work as referring to Spain in the pejorative.

Another selection from Pongo that was objectionable was his *Autobiográfia II* which speaks to his life as a child late in Civil War in Madrid. The Francoist shelling of Madrid went on from the beginning of the war until Madrid fell in 1939.

Autobiográfia II

When I was a child
The cannon broke my toys,
Then,
Splattered with blood,
I looked long at my homeland.
It made me sad from wanting to know
from colliding thinking
against a dense and old darkness.
It was the same as having tied
my eyes.
The air smelled dirty.[272]

Later in the poem the author describes how, as a child living under the dictatorship, he saw through the veil of lies to what was actually happening on the street.

I threw the dirty pieces
from that darkness.
The old people were angry.
My teachers hurled authorized
textbooks at me.
But I
defended my head with my hands,

[272]AGA, (Caja 21/13114), Ex. 12561 "Cuando era niño/los cañones rompieron mis juguetes. Luego,/salpicado de sangre,/miré mi patria largamente./Me puse triste de querer saber/y de chocar pensando/contra una oscuridad maciza y vieja./Era lo mismo que tener atados/los ojos./El aire olía a sucio."

thinking,
looking between my fingers
at what was happening in the street.
Then I saw it more closely
and now they are useless, the curtains
of newspapers.
I have touched it
with my own eyes. [273]

The author is not only touching on the "reality" of his time as a child of the Civil War-itself a red flag for Francoist censors; the poem is a direct assault on regimented Francoist education and mythology. There is here the tinge of a very traditional romantic literary tendency toward reaching back to childhood for "truth." In this case, however, the implication is not one of longing; it is that *even* a child could see clearly through the regime's propaganda. These same components will be vital to his children's story, *Juguetes de la frontera*, which, as we shall see, suffers the same fate at the hands of the censors as *Pongo la mano sobre España.*

One other example from this collection received probably the most serious condemnation from the censors. In his poem *A Miguel Henández*, dedicated to the Spanish anarchist poet who died in a Franco prison in 1942.

A Miguel Hernandez

Miguel, I am also am the land, there isn't death
if the plow crosses us through the chest,

[273] *Ibid.* "Tiré al aviamos los pedazos sucios/de aquella oscuridad./Las personas mayores se enfadaron./Mis profesores me arrojaron libros/ de texto autorizados./Pero yo/defendí mi cabeza con las manos,/pensando,/mirando entre mis dedos/lo que pasaba en la calle./Luego lo ví más de cerca/y ya son inútiles las cortinas/de periódicos./Lo he tocado/con mis propios ojos."

if I feel inculcated by your life
if I can say what you kept quiet
if there will be another land that will speak to mine
if there are hands and tools working
Miguel, because the three of us are of land,
land is our name and that of everyone,
and the land does not die although they bury it.[274]

Hernández, a Spanish poet who fought in the Civil War on the side of the Republic, was later imprisoned and died of tuberculosis. He was an ongoing inspiration to artists of López Pacheco's generation, who saw the land as a force and a life of its own. But the censor saw this as revolutionary advocacy on the part of López Pacheco, no higher sin to the regime.

Finally one last deletion by the censor, *Profecia cierta e inminetes* (A Certain and Imminent Prophesy) *written* in 1960 and deleted from *Los Buenos* contains this passage in its opening stanza:

It will come, the national flood of despair.
For many days and nights
will grow the sea I said,
and the highest towers
will be inundated without anyone being saved.
All that now shine will founder.[275]

This is a threat as prophesy with clear Biblical connotations that would not be lost on the censors. The stanza's allusion to change coming is also just as clearly revolutionary in tone, something to which the Jefe of the Department of Censorship

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[274] *Ibid.*
[275] *Ibid.*, Vendrá el diluvio nacional de eme. /Durante muchos días con sus noches/ irá creciendo el mar del que he dicho, /y las torres más altas anegadas /serán sin que las salve nadie. Todo /lo que ahora brilla se hundirá despacio**.**

(though not specifically pointing to this poem) notices in the work as a whole. On the 19th, after reading the reports from his two censors, he suspended publication of *Pongo* and wrote his final report.

> The work brings together a series of short poems whose constant theme is the pejorative reflection of Spain today and the hope of a change. The Communist matrix sticks out, visible in "la canción de la mano cerrada" (pa.88) "el pueblo" (43) "A Miguel Hernandez" (58)…, etc, etc, All of the work is frankly tendentious." NOT TO BE PUBLISHED. [276]

The denial of publication to *Pongo la mano sobre España* did not end the book's career, however, as it was picked up for publication in Argentina in 1963 as part of a trio of books by Spanish authors who were running afoul of the Spanish censorship. Publication abroad was one possibility open to censored authors in Spain and over his career Jesús López Pacheco did not hesitate, where possible, to get his manuscripts into other hands. Nevertheless, he would not hesitate as well to fight the rulings of the ministry through appeals and *Canciones del amor prohibido*, which also reached the censor as well in early 1961 was a good example. *Canciones* is a return to the more personal form of expression of his first book, Dejad *crecer este silencio*, but with a light sifted through the more socially aware lens of *Central eléctrica.* His voice had become that of an individual who noted the deepening gulf between the reality of the people and the cultural oppression he sensed as one person trying to dodge the moral gendarmes of Francoist society.

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[276] *Ibid*. Agrupa la obra una serie de pequeños poemas cuyo constante tema es la consideración peyorativa de la España actual y la esperanza de un cambio. Asoma 'l matiz comunista, visible en 'la canción de la mano cerrada' (pa.88) 'el pueblo' (43) 'A Miguel Hernández' (58)…, etc, etc, Toda la obra es francamente tendenciosa. NO PUBLICARSE."

In the case of *Canciones,* the censor demanded substantial editing on the part of the author. The normal procedure for redaction by Franco censors was to demand changes be made, send those demands back to the publisher, who then conferred with the author who did the rewriting, and who finally returned the work to the publisher. The publisher would then have to resubmit the request for authorization to the censor. The process could take months and in this case the process took a year. *Canciones* was mostly written between 1958 and 1960 and the censors received the application for authorization in February of 1961. [277] A copy of the manuscript was provided by publisher and had a large red X emblazoned on the title page in pen. The note on the censorship report reads:

> The greater part of these "Songs of Forbidden Love" respond to their suggested topic. Others demonstrate a marked political intention. Proceed to delete the crossed out texts in the folios 16, 18, 19,21,31,51, and 52 [278]

The report is signed by the same censor as *Pongo la mano*, F. Herrón, and stamped on the back "27- 2-62", referring to the date of the authorization for publication. This would be a full year later, once the censors had given final approval to the redactions. The book itself does not appear in public until later in 1962, published in Barcelona by Literaturasa.

Here are two poems that were deleted from that work. The first is "3" from the set that never appeared in the final Spanish edition. It is unfortunate that, as mentioned

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[277]AGA, Caja 21/13170 Ex. 932-61

[278] *Ibid.* "La mayor parte de estas "Canciones del amor prohibido" responden al pórtico que las da entrada. Otras acusan marcada intención política. Procede suprimir lo tachado en los folios 16, 18,19, 21, 31, 51, 52. Con esta salvedad, puede autorizarse. Trans. mine.

earlier, in Spain to this day there is no edition of *Canciones del amor prohibido* published by a Spanish publisher that is unredacted.[279]

A la entrada	At the entrance
de la iglesia	of the church
Quedan citadas	The couples
Las parejas.	meet.
Entran	They enter.
Ella lleva rebeca.	She wears a cardigan
Él chaqueta.	He wears a jacket.
En las sombras	In the shadows,
Densas	Dense
por le tarde se besan	in the afternoon, they kiss
sin rebeca	without the cardigan
sin chaqueta.	without the jacket
Pero ella se confiesa	But she confesses
-Padre, me besa.-	Father, kiss me.
Y él la besa	And he kisses her
Y se confiesa	And she confesses
Y él la besa.	And he kisses her.
Pero siempre se confiesa.	But she always confesses.

The poem, clearly a mini-exposé on the hypocrisy of the Church, is denied publication and has to be removed from the collection. The censor did not bother to comment on the poem, but merely crossed it out.

However, a less obvious and probably a more revealing example of the suspicions the censor had regarding *Canciones* is the censor's treatment of the poem titled No. 31. It too was slated for omission.

Dejad que llena el amor	Let love fill
las calles de las ciudades.	the streets of the cities.
Dejadle a la juventud	Leave to youth

[279] See note 37 on the recent research of Jordí Cornellà-Detrell.

su amor y su libertad.	their love and their liberty.
Dejad que el amor lo sea de verdad. Si nó, dejadme gritar.	Let it be that love is true. If not, let me scream.

Again there is no comment. The censor merely boxes the poem in blue pencil and includes it in his "hit list" of texts to be withdrawn. Although certainly more subtle than the previous verse, the concept of the "street" as a place for action, a call for love to move to the streets as an expression of liberty, and barring that, a scream of obvious protest, could easily seem to be a political challenge to the censors, committed to upholding the moral and political values of the National Catholic state.

The censors had a pallet of tools they could wield. They could strip a work of content to such a degree as to force the author through massive revisions. It was no wonder that searching for a publisher abroad could look like an easier avenue than bothering to do redactions. Some, such as Jesús López Pacheco, would continually appeal this interference, but even he would eventually give up on those efforts as we will see. At any rate, the ban on certain of the books of Jesús López, including *La hoja, Pongo la mano sobre España*, and even his children's story, *Juguetes en la frontera* (1964), remained in effect during the life of the regime. [280] In the meantime, the frustration for the author who had bled creatively to finish these works was at times maddening.

Another aspect of the oppression of the censor's control over an author was perhaps more amorphous, more psychological than concrete, but had no less a detrimental effect on an author's work. Whether redactions to a work were demanded if it

[280] Actually *Juguetes* was briefly on the bookshelves, was banned and then removed. See the story of the book later in the chapter.

was to be published or suppressed entirely could be decisions that were dragged out, in some cases for years. This meant much to struggling authors' careers, and to his or her publisher as well.

The interminable waiting to get approval would be a constant stress on López Pacheco. The censor's approval itself could be, in this regard, a tool of repression, because to an author completely at the mercy of the Franco censorship process, it kept some hanging by a thread of hope that they would, in fact, be heard. In other words, the censors' power was not merely in blocking a work, it was in the understood position that the author was, for all intents and purposes, helpless. These types of situations for an author were again precisely what Ruíz Bautista refers to as the "silent work" of the censors. That some works got through and that some of those made their mark, was not a sign of the graces of the regime; it was a result of the perseverance of the artists with the help of their publishers.

That inconsistencies in the results of Francoist censors occurred over the several years of López Pacheco's work is true, but not often. One such case was of a poem from *Pongo la mano sobre España* that did actually resurface in an anthology five years later published in Spain. The poem was, *A Antonio Machado*, analyzed in the last chapter, which was written while the author was in prison in 1956. *A Antonio Machado* would slip by in the 1965 anthology of contemporary Spanish poetry, *Un carto de siglo de poesía española* by José Maria Castellet. This large, five hundred page anthology is a classic of poetry from the middle Franco years of writing. Nevertheless, one other poem from that anthology attributed to López Pacheco was left out, and the censor for the anthology

noted that Jesús López Pacheco was still considered among writers who harbored "an ideology of leftist symbols or at least who are contrary to the present Spanish reality."[281] It also should be noted here that there were ten different censors who viewed López Pacheco works between 1961 and 1967, some more than once and some more than once for the same book. Considering that the censors would pick and choose works, and how to best approach works they felt had politically dissident motivations hidden within, there were few differences of opinion among them about the work of Jesús López Pacheco.

Here it might be a good idea to examine what options-outside of outright appeal, which López Pacheco attempted often and fruitlessly-the author had available to him. A point not mentioned before, the possibility of the distribution of copies of suppressed books, certainly occurred. Some, as in the case of Antoni Tàpies' Catalan journal *Dau al Set,* were self-published out of the house. One could only expect a very modest distribution at most and certainly not enough to support a writer and his family, let alone a group of contributors such as the Catalan magazine had. Some literature did cross into Spain illegally, like Hugh Thomas's seminal history of the Spanish Civil War, for instance. Again, the regime's overriding interest was in neutralizing, quarantining, and banning where possible undesirable influences, as well as literature that might be detrimental to the image of the regime. As López Pacheco knew all too well from his experiences with the Social Police, the charge of contraband literature did have consequences.

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[281] Manuel L. Abellán, *Censura y creación literaria en Espala (1939-1976),* n 210.

Publishing abroad for the Spanish author under Franco was another option and as Jeremy Treglown noted it certainly was a possibility. It was obvious that Francoist censors had no control over what some publishing company in Argentina chose to do with a Spanish national's work, nor was that their concern. Their focus was exclusively in keeping out of the hands of the Spanish public works they felt damaging to the regime. Since they controlled not only what could be published in Spain, but all applications for importation of works from outside Spain as well, the few books that might leak through those controls were deemed of little consequence.[282] Being able to obtain "publishing abroad" was certainly no gift from the Franco regime and it was not as easily achieved as it might sound on the surface. Publishers held the manuscript and could get copies abroad, but deals, such as they were, could take months and even years to accomplish. *La hoja de parra*, the author's second novel written in 1960, did not get published abroad until two years later. It was not allowed into Spain until 1977 two full years after the death of the dictator. And while publication outside of Spain might have added some to an author's reputation, it little served the purpose of Spanish authors of Social Realism who were committed to trying to unmask the regime's face inside Spain itself.

Thus begins the long series of conflicts with Francoist censors that would eventually lead to López Pacheco and his family leaving Spain in the late 60s. The author was determined to confront the censor over these redactions in the text of *Canciones* and decided to plead his case. In a letter to the ministry on March 22, 1961, he questions,

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[282] Treglown, 53-56.

especially, the elimination of the last poem in the collection entitled "El timbrazo" (The Ringing) He writes that:

> …in the opinion of the author (the poem) is not censorable since it only aims to create a contrast between a happy, homelike environment and a fear of something unexpressed, external, not friendly, but which is not essential to personalize in order to comprehend the poem, since it will be each reader who, according to their own circumstances, might personalize or not the cause of the sensation of anguish;…the author considers this last poem to be very important within the general structure of the book.[283]

The author goes on to point out that "some of these poems have been published in Spanish magazines," although he could not state precisely where and this was certainly true as *Revista Indice* had published parts of *Canciones* prior to Seix Barral's edition. However, López Pacheco's appeal fell on deaf ears. The censor writes on March 25th, 1961 that "…In the judgment of the censor (the letter) is not applicable to amend the criteria denied in the indicated deletions." [284]

López Pacheco sent in substitute poems along with a hand written letter of May 19 that he had attached to a new copy of the work, substituting the objected works with five additional poems. The Blue card resolution and the final censor's report on his redactions are both dated with a purple stamp, 27-2-62, meaning the censors would not deal with this issue for yet another nine months.

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[283] AGA, Caja 21/13170 Ex. 932-61. The letter is contained along with the report of the censor. ""en opinión del autor, no es censurable en sí, pues sólo se propone crear un contraste entre un ambiente hogareño, feliz, un miedo a algo inexpresado, externo, no amistoso, pero que no es imprescindible personalizar para comprender el poema, pues será cada lector quien, según sus circunstancias, personalice o no la causa de la sensación de angustia;…el autor considera este último poema como muy importante dentro de la estructura general del libro."

[284] *Ibid.*

Examining “El timbrazo” itself throws further light on both the author’s arguments in appeal and the direction of the complaints of the censors.

El Timbrazo
(1956-1960)

I

That ringing only,
as a whip.
Suddenly
the dinner was soured ,
was stopped in mid-air, spoons
were scared to death.
My parents looked at me
and my sisters
became
silent.
Only the radio remained
which didn’t realize things and continued
nonstop, now for no one.

II

Woman, if now you hear only one ring
my children if you hear a ring
as a black whip piercing
the skin at this moment of good love,
cracking
against the tiny light of this house
of ours
a dry ringing
only,
if now a cowardly finger,
were pressing our poor white bell
if you hear the ring
of fear,
my dear woman
my children,
that your eyes do not look at me,
let me rise slowly,
walking toward the door,
opening it,
because maybe I can return laughing
and embrace you

and we could continue dreaming
on that day in which the bells ring
to announce only friendship. [285]

There is a sense of futility in López Pacheco's appeal. *El timbrazo*-placed as it is here in a collection of poems in which guards are lurking behind trees making the privacy of lovers in the parks impossible, where even a simple doorbell is a reason to fear- is a warning to a society that has caved into secrecy and hopelessness. The author, on the one hand, wants the censor to consider that the poem could be construed as merely some objective, unknown fear, and at the same time the poem is vital to the overall feeling of the work. It is just as clear, from the jefe's final denial of the appeal, that the overall expression of the work, and that includes in particular this poem which the censor is demanding be removed, describes pointedly the narrative of a darker Spain, one that is anathema to the regime's narrative of a safe, secure, and harmonious culture. It is quite possible that Jesús López Pacheco was aware of the futility of his appeal to censors over *Canciones*. One would tend to agree with the author's view that the censors were decimating his work. What will be even more apparent in his battles with the censors over his children's story, *Juguetes de la frontera,* is a determination that the appeals must

[285] *Ibid.* "Aquel timbrazo solo, /como un látigo. /De pronto /se amargaba la cena, /se detenían en el aire, muertas /de miedo, loas cucharas. /Mis padres me miraban. /Y mis hermanas /se hacían /silencio. /Quedaba solamente la radio, /que no se daba cuenta de las cosas y seguían /hablando sin parar, ya para nadie.
II Mujer, si ahora oyeras un timbrazo/solo; /hijos míos, si oyerais un timbrazo /como un látigo negro hiriendo /la carne de este instante de amor bueno, /restallando /contra la luz pequeña de esta casa /nuestra, /un timbrazo seco/y solo, /si ahora mismo apretara nuestro pobre /timbre blanco /algún dedo cobarde, /si oyerais el timbrazo /del miedo, /querida mía, mujer,/hijos míos, /que no me miren vuestros ojos, /dejadme levantarme lentamente, /andar hacia la puerta, /abrirla /porque quizá pueda volver riendo /y os abrace /y podamos seguir soñando /en ese día en que los timbres suenan /para anunciar tan sólo la amistad."

be attempted, at least up to the point of the recognition in himself of the hopelessness of his situation in Spain as a writer.

Juguetes de la frontera and Countering Censorship

In confronting the Francoist regime's censorship process, individual authors such as López Pacheco were, no doubt, at a great disadvantage. Direct appeals seemed a waste of time, although López Pacheco himself never gave up trying to get published in Spain even after his exile. In his case, by the middle of the 1960s, the Ministry of Information and Tourism was certainly aware of his record, not only his appeals over his own work to the Ministry, but his prison record as well. However, on occasion, it was possible to combine efforts with others to at least attempt challenge to the system. Two examples of strategies utilized, one extremely subtle and one overt and more involved, might help to demonstrate that holes in the Francoist dyke, however small, did at times exist and were exploited.

Returning to *Canciones de amor prohibido*, the deletions and other redactions that the censor demanded of the 1961 collection of poems amounted, as far as López Pacheco was concerned, to a total butchering of the collection itself. Comparing the original manuscript, which included the poems analyzed previously, to the final authorized published work, confirms his appraisal. And certainly, reviewing the censorship report, one gets a distinct impression of the cultural sensitivities of the censor, as well as a clear indication of the censor's mission. However, when the publisher reapplied for

authorization and returned a revised version of the collection redacted as requested, there was more to that version than met the censor's eye.[286]

López Pacheco had structured *Canciones* as a series of poems comprised of shorter poems numbered sequentially. For example the poem "Los buenos y los malos" (The Good Ones and the Bad Ones) is a set of six shorter poems, "1" to "6". Among the many stipulated deletions required in order to gain authorization for the collection, the censor demanded the publisher and the author remove "3" and "5" from "Los buenos." One reading of the original manuscript demonstrates what the omission of "3" alone meant; what was left was a shadow of the poem's content. Number 3, the darker poem analyzed above, was set off between a brief poem about the cinema as a refuge for people "cuando van lentos y juntos/como debe ser" (when they go gentle and together/ as it should be), and a short poem addressed to his wife, Marisol-"Al aire y al sol/te beso/ María del Sol. –Pero es que nos ven/ -Por eso (To the air and sun, I kiss you, Mariá of the Sun. But they are looking/ That is why). The juxtaposition of these three poems, the two short and the longer between them, rips a hole in both the contrast and the rhythm of the "Los buenos y los malos" to devastating effect.[287]

The editor of the collection for López Pacheco was Jaime Salinas, the son of the poet whose work had been the focus of López Pacheco's graduate thesis, and the publisher was Carlos Barral whose Seix Barral publishing house often took on

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[286] Caja 21/13170 Ex. 932-61-All of the document, appeals, and the original manuscript, as mentioned earlier, are contained in the same folder. The convenience of this is obvious as it enables an evaluation of the whole situation regarding the application over several years.

[287] *Ibid.*

controversial works. The author and the editors did exactly as the censors demanded. The two short poems of "Los buenos y malos" that the censors demanded be removed were removed. However, instead of numbering the remaining poems sequentially, a decision was made to number poems that comprised the final published set of "Los buenos y los malos," one, two, four and six, skipping the numbers three and five. An observant reader would not have missed this, but it appears the censors did.

A far more elaborate challenge, and at the same time less successful, on the other hand, was one of the more interesting attempts by Jesús López Pacheco to confront the Francoist regime's cultural narrative. It occurred in the early part of the middle of the 1960s. This was his use, along with that of colleagues of his, of children's stories as a means to express and inject their own cultural concerns into Spanish society. To Walter Benjamin, children's stories represented a vehicle that created a tension between society's myths and a real world of suffering. Creating tension is part of a dissident's modus and López Pacheco designed his children's story specifically to achieve that goal in Spain of the 1960s. The only obstacle in his way, of course, was the obdurate process of censorship built up over a period of almost thirty years by the Franco regime. And as in the story of composer Antonio José, the regime was successful in obstructing these authors artistic expression, but, as in the composer's case, their expression outlasted the regime.

This last point implies that the dissident writers hemmed in by the Franco regime's censorship had some tools at their disposal. For López Pacheco there were two avenues in particular for his work to reach the Spanish public; although neither was by

any means an easy route. First, there was the possibility of getting his manuscripts out of Spain and published elsewhere, as had been done in the Soviet Union, in Nazi Germany, and even in the United States during the 1950s. This would be the route of *Pongo la mano sobre España* and had been the route initially for the poetry of Federico García Lorca. However, as we have seen, if at some future date the foreign publishers wanted, and many did, to test the waters back in Spain for distribution of the authors' works during the years of the regime, they encountered the Spanish censors. Francoist censorship had control not only of domestic publishing, but of importation from abroad as well. At the same time, and more importantly to artistic voices within Spain, if authors pursued domestic publishing, they could be helped by established and sympathetic publishers. These were individuals who understood the risks involved, but who were dedicated to finding outlets for new writers whose work had begun to garner critical acclaim. In that regard, the various prizes for literature, such as Editorial Destino's Premio Nadal, provided some shelter to the writer, as we shall see, when examining the censor's role in blocking or allowing publication.

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, Franco censorship employed two categories or methods to deny or infringe on publication of objectionable material, explicit or outright denial, and implicit or what we might call denial through delay. In the case of *Juguetes* both occur over the three years of deliberations. It should also be noted that they occur in the middle of the so-called "liberalization" environment of the new 1966 press law. As such, Juguetes represents a good test case of the nature of the "new" Fraga era of reform.

In spring of 1964, three children's stories appeared on the desks of Francoist censors. These works of Antonio Ferres, Armando López Salinas, and Jesús López Pacheco were prime examples of attempts to create tension between the writers themselves living under the regime's restrictions and the regime's need to craft and maintain its cultural narrative through censorship. All three authors ran into Francoist barriers to the publication of their literary works, but none of their works ran into more protracted problems with the censors than these stories and none of these stories ran into more protracted problems than did López Pacheco's contribution, *Juguetes en la frontera* (Toys on the Border).

In that context, the timing of these authors' projects is certainly as interesting as any similarities in thematic approaches. Did the authors plan together to bombard the regime with these stories as a type of Marxist conspiracy aimed at the minds of the children of Spain in the 1960s? It seems so, according to Professor Fabio López Lázaro, who recalls his father mentioning more than once the collusion.[288] The circumstantial evidence is also strong. All three knew each other personally; they knew each other's work and they knew each other's politics. The timing of the initial applications by the authors for authorization of publication was, at the very least, a suspicious coincidence. All three stories in the form of children's plays came to the censors in manuscript form, although the packet of documents for López Pacheco's story also contains a finished copy of the book published by Ediciones Anaya in Madrid. None of the authors at that point in their careers had a reputation for writing children stories and there is no record in the

[288] Fabio López Lázaro, by email, April 17, 2012.

archives or in any search of their bibliographies that they pursued this medium of expression after these works.

What we do know as well is that the delays of authorization, the calls for revisions, and finally, in at least López Pacheco's case, the outright denial of publication was strong evidence that Francoist censors saw these stories through a lens of suspicion; there was concern about the authors' intent. The real problem for López Pacheco, Ferres, and Salinas was that the censors were almost as familiar with the authors' works as the authors were with each other's. In surveying these stories and their fate, one should remember Bautista's words of caution about the "silent work" of Francoist censorship, when a book was "immobilized" or "crippled" by the process.

Nevertheless, whether or not a conspiracy existed, the stories *were* all tangible evidence of dissident expression that had many layers of meaning, not the least of which, in the parlance of cultural theorist Walter Benjamin, demonstrated a desire to fill a void where "the need was greatest." The three authors were trying to use whatever tools they had available to them. They were not in a position to determine the outcome of their applications for authorization from the censors, but neither were they helpless. On the contrary they were fearless, even López Pacheco with his almost ten year history of confrontation with the regime.

Examining, in fact, the work of Benjamin as it pertains to López Pacheco's *Juguetes* opens up a way in which to judge this particular part of the dissidence of his writing and that of his cohorts. The capacity of children's stories to break the barrier between reality and fantasy, empowering children as imagined protagonists, became the

tool for this small group of literary dissidents. To Benjamin, a devoted collector of children's stories, books for children were vehicles for the moral projection of a society and the fairy tale especially was the purest form of a child's moral lesson. Fairy tales confronted the fears of the world with imagination and he understood the deep impression they could make on a child's memory. The whole quote alluded to above carries even deeper meaning. "Whenever good counsel was at a premium," he wrote, "the fairy tale had it, and where the need was greatest, its aid was nearest."[289] It is in the fairy tale, inculcated with magic and clearly defined realms of good and evil that Benjamin saw the lessons that were sometimes left aside as one grew up, but could be called upon at the darkest moments of one's life. Like Benjamin, López Pacheco understood the power of such tales as therapeutic, and like Benjamin he also saw the stories as having great political power. All three writers, López Pacheco, Ferres, and López Salinas, wrote stories that were intended to be published in the form of plays for children's theater, a subject close to the heart of the Benjamin as well. In fact, the philosophical connections to Benjamin are unmistakable.

> For what is truly revolutionary is not the propaganda of ideas, which leads here and there to impracticable actions and vanishes in a puff of smoke upon the first sober reflection at the theater exit. What is truly revolutionary is the secret signal of what is to come that speaks from the gesture of the child. [290]

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[289] Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, (New York: Random House, LLC, 1968), 102.
[290] Walter Benjamin, *Selected Writings, Vol. 2* (Harvard University Press, 2005), 206.

The aesthetics and moral lessons that Benjamin himself understood could be seen in children's books were some of those the regime most wanted to eliminate, in particular the independence of thought that could challenge authority and bring chaos to the state.

It was in the spring of 1964, then, that Jesús López Pacheco, through his publisher Anaya, submitted an application for authorization to publish his nineteen page children's story that was intended to also be performed as children's theater. Within a period of two months, two other children's stories also designed as children's theater were in the queue for authorization, the one by Ferres, entitled *El torrito negro*, and the other by Salinas, *El pencil mágico.*

Antonio Ferres had first achieved some success with his story "Cine del barrio" in 1954. The story won him the *Premio Sésamo,* the same award Jesús López Pacheco won the next year. His first novel*, La piqueta (*1959), was a finalist for the *Premio Nadal*. Journalist Javier Alfaya, at one time the editor of the cultural magazine *Triunfo*, wrote the introduction of the 2002 edition of *La piqueta* (The Pickaxe), which Alfaya described as having been an "immediate success". Along with the publishing of Jesús López Pacheco's *Central eléctrica*, the year before, *La piqueta* signaled a publishing ascendancy for the Social Realism of the authors of the Generación del 50. [291]

Antonio Ferres's *El torrito negro* is the tale of a ten year old boy, Miguelillo, who lived alone with his mother in a poor village. The people in the village have little good land on which to grow food, while the rich *conde*, the wealthiest landowner in the pueblo, hordes his own crops. Along with these characters there is an evil captain of the

[291] Javier Alfaya, Introduction to *La Piqueta* (Madrid: Viamonte, 2002), 9.

guards and his troops that protect the uncaring Conde; and the good *bandoleros* in the mountains, who aid the people when they can, live independently, and who are feared by the Conde and his guards. If one adds to these elements a kind gypsy grandmother who lives in the woods with her two grand-daughters and the little bull himself who is magical and talks, you have the makings of a first rate children's story with a social and political message. Miguelillo, with the help of the magic bull and the kind bandoleros, thwarts the Conde and his henchmen and helps provide food for his pueblo.

Armando López Salinas took a different tack by reinterpreting a classic Chinese story, *El pincel mágico* (The Magic Paintbrush). Salinas was originally a painter who became interested in writing seriously during the 50s. His first work, *La Mina* (1960), also was a finalist for the Premio Nadal. [292]

López Salinas, like López Pacheco, had been a member of the *Congreso Universitario de de Escritores Jóvenes* and was known to the regime. In fact, Salinas warranted his very own mini-political biography, a one-sheet *dossier,* added as an informational aid for the censors in January, 1964 when his publisher applied for authorization of his book *Crónica de un Viaje y otros relatos* (Chronicle of a Trip and Other Stories). This was one month before the submission to the censors of his children's story, *El Pincel Mágico* (The Magic Paintbrush) (1965) and in reality it was his criminal

[292] AGA, Caja 21/12666 Ex.654-60 The censor wrote on the report "Social novel, but without demagoguery, without a moral and with forcefulness and objectivity". Novela social, pero sin demagogia, sin moraleja y con vigor y objetividad.

file as far as the regime was concerned. It was not dated nor signed, though it bears the stamp of the ministry.[293]

Salinas's *El pincel mágico* is based on the classical Taoist Chinese folk tale that has dozens of variations and has been retold and reprinted in dozens of languages.[294] The protagonist is a young boy who owns a magic paint brush. As in Ferres' tale, the story involves a poor village, and there is an evil, wealthy landowner, who is portrayed as unconcerned about the villagers' plight, and only about how to aggrandize himself at the villagers' expense. What the boy, Me-Liang, paints with his brush magically comes to life and he uses it to help feed the poor people in the village. Eventually the landowner tries to trick the boy into turning over to him his power over his brush, but the cunning lad instead tricks the landowner into boarding a boat in the sea he has painted and calls up a storm that swamps the landowner and all of his minions.

The similarities between Ferres' *El torrito negro* and that of Salinas's reworking of the Chinese folk tale are not merely those of social context, although this would be expected within the essence of Social Realism. Salinas departs noticeably from the Taoist tale of an evil emperor by inserting a landowner instead of the traditional antagonist. While obviously not "realism," in the sense of the novels written by both writers, the purpose of these children's stories, imbued with a sense of magic and hope, is consistent with Benjamin and with a Marxist interpretation that empowers the protagonists, helping

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[293] AGA, Caja 21/14942, Ex. 147-64

[294] The story has also be an animated film, and the tale has been told in recent years with both male and female protagonists. See for instance *The Magic Paintbrush* (1993) by director Tom Tataranowisc and Julia Davidson, *The Magic Paintbrush* (London: MacMillan, 2003)

them deny power to the privileged in society. The books both challenged the conservative Francoist myth of order and well-being through social and political hierarchy. Although both Ferres' story and that of López Salinas were authorized for publishing in 1965, the publisher Anaya decided to republish them in a compendium of children's stories in 1969. But the vagaries of Francoist censorship obstructed this publication. This time Salinas's *El pincel mágico* was to be edited or it could not be authorized. On December 5, 1969, the whole book was officially denied publication. [295]

All of those elements: magic, strong protagonists with whom children can identify, challenge to authority, and the sins of those in power are amply available in *Juguetes de la frontera*. The story takes place at a border post in a rail station between the imaginary lands of *Aquí* and *Allí.* The cast of characters includes a heartless chief of the police who governs the border, an obsequious lower ranking officer, *el Carabinero de bigotes de alambre* (the Policeman of the Wiry Whiskers), a kindly policeman named Cándido (Naïve), and the toys that arrive at the border as presents intended for children in Aquí. Among the toys, which come alive near the end of the story, are a little girl doll and an elephant made out of cardboard. Inside the station is also a large cache of merchandize in boxes and wrapped in cellophane. In the description of the scene, López Pacheco is very specific, more so than are Salinas or Ferres, of the setting and the back story.

The border police are obsessed with ripping open the boxes to assess their contents. There are books, a radio, and a bicycle. There are loads of parcels and baggage

[295] AGA, Caja 66/3504 Ex.993-69.

and travelers, all going back and forth from the train to the station. The scene turns to the Chief of Police in his office yelling at the young Cándido for his failure the night before when he was not diligent in thoroughly inspecting the baggage of an older woman who was carrying "contraband" from Allí (he was "ratted on" on by the Policeman with the Wiry Whiskers). The old woman's contraband amounted to some cheap jewelry that she was going to try to sell in Aquí.

> "Haven't I told you a thousand times," the chief screams, "that this is a boarder that our mission is to keep anything from getting through it? Keeping certain things from getting by that shouldn´t get by because they could harm our citizens and our state! We don´t let ourselves be corrupted. We are incorruptible. They have assigned us to guard the border. Nothing should pass through. Nothing! Do you understand? It is necessary to look with a hundred eyes at everything that comes from Allí .A good border guard has to have a hundred eyes to stop anything dangerous getting from Allí to Aquí."[296]

As the night falls, the toys themselves come to life and talk of the hope that they will arrive at the homes of "good" children. The "Policeman of the Wiry Whiskers" sneaks back to the station at night to check on the contraband and is aghast at what he sees going on. He tries to force the toys back in their boxes, pulling at the arms of the little girl doll. He is scared off just as Cándido arrives. In the documents of the 1967 resubmission for *Juguetes* that denied its publication, the censor does a brief synopsis of the story. His ending is revealing. He writes, "The guard Cándido, famous for his

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[296] Jesús López Pacheco, *Juguetes en la Frontera* (Salamanca: Ediciones Anaya, 1965), 6. This is taken from the copy included in AGA, Caja 21/15132- Ex.2002/64, and "No nos dejamos corromper. Somos incorruptibles. Por eso nos han encargado a nosotros de guardar la frontera. No debe de pasar nada ¡Nada! ¿Comprendes? hay que mirar con cien ojos todo lo que viene de Allí. Un buen carabinero de frontera tiene que tener cien ojos para impedir que pase nada peligroso de Allí a Aquí."

compassion towards smugglers, arrives when the destruction is barely over; nevertheless, he tries to remedy the damage with love." [297]

The heart of this story does lie with Cándido and his name is, of course, a Spanish play on words; his innocence is apparent but loveable. Cándido is not as innocent as he appears, however; rather he is true to himself. At the point earlier in the story as his commander is screaming at him in the office, Cándido's mind wanders to thoughts of his own young daughter at home. In a cheerful *non sequitur*, he relates to his chief how he learns something new from his daughter every day when he takes the time to listen. Listening is not, as it appears, a forte of the police chief. The true butt of the humor is, in fact, the chief himself and his other sycophantic guard.

There are indications here as well of an autobiographical edge to his story. As a young man before his years in the University of Madrid, López Pacheco had been in the Spanish army and, at the time of the writing of *Juguetes*, he had a young daughter himself. But his own experiences as a writer under the regime could be in play as well. There are strong indications of a satire of the absurdity of banning influences that would somehow corrupt the land of Aquí from outside its borders. It is not a stretch, considering the author's own history with the Ministry of Information and Tourism, that *Juguetes en la frontera* is a pointed condemnation of the Franco censorship process itself, obsessed with controlling the flow of information and preventing the "contraband of ideas" from polluting the regime's carefully protected cultural project.

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[297] Caja 21/18011 Ex. 2283/67

The fate of the story became one of the more drawn out experiences in the author's long frustrations with Francoist censors, and it is a story worth telling of its own. Arriving at the censor's desk on Aril 4, 1964, the book was re-examined for editing on the 10th, authorized on the 14th, and then suspended on the 21st by the *director de la censura*. The reason for the suspension after initial approval was on technical grounds. Anaya had submitted the original manuscript without illustrations. Redaction had been requested and the publisher undertook the edits when the book was published in 1965. But the case was not closed.[298]

Although a copy of the manuscript needed to be submitted along with the formal application, in the case of *Juguetes* the folder of censorship documents also contained a demand that the printing cease and pulled the play off the shelves at the publisher's expense. The work then had to be resubmitted and the previous authorization had to be at the same time, annulled. What all of this meant was that if a work was changed or altered in any sense, in any way, it still had to go through the whole process again. The regime had standard language that the submitted copies must be exactly as the final copy would appear. But, of course, if redaction was demanded by the censor, then changes had to be made and those changes had to be approved and new copies submitted. Moreover, Anaya, possibly assuming that this children's story was not a threat to the regime, had already pressed and started distributing the book. This was the biggest mistake any publisher could make with an author who had already had previous problems with the censors over

[298] *Ibid.*

content. In the case of *Juguetes*, almost everything that could trip up a submission did. The Director General of Information (MIT) January 21 1965, wrote the publisher.

> Anaya Publishing of this capital has placed in circulation, without completing the necessary procedures and publishing a cover and illustrations not presented previously, the work title *Juguetes en la Frontera*. As of this date the validation of the provisional tarjeta (the blue card stamped by the ministry for authorization) remains annulled and extended on this day and this Delegación should proceed immediately to collect all copies of the work, initiating the appropriate proceeding of sanction against Editorial Anaya. [299]

Initially censors decided to base the denial of publication on errors of omission in the application process and chastise the publisher on the part of the applicant.

The formalism that Franco censorship used, the implicit censorship process itself that enabled the state to find many small errors whenever censors were suspicious of sinister motives on the author's part, was one of the State's strongest tools. While it was best for the author if the work was presented by an established publisher, if that publisher went ahead without full approval of the precise edition intended for publication, the risk of denial of publication was serious and that is what happened here.

There were two more appeals from the publisher over this book. One came in January of 1966, to which the ministry replied, "It is communicated to the Publisher (Anaya) that the work *Juguetes en la frontera* of D. Jesús López Pacheco will not be able to be reprinted or republished without having previously applied for and obtained special authorization." Over a year later, in March of 1967 and after a further appeal, the ministry curtly asserts that "The work is not appropriate to the ages of the children for whom it is

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[299] Caja 21/15132- Ex. 2002/64**.**

intended. The whole thing can be reduced to a subtle criticism of customs office administered by the police." Finally the censor curtly states, "Not authorizable (for either) children or young people." The final resolution on the blue card is stamped DENEGADO, March 28, 1967. [300]

The case does not end with the condemnation of Anaya by the ministry. Jesús López Pacheco ran the gauntlet of appeals one more time to get this nineteen page story published, in the end to no avail. A final 1967 appeal was presented to censors by the author, over three years after the initial application for authorization by Anaya. In the typewritten letter, López Pacheco argued that the burden the ministry has placed on the publication this story is onerous. His case deserved another review "since it results in the fact, at least anomalous, that a text, already authorized (1964) after having been presented again for a second omitted requirement, has to suffer revisions, making it impossible to release the work…"[301] The appeal was denied.

The children's story that caused this drawn out bureaucratic nightmare for the author has many of the same elements as both Salinas's and that of Ferres. As in the other two stories, *Juguetes* contains protagonists with whom young children could identify and

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[300] AGA, Caja 21/15132- Ex. 2002/64 The answer to the 1966 appeal by the ministry: "Se comunica a esa Editorial que la obra "Juguetes en la frontera 'de D. Jesús López Pacheco, no podrá ser reimpresa o reeditada sin haber solicitado y obtenido previamente especial autorización." and from AGA, Caja 21/18011 Ex. 2283/67 The final denial of publication in 1967 reads"La obra no es adecuada a las edades infantiles a que se dirige. Todo se reduce a una dura y sutil crítica de una oficina de aduanas administrada por carabineros." La obra no es adecuada a las edades infantiles a que se dirige. Todo se reduce a una dura y sutil crítica de una oficina de aduanas administrada por carabineros." And finally, "No Autorizable (infantil ni juventil)."

[301] *Ibid. "*…ya que resulta en el hecho de, al menos anómala, que un texto, ya autorizado (1964) después de haber sido presentado de nuevo por un segundo requisito se omite, tiene que sufrir modificaciones, por lo que es imposible para liberar el trabajo ... " This was López Pacheco's second letter of appeal.

all three stories present authority figures, such as police or guards that are supercilious and cruel. But *Juguetes en la frontera* is not only a condemnation of the regime; it is a direct condemnation of the censorship process itself, cloaked inside its narrative.

Because it spanned three years, 1964-1967, which included both laws the regime utilized over time to justify its censorship process, the case of *Juguetes de la frontera* holds a special significance in the story of the author and Francoist censorship. First, it draws a clear picture of the machinations of the regime's processes. Although the censors could have used the 1938 law as their rationalization for denial of a publication, here they applied technicalities to draw the process out. When they could have actually permitted publication under the 1966 law, they instead slammed the door shut and claimed in the strongest language that Jesús López Pacheco's children's book was inappropriate for children.

Secondly, this case probably had even more significance for the author, because it would be the last battle he engaged in with Francoist censors while living in Spain. The date of final resolution of this case was a little over a year from when the author would leave the country with his family in order to accept a teaching position in Canada. His determination that this story be published, his assumption of a head-on challenge to the regime through its own processes might in retrospect seem to have been pointless given the regime's intolerance for dissent. However, his very engagement with the Francoist bureaucracy has left us a trail of documents that do nothing less than implicate the regime and its obsessions. Any historian would be grateful to the author for his persistence. The

case of *Juguetes de la frontera* tells us far more about the Francoist process of censorship than do any of the laws the State promulgated.

After Spain

Did the author really imagine, even as far back as 1961 and his appeals over the redactions Francoist censors demanded of him, that any of his letters of appeal would warrant serious consideration by the regime? Was there ever a thought on the part of the author that he would succeed? It is not clear from his own writings. For Lopez Pacheco, however, attempting to break through Francoist censors to publish his children's story in 1964 seems to have been a singular experience.

The author was certainly committed, as the repeated appeals demonstrate, to follow the process out, but there could be more to that commitment and one does not have to go far, I believe, to find it. Given his own situation in Spain and his concern for his own family, it would make perfect sense that he try in whatever way he could to open up some small hole on the moral horizon for children like his own. If he could reach past the regime's structural roadblocks, he and others might be able to ensure that a new generation rectified the losses and mistakes of the old.

The appeals for authorization of *Juguetes de la frontera* were not the end of López Pacheco's attempts to open up publishing for himself in Spain. What will become apparent in this last stage of Francoism and its censorship process, however, is the extent of the absolute determination of the regime to maintain a continuity of purpose and, how that purpose, the preservation of the status quo of its cultural project, never altered even up to and beyond the death of the dictator.

In terms of the author and his new status in exile, once he and his family were settled in their new academic environment at the University of Western Ontario, he began to make contact again with publishers and editors. In March of 1970, López Pacheco received a letter from writer and editor Rafael Borrás Betriu, asking if the author would like to participate in a new project being compiled for the Barcelona publisher Nauta. The book, to be titled *Los que no hicimos la guerra* (We, Who Did Not Make the War), would focus the observations of 122 Spanish writers, artists, and intellectuals, all born between 1925 and 1945. A questionnaire was to be provided as a format for their answers. The book was planned to be almost 700 pages long, spread out over four volumes, and Nauta was proposing to print 10,000 copies. The project was audacious, not only because it was to have so many contributors, but because of the theme for the project. The contributors were asked to write on their memories of the Spanish Civil War and what the conflict still meant to Spain in 1970. [302]

López Pacheco was certainly taken with the idea and responded. He received a questionnaire that was to be the format of the book. It included such questions as: What was your first recollection of the war? Could the war have been avoided? Do you feel you have inherited something from one of the two opposing sides? To this last question the author submitted a poem as his reply. It reads:

> The men that died left us
> Words in the air.
> We have grown breathing shadow
> And fear between conquerors and cowards.
> But occasionally the air entered

[302] AGA-AJLP, 60, a. The estuches or cases contain non-family letters between the author and publishers, other writers, and friends in and outside of Spain from 1967 until the 1990s.

Our chest with fear and the shadow.
And one day suddenly we felt
Old words new,
Burning our blood.
We left to fight,
But we left late.
or too soon
for the new fight.
And so our youth has passed
Burning us in a fire that does not burn.

Los hombres que murieron no dejaron
Palabras en el aire.
Hemos crecido respirando sombra
y miedo entre vencidos o cobardes.
Pero de vez en cuando a nuestro pecho
Con el miedo y la sombra ha entrado aire
Y de repente un día hemos sentido
viejas palabras nuevas
quemándonos la sangre.
Salimos a luchar,
pero salimos tarde.
O demasiado pronto
para el nuevo combate.
Y nuestra juventud así ha pasado
Quemándose en un fuego que no arde.[303]

This short, 15 line poem, written is the author's purest and most improvised style, could not provide a more concise and meaningful answer to the question posed. There were many ghosts inhabiting the landscape of his native country, and he and many in his generation were among them.

The book made it to the censors in March of 1971. When one examines the censor's report, one can see that no analysis was made of López Pacheco's short poem. The reason was simple; the censor, seeing the author's name on the roster of writers to be

[303] AGA-AJLP, 60, d, question 4.

included, scratched him off. In the list of 122 interviewees, there were 59 authors, with 19 of them, like López Pacheco, excluded on sight. Among other writers who were included by the publisher, 34 of them were to be included in the final work, but only after their answers were redacted. This meant that of the total 59 writers, only the content of 6 surveys were suitable to be printed intact.

It is obvious from the work done by the censor in drawing up these lists, that the department was taking no chances. The seriousness with which this project was treated by the censor is apparent from the detail of the report itself. This detail suggests that the censor was clear that a work of this nature, on a topic this delicate to the Francoist sense of history and purpose, could in no way, even indirectly, reflect ill on the regime. The censor's review includes the final numbers of those to be included, the total number of denials of publication, suppressions, and authorizations. The review included classifications of opposition in some of the writing, such as those who whose surveys "affected the regime," those who "vaguely contested the regime," or were "liberals, republicans, etc." or finally those who were "open enemies of the regime." It is assumed that López Pacheco was part of that category. "This book, of course," the censor wrote, "could do much damage creating a prejudicial image of the opinion of the great mass of Spanish intellectuals."[304]

Figuratively hacked to pieces or not, the book was published in 1971, minus 90% of the writers queried and Rafael Borrás did send a copy of the book to Canada for the

[304] AGA, Caja 73/00663, Ex. 71/2384. "Este libro por tanto de publicarse, puede hacer mucho daño creando una imagen tendenciosa de la opinión de la gran masa intelectual española."

author. López Pacheco seemed to understand the fact of his exclusion but was curious. In a letter dated February 22, 1972 he writes back to Barràs thanking him and asking "Did the censor reject my collaboration because of the text or because of my name? Were there others in the same situation?" [305] From his letters it isn't clear if he got a sufficient answer in the end, but we now know from looking at the Francoist censorship report that the answer to the author's second question was, yes, there were others denied inclusion, and to the first question, yes, Jesús López Pacheco was left off because of his name.

One small glimmer of hope in 1971 was that the author received confirmation from Camilo José Cela that Cela's Mallorca literary magazine, *Papeles de Son Armadans,* would published a chapter of López Pacheco's *La hoja de parra*. The chapter of the novel appeared in the August, 1972 edition of the magazine. Even that, however, did little to change things for publishing the book in Spain. While he had been able to get the whole book published in Mexico, even as late as 1976, after the dictator's death, Francoist censors were still denying publication of the novel.

La hoja de parra was López Pacheco's second novel and was presented to Francoist censors by the Barcelona publisher Seix Barral for importation from Mexico in 1973. The book was examined four times over the next four years. It was denied publication in Spain in 1974, and 1976. It was provisionally allowed in 1977, although termed by the censor anti-religious, anti-militaristic, and negative politically. The book

[305] AGA-AJLP, 60, e. and f.

was formally approved for publication in Spain, after one more review, in January of 1978.[306]

La hoja is a condemnation of the Church in Spain and the general milieu of Francoism, but the last censor review received a detailed and favorable analysis from a new censor. In a three-paragraph report, the last censor to review the book gave an insightfully written synopsis of the book, having obviously read it well and having actually taken the time to interpret it socially. He writes that "the author has denounced with a good deal of irony National Catholic ideology, a part of the Spanish of the 1940s." López Pacheco is:

> …hard on Spain of Franco and the Catholicism that emanated from it; (the work) contains two serious irreverence's that cannot be considered, in any way, as blasphemies, and one attack on the military that lacks, I think, importance. Given the context of the blasphemies and their few number, they are not sufficient motive for denouncing (the work), being, of course, the proposal here. [307]

Here is a truly different perception coming from within the Department of Censorship. Relegating National Catholicism to an ideology that had "emanated" from the 1940s, it would seem that after only a year since the rejection of López Pacheco's last application for the book, the Department of Censorship was already living under a new history. This last censor, three years after the death of Franco, would appear to have arrived at a new view of the world.

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[306] AGA, 73/06452 Ex. 471-78.

[307] *Ibid.,* "El autor denuncia, con una buena carga de ironía, la ideología "nacional-católica" de una parte de los españoles de los años cuarenta. …dura contra la España franquista y el catolicismo emanado de ella, contiene dos irreverencias graves que no pueden considerarse, de todas maneras, como blasfemias (94,102), y un ataque a los militares que carece, pienso, de importancia (96). Dado el contexto de las irreverencias, y su poco número, no son motivo suficiente de denuncia, siendo por tanto la prepuesta."

Over the next two decades, until the author died in 1997, Jesús López Pacheco would move from being a rebellious voice against the regime to an elder statesman of a time that seemed to pass and be forgotten among readers and critics in Spain. Antonio Ferres would become an exile himself during the 1970s and teach at Northern Illinois University for a number of years, but moved back to Spain. In an interview in 2002 he spoke about his generation's writers looking back with some sense of resignation. "We were all children of our epoch, all of us were lost beings. That is the truth. If someone knows how to tell it well, that will be literature, and if not, it will not be." [308]

For Jesús López Pacheco, his battles with Francoist censorship over, the last part of his life was not spent, however, looking back in anguish over the changing winds of literature. Some critics by the early 2000s had begun to see the *Generación del 50* as almost quaint, full of sound and fury over things that no longer required such sound and such fury. López Pacheco would most vehemently disagree. His own later observations on the role of education in western society and especially in the cooption of the role of the university by corporate interests attests to a restless mind that was constantly searching for a means to express his skepticism.

Conclusion

When one contemplates the elaborate process, the minstrel show of laws and regulations, the trivialities of administrative barriers to publication that continued for forty years under the Francoist regime, one could succumb to the feeling that "things" did

[308] Ignacio Echevarría, "Todos somos seres perdidos," *El País*, November 2, 2002. "Ellos, nosotros, todos fuimos hijos de nuestra época, todos somos seres perdidos. Ésa es la verdad. Si alguien supo contarlo bien, eso será literatura, y si no, pues no lo será."

not change fast enough for this "lost" generation. Francoist functionaries obstructing the plethora of artists, whose works were ravaged - a bureaucracy bent on the constriction of the flow of information, not the elaboration of it - dragged Spain around for forty years by the horns of its own entropy until it dropped. Those were the obstacles that Jesús López Pacheco and his generation faced daily in order to create.

All one needs to do in order to appreciate this censorship circus is to read the saga of his children's story as it wound its way through the Francoist censorship process. The evidence is in the archive of a regime bent on the interdiction of literature through a morass of regulations and institutional barriers, determined over the years of its existence to perpetuate its hold on the gates of expressive freedom. The indication is that the Francoist regime believed its process was successful and consistent, at least, in terms of its National Catholic ideals. Its desire to block the infection of Spanish culture from unwanted influences remained with the regime until its end…and seemingly beyond.

It is hard to disagree completely with that assessment by the regime. The archives are a testament to its determination. And yet, it is still the contention here that the regime did not understand the true force aligned against it. The attempts by Jesús López Pacheco, through his protests, his appeals, his departure from Spain itself, and most of all through his poetry, stories, and novels, are monuments to persistence and intent- the intent to insure that a new generation might have the experience of a true artistic expression, unfettered by restrictions and released to its own devices. The times when he could manage to get his work past the Francoist information gatekeepers were moments of victory, even if they were shadowed as often by defeat.

And, he did not stop there in his life, even when the shackles came off as the dictatorship began to fade away in time. He foresaw that even in a freer, more open intellectual environment there could be other shackles not as apparent that needed to be challenged. What is apparent from his later writing is that he had moved far beyond the contrivances of the Francoist censorship process.

> …I have never felt the loss of particle of my liberty as a writer after writing my works, and certainly I have not written them for any set point, save those that I give to myself internally. In regards to its political validity, I never raise the political validity of a work, but only its literary validity. I don't try to make a work deliberately political, or, have I ever tried to. I try, from personal experiences, or, as in the case of *Central eléctrica*, from experiences reconstructed based on the memories of my parents and my brothers, to present a lived reality, but elaborated literally and that has a certain efficacy. I have always tried to transmit a vision of the world, of life, of human relationships and, as a total vision, it has the most contact with a certain political ideology. But the purpose is not the immediate political efficacy, but rather the literary efficacy.[309]

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[309] Mercedes F. Duran de Cogan, "Conversación con Jesús López Pacheco," *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, Vol. 10, (Otoño 1985), 38.
"…yo no he sentido nunca la perdida de una parcela de mi libertad como escritor al escribir mis obras, y desde luego no las he escrito por ninguna consigna, salvo las que yo me doy a mí mismo desde mi interior. En cuanto a su validez política, yo no me planteo la validez política de una obra, sino su validez literaria. Yo no intento hacer una obra deliberadamente política, no lo he intentado. Yo intento, a partir de experiencias personales, o, como en el caso de *Central eléctrica* experiencias reconstruidas en base a recuerdos de mis padres y de mis hermanos, presentar una realidad vivida pero elaborada literariamente, y que tenga una cierta eficacia. Siempre he tratado de transmitir una visión del mundo, de la vida, de las relaciones humanas, y como toda visión, la más tiene contacto con cierta ideología política. Pero el propósito no es la eficacia política inmediata, sino la eficacia literaria.

Jesús López Pacheco's artistic presentation of a "lived reality," whether of his own life or of what he saw around him poured out of his poems, his novels, and his stories with an ease and a quiet eloquence, but also with a great strength. Whether his work was truncated in his native country, chopped up or turned to ash in the furnace of Francoist censorship, its living presence today remains a constant gnawing reminder of the regime's failure. However, it would be an unforgivable mistake to categorize or, even worse, periodize his work. It needs to be read and reread to appreciate the richness of its human message.

Chapter 6 - Antoni Tàpies and the Material World

> *Art is a sign, an object, something that suggests to us reality in our spirit. I don't see, then, any conflict between the abstract and the figurative, as this idea suggests. The reality that our eyes see is an extremely poor shadow of reality.*
>
> -Antoni Tàpies, 1973 [310]

Introduction

The lives of Antoni Tàpies and Antonio José represent "book ends" of this narrative about the meaning of artistic expression and its interaction with the Franco dictatorship. From different regions, from opposite ends of the era of the dictatorship, from different artistic disciplines, and different social groups, the common thread throughout their lives was their dedication to the exploration and enhancement of their artistic voices. The circumstances surrounding the deaths of both artists could not have been more different. The young composer was executed in the dark of night and buried in a mass grave, his artistic voice silenced under hushed tones of terror that muffled the very mention of his name for years to come. At 88 years old, the Barcelona painter, a cultural institution in his native Catalonia, died peacefully at home surrounded by his family. Whereas it took months at the beginning of the Civil War for word of the death of Antonio José to reach the front pages of Republican newspapers in Madrid a hundred and fifty miles from his native Burgos, the image of Antoni Tápies appeared in newspapers and on television around the word within twentyfour hours. His image took up the whole front page on the February 7th, 2012 issue of Barcelona's main daily *La Vanguardia the*

[310]Antoni Tàpies, *La práctica del arte* (Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, 1973), 35. "El arte es un signo, un objeto, algo que nos sugiere en nuestro espíritu. No veo, pues, ningún antagonismo entre abstracción y figuración, mientras nos sugiera esta idea de la realidad."

morning after his death. The paper went to press with eight articles by noted Spanish and Catalan critics praising his artistic integrity, his unique artistic language, the selftaught nature of his development, and his Catalan heritage.[311] It was not only, however, Barcelona that extolled the artist. In Madrid, Paris, and New York it was much the same. Lengthy articles and obituaries eulogized the painter as one of the great artists of his time.[312]

It is no wonder, really. No artist, no writer, no musician in the last hundred years contributed more to a critique on the aesthetics of art in the West and art's role in society than Antoni Tàpies. As a painter in the twentieth century, only Picasso, Miró, and Dalí were better known Spanish artists. As a copious writer of essays, Tàpies displayed a breadth of knowledge on the history and philosophy of art, which he used to focus on the responsibility of the artist and the power of artistic expression. His concepts help frame this present work and his understanding of the role that art can play in society makes his narrative vital to this inquiry on artistic expression under the regime of Francisco Franco.

This chapter will focus on the life, art, and the writings of Tàpies that reflect his artistic development, his global view of art, but as well his experiences as a Catalan artist during the Franco dictatorship. The first of the two chapters about the painter will be, as the chapters before, concerned with the development of his art. Because Tàpies wrote and published so often eloquently about artistic expression and the need to develop art with a conscious intention of reflecting and absorbing the society around it, this chapter will

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[311] *La Vanguardia (Española)*, February 7, 2012, 1, 2, and 28-33.
[312] See *El País* (Madrid, Feb.7, 2012), *The New York Times* (Feb.7, 2012 , *Le Monde* (Paris, Feb. 8)

utilize much of his thought in print.

At times, it will appear in this chapter as if the regime of the dictator fades into the background. It does, but Chapter 7 will focus more directly on the interaction between Tàpies and the regime. The proposition here is that ultimately the questions Tàpies asks of himself as an artist are fundamental to the rise of his talent. Is the historical timing of that rise contingent upon factors related to Spain's history at that moment? Absolutely - just as the timing of Antonio José's death and the Civil War affected so much the recovery of his music. But the essential component in that rise and that recovery are the same. One of the primary tenets of this work, is that the need to express oneself and the need to challenge endlessly one's artistic voice, whatever the circumstances, are what carries the art beyond the reaches of the Francoist regime.

When looking at the artist's ability over the early part of his career to secure a space for his artistic voice, several factors emerge that we will examine. A general intellectual atmosphere fostered by his parents coupled with his obvious graphic talent provided him, in his late adolescence, a channel for expression. This expression deepen during his two years of convalescence from tuberculosis and helped him to create for himself a distinct artistic voice. But as important was where he grew up. On the edge of the years of the avant-garde in art, Barcelona, even in the darker years of the Franco repression, maintained critical interest in art through its daily newspapers. When other areas of the creative arts, in particular literature, would be hampered, not only by content censorship but by language censorship, art criticism was relatively free of obstruction. This criticism was invaluable for the young artist as he first began to appear in the many

galleries in Barcelona that were supportive of new artists. However, in the end it was his own perception of his direction that constantly enabled him to challenge his expression and propel him to recognition.

The imposition by the regime of a cultural repression intended to roll back and suppress Catalan autonomy, an autonomy granted the region by the Second Republic, came to be a rallying cry for young Catalans growing up after the Spanish Civil War. It would be a cry that would affect greatly Tàpies's own sense of his place, and that of his art, in the world as his personal political involvement grew.

In many aspects of his artistic and personal life, Tàpies's voice was one of dissidence during the regime and yet, he benefited, as he himself understood, from some of the regime's policies regarding modern art. His interaction with the regime and its policies regarding modern art will be discussed in Chapter 7. From the late 1940s and his early work with the cultural magazine *Dal al Set* to the1966 *Caputxinada* protests, to the Catalan symbology of his poster art in the 70s, he continually reasserted his artistic voice into the space occupied by a growing Catalan dissidence movement. The depth of his writing went well beyond the scope of his interaction with the regime into areas of concern intellectually on an entirely different level as I will detail. For his biography to be complete, these writings must be, along with his art itself, a part of any evaluation of his historical significance. In fact, in comparison to the cultural contributions of Antoni Tàpies that extended up to his death, I am convinced that future generations will be hard pressed to discover equal worth in any of the arcane cultural formulas of Francoist National Catholicism. Antoni Tàpies is, in my research, the end-story, the artist as one of

those voices that carries a signature, which defies time.

The consistency of Tàpies's written discourse on the purpose of the painter and the connection of art and society dates back to the mid-1950s and demonstrated the artist's philosophic resolve. The twentieth century battle between those who suggested that the abandonment of figurative art was either anti-humanist or elitist, meaning that the criticism came from both the left and the right, and those who saw the avant-garde as a long process of development, albeit not always linear, is still with us.[313]Tàpies was in the latter group. His essays are more than a seminar on figurative versus abstract art, however ; they emphasize his conviction that the role of the artist in the modern world is an essential, not tangential one, and one that requires of the artist an activist's engagement with society. Here I am applying a broader definition of the word "activist" as being more than political, though in his life political involvement became a necessity. His activism was an engagement in recognizing, contemplating and applying one's present, one's reality, day to day.

In the end, Antoni Tàpies's art stretch far beyond the mundane cultural formulations of the regime. As opposed to the regimes direct obstruction of the reception of the music of Antonio José or the writing of Jesús López Pacheco, the regime attempted to manipulate the use of the art of Tàpies and other younger artists of the Spanish avant garde at a historically convenient time. That the attempts backfired says much more

[313] Those who decried the abandonment of figurative in art in the work of the European avant-garde included conservative religious and fascists groups, while those from the left who belittled the bourgeois roots of avant-garde abstraction as elitist musings included, among others, Socialist Realists and some Neo-Marxist intellectuals.

about the potent expression of these artists, than it does about the vacuous nature of the regime´s purposes.

Growing Up in Catalonia

As was true of many of the best known artists in Europe of the twentieth century, Antoni Tàpies came from a bourgeois background. His father, Josep Tàpies i Mestre, was a lawyer and the family was prestigious within Barcelona's circle of independent minded thinkers. Josep Tàpies possessed a personal library that consisted of some three thousand volumes that he continually encourage his children to peruse. Works by Kant, Hegel, and Freud, as well as the poetry of Antonio Machado and Catalan literature from Jacint Verdaguer to Carles Riba populated the shelves. At the same time, Josep was a man conflicted about his own beliefs and so the library varied over the years in terms of its content. It was in his father's library that the young Tápies first encountered the works of Friedrich Nietzsche, but the philosopher's writing along with the writings of several other authors at times caused his father some anguish. Although suspicious of religion with leanings toward atheism, Josep, it appears, could never quite shake his Catholic roots. In his memoir Tàpies relates how that conflict played out.

> On occasion, father felt remorse for having many books listed in the Index of ecclesiastical censorship. On impulse, he would take to burning some so that we wouldn't find them. So, with the exception of *Zarathustra,* Nietzsche's complete works disappeared, along with Darwin's and (Ernst) Haeckel's. When Franco's troops occupied Barcelona, out of sheer panic I helped him hurriedly burn a large number of books with political or Catalanist content, leaving our library quite sparse. [314]

[314] Antoni Tàpies, *Complete Writings, Vol.1*: *A Personal Memoir: Fragments of an Autobiography* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2009), 90.

From Tàpies's generation of young Catalonians, which was true of those involved in the student demonstrations in Madrid in the 1950s, rose the intellectual resistance that began a continuing pattern of disputes between the regime and those too young to have fought in the civil war. As was true of López Pacheco, Tàpies' images of the conflict became frozen in the memory of his youth.

> By and large, it's probably true that I registered the events of the time on a subconscious level, rather than being directly aware of what was going on. But there are a number of things I remember very clearly, such as the sight of the first band of volunteers going off to join the Republican army. The militia requisitioned all the cars, which were decorated with graffiti, like the trains on the New York subway. That left a deep impression on me. [315]

There is no doubt that he was profoundly affected by the period, as was true for writers such as Jesús López Pacheco or Antonio Ferres. Tàpies also had distinct and traumatic memories of the Civil War bombings during his adolescence. The raids that destroyed the building of his grandfather's old bookstore, and the building where his grandfather's apartment stood on Carrer de la Canuda, forced the elderly man to move in with the painter's family. "He and my aunt's escaped miraculously, with just a few scratches, but I recall his bloodied face and his sobs when he sought refuge in our house."[316]

At the same time, in the middle of the worst of the war, Tàpies found solace in his nascent talent for drawing.

> We had a hard time during the war, like everyone else. Yet I had lots of time to read and draw, to experiment with watercolors and oils, and keep

[315] Barbara Catoir, *Conversations with Antoni Tàpies*, trans. by John Ormrod (Munich: Prestel – Verlag, 1991), 112
[316] Tàpies, *A Personal Memoir*, 102.

> absorbing with avid curiosity the books in the library at home. I found them more and more interesting, though not always for reasons I would readily confess to.

The family roots of Antoni Tàpies go deep into the culture of Barcelona and its sympathies toward a Catalonian culture separate from Spain. To be an "independent thinker" in Catalonia in the last half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, in fact, often literally meant being an advocate for Catalan autonomy. Tàpies's maternal grandfather, Francesc Puig had been a founding member of the *Lliga Regionalista* the economically conservative and politically liberal, in the nineteen century sense of the word, independence movement that promoted not only the economic interests of Catalan industry, but the use of Catalá in literature and journalism. He was a second generation bookstore owner whose store, *La libería Puig*, was founded in 1861 by his great-grandfather and later passed on to Francesc. Both men were involved in Barcelona politics and held the position of deputy-mayor of Barcelona. The bookstore under Tàpies's grandfather became a central meeting place for late nineteenth century intellectuals. The bookstore, located in the Placa Nova, was a hotbed for radical political activity as various clients in the Lliga "in moments of political agitation formed enormous lines of *compradores*, true multitudes that entered through one door and left through the other". [317] In fact, the municipal government at one point wanted to limit the activity by prohibiting his grandfather from selling newspapers to cut down on the gossiping political crowds. This world was the direct antecedent of the intellectual firmament into which Antoni Tàpies was born in 1923. His discussion of that world in

[317] Antoni Tàpies, *Tàpies in Perspective* (Barcelona: Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona, 2004), 38.

interviews and his memoir was often a point of pride and affection, as well as a nexus for his memories of the tension and angst the Franco regime caused through the years of the regime's anti-Catalá campaign.

Josep Tàpies expected his son to model his own career in law, but again, as in the case of Jesús López Pacheco's father, we see the middle class father's expectation of a socially respectable career left behind as his son's artistic voice took root. In the case of Tàpies, however, that voice would grow directly out of his very personal, deeply introspective convalescence from tuberculosis. Tàpies remembers his father as a hard, exacting and not particularly even-tempered man that the painter characterized as hyper active, short in stature, and a man who tended to be a little unfocused. His children, in fact, nicknamed their father "*Senyor prisas*" (Sir Hurry). There was a constant coming and going of writers, artists, business people who his father represented, politicians, and academics. A constant train of conversations filled the home, much in the tradition of his grandfather´s bookstore. The distracted nature of his father was severe at times. The family was often moving its residence and Antoni tells the story of his father actually appearing one day at the family's former apartment "after two or three months of having walked from our apartment, forgetting it completely, he showed up at the old home just in time for lunch." [318]

Distracted or not, the sense one gets from Tàpies's memories of his father is that his father's energy was a great influence on him as an artist.

> He liked to repeat often that he is not a skeptic who believes in nothing, as many think, but rather he who doubts everything-qualities that made

[318] *Ibid.,* 31.

> him spend his youth within the family almost as a lost sheep…My father was one of those persons that tries never to make declarations too absolute-saying he hated absolutism in all 'spheres of life- and as he said, 'as the very same person hurries to object to whatever is just said. [319]

Occasionally, aware of his son's interest, it does appear the elder Tàpies did not hesitate to introduce Antoni to artist friends such as Marqués Puig. It would be those types of interactions - one on one with another artist - that always would represent to him his real "education". Part of that education would be his own introduction to modern art. When eleven- years-old in the middle years of the Republic, Tàpies first discovered the Catalan art journal *D'Icí i D'Allá*. It was the journal's Christmas issue, edited by a friend of his father's Carles Soldevilla, that both excited and disturb the young boy who at the same time was taken with its didactic approach.

> The issue opened with a helpful graph explaining the evolution of the concepts of "painting" and sculpture." Then came a number of texts by foreign and Catalan writers illustrated with a great quantity of reproductions both in black and white and in color, with a technical quality notable for those days. There was also a stencil by Miró, a work of brutal beauty and vitality, which he had executed especially for that issue…The issue closed with an article by M.A. Cassanyes on magic and Surrealism and another on Dalí.[320]

The issue would remain one of the artist's treasured memories of his introduction to art, but brings into relief the whole means by which he became educated. The idea of being self-taught in art, at any rate, is often misunderstood or at best insufficient as a

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[319] *Ibid.,* 31-32. "… le gustaba repetirlo con frecuencia que no es escéptico quien no cree en nada, como piensan muchos, sino quien duda de todo- cualidades que en su juventud le hacían pasar, entre los timoratos de la familia, casi por una oveja descarriada… Mi padre era una de esas personas que procuran no hacer nunca afirmaciones demasiado absolutas –decir que odiaba el absolutismo en todos los 'ordenes de la vida -, y, cuando opinaba, 'el mismo se apresuraba a poner objeciones a lo que acaba de decir."

[320] Tàpies, *A Personal Memoir*, 91.

description of the process of developing an individual expressive voice. No one is ever truly "self-taught," but rather "self-learned," the key being both the motivation from within and the revelatory experiences that one recognizes from exposure to the ideas, technique, and expression of others. In this regard, the most contagious moments for Antoni Tàpies were in his face to face experiences with artists. An artist in a class environment can and does learn vital tools. But the actual discovery of a voice has nothing whatsoever to do directly with the environment of a classroom, and especially the overarching structure of institutional education. To learn, in this context, is came naturally to Antoni Tàpies. In the end, for any artist, what separates out artists who become themselves - find their voice - and those who never reach that point of expression, is an ability to listen to that inner voice and the commitment to working to find its message and its medium.

Tàpies's father may not have desired to raise a painter, but knowingly or not he helped to provide the education for his son to become, in the end, one of the most distinct artistic voices of the twentieth century. With his father's library still available, he regularly engaged the work of writers such as Nietzsche and Jung, and through Jung, eventually Freud. In fact, he would come to saw both Nietzsche and Freud as being revelatory. The sheer thirst for books that would set his mind at play made his father's library an inexhaustible intellectual reservoir. "I exulted with enthusiasm," he said, "whenever I managed to get a book about Picasso published before the war, or an album with Matisse drawings smuggled from France, or even an old monograph on Renoir."[321]

[321] Tàpies, *A Personal Memoir*, 161.

All of these sources would come into play as he approached the darker and still salient periods of his life.

The artistic life of Antoni Tàpies straddled the line between the figurative and the abstract in the twentieth century as did that of many artists, including Picasso, Miró, and Dalí. And just as his Spanish predecessors, his work developed in an evolutionary arc that included a constant fine tuning and reassessment. Unlike his Spanish predecessors, however, he did not study art formally as an adolescent. His aptitude for drawing was apparent to his parents and, middle class hopes and aspirations for him notwithstanding, they encouraged in him this aptitude; he seems to have been rarely without pencil or paints nearby. Moreover, in Tàpies' life there was a break point, a revelatory period that would clear a path in his mind for what would become his life purpose. There would be no more meaningful period in his life than his illness and convalescence. His whole last year in high school in 1941 he had been experiencing fevers and respiratory problems that had eluded diagnosis, but the cause finally become clear. He was diagnosed with tuberculosis and his parents had found a sanatorium located only forty miles north of Barcelona in Puig d'Olena where he would remain for a little over a year and then afterward back at home. Streptomycin, the first antibiotic used against tuberculosis, was in its test stages and was not available until later in the decade for general use by the public. Isolating tuberculin patients had been the common practice as far back as the nineteenth century and was, as of the early 1940s, still the only hope for recovery.

In Tàpies' case that isolation would have profound consequences for his art. His world over the next two to three years became his bedroom in the sanatorium his few

acquaintances in adjacent rooms, his brief time spent outside in the sunshine reading, and then back home again in his own room. It was also in the sanatorium built during the years of the Second Republic that the last vestiges of the Catholic faith with which he had grown up eroded.

> It wasn't out of weakness of character nor was it because I lacked a well-polished education that my "principles" started to fall one after the other. To the contrary, loss of faith happened precisely because my thinking took t task the presuppositions behind and reasons for those principles and the practice of some precepts derived from them. I meditated and read a lot, and tormented myself even more before deciding to abandon what seemed to me-at least as I had been taught, or as I understood it-outmoded superstitions. [322]

His Early Works: The Face and its Encounter

This two year period to 1944 also manifested an intense artistic contemplation. He painted and drew daily for hours on end, and the work he created demonstrated not only his self-taught capacities-his detailed sketches show the work of a practiced draftsman-but these paintings and drawings developed into a methodical introspection into his own being-exclusively utilizing his human face. The face became a theme that carried much weight even after he had jettisoned all "figurative" art. In effect, his period in recovery at the sanitarium and back with his family marks the first period of his professional life. Unbeknownst to his father and mother, and possibly not totally recognizing it for himself, it was there he committed himself to an artist's life.

> My bedroom was transformed. The bed became a sort of couch and for a headboard we installed a large piece of furniture with shelves for books and a space for the record player. At the other end there was a large armoire with mirrored doors, which had been part of my parent's bedroom set…That room gradually turned into a battlefield. Entering it

[322] Antoni Tàpies, *Complete Works*, Vol. I, *A Personal Memory*, 140.

> and submerging myself into my inner world was all one thing. That bedroom was another chamber in that lovingly constructed universe of mine, full passageways, strange paths, doors, and nooks, and spaces for my soul that kept growing and growing. True life seemed to reside there, with its stars and its mountains, its valleys, and its forests. A world more real than the outside word, more harmonious and good.[323]

The self-portraits of Tàpies that came from this period of introspection hold a special place in his work, not only because they are the most pure figurative work and as such represent a tie to his drawings as a youth.[324] They are the first step in his adult evolution as an artist. In 1944 at the age of twenty-three, recovered sufficiently from his disease, Tàpies enrolled in law school to attend to his parents' wishes. He did not stay long, and in the same year decided to enroll instead in a drawing class at the Academia Valls in Barcelona.

In part, he wanted to test out his own theories from his own studies, intellectually from his reading, and artistically from his self-portraiture. He soon found out that what he was testing was his own understanding of what it meant to be an artist. Struggling with his own direction, he began to question his decision to study formally.

> For me, to be an artist was a thing so vital, so necessary, so urgent, so tied to reality sculptures that very soon something horrible began to dawn on me- replicating plaster casts and spending my hours blurring lines with a smudge of charcoal- that this seemed to like death or disconnected to life. [325]

In the end, Tàpies's overall suspicions toward understanding the creative process through theoretical constructs of an academy led in the end to his 1978 work, *Art against*

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[323] *Ibid.,* 157.
[324] See Appendix B, Figure 1, *Autorretrato* (1944), pg. 372.
[325] Tápies, *Memoria personal*, 167. "Para mí ser artista era una cosa tan vital, tan necesaria, tan urgente, tan ligada a la realidad, que muy pronto me pareció algo horrible entretenerme en algo – copiar yesos y pasarme horas tascando con un difumino- que me parecía muerto o desconectado de la vida."

Aesthetics, which takes on the range of "academic formalism" and especially aesthetics he believed ossified any concept of expression in art. He sensed such theories interfered with improvisation in the act of creation, something exemplified in the discourse of Surrealists in whom he never lost respect, although the Surrealistic approach was only a weigh-station in his development.

> A common error would have us believe that theories are a kind of project, screenplay, or plan of attack leading to what the artist will later materializes in practice. Seeing things is this way ignores the interactive mechanisms between thought and work, and the individual creative process.[326]

To Tàpies this very interaction was an improvisation of process directly connected to where and when he lived, but also to his own understanding of the loneliness of the creation of art, something he had inculcated him through his years of illness. In *La práctica del arte* (1970), a reflection of his thinking over the previous two decades, he touches on themes he repeated often. His chapter entitled "Arte-Idea" was originally from a *Destino* article from 1955 again by Sabastiá Gasch, who sent to the painter a list of questions. Here Tàpies describes both that engagement of the artist with his or her time, and as well the abject isolation, which an artist inherently must confront.

> The work to which the painter gives emotive form has to be closely linked to the progressive forces existent in the epoch. It is inconceivable that the painter, unless enclosed in an ivory tower, might be separate from the advances achieved through other intellectual disciplines: philosophical, scientific and political. But even though, in order to make a positive work, contact with these activities and those that cultivate them are essential, I don't believe it is from those sources that the formulas are born, which provide the artist the material that gives shape to the ideological content of the work that he shares with them. The artist discovers himself completely alone before the blank canvas, confronted

[326] Antoni Tàpies, "Thinking about Art" in *Art against Aesthetics* from *Complete Writings, Vol. 11*, 245.

with the inherent dilemmas of art, since art has its own laws.[327]

But the short time spent at the academy would open up a new awareness of his nascent artistic voice and an awareness on the part of others that this voice was distinct.

> I remember that one day an elegant gentleman, elderly and of a nervous nature as if frightened of visiting the academy, presented himself to me. Maybe my off-handed manner in comparison to him called his attention to my name-he said that he knew one of my sisters and that thanks to her he had seem many of my drawings. "You are already an artist. What modesty you showed by coming to practice here." He asked me to paint his portrait, something I did in just a few minutes before what was to me a strange admiration on his part. "You have maturity. Continue on without fear." The gentleman was the poet and critic Josep María Junoy.[328]

Josep Junoy was clearly moved. The critic himself recalled the story a little later in that same year in one paragraph of an issue of the Barcelona cultural magazine *Destino* that dealt with the city's contemporary art scene. It would be the first time Tàpies's work had been introduced to the public.

> It was in a room of a studio of the Academia Valls that Tàpies completed the portrait, surrounded by some plaster (copies) that reproduced the figure of "Pensievoro" from the tomb of Lorenzo Medici, a rosary of Saint Teresa of Bernini, a hand that reminded me of my own hand- sick, sore, yeria-hardened, trembling- of a few months back. The young artist had riveted his eyes, full of curiosity and warmth, to my stare. This novel artist, I guessed, had picked up on what was essential in fatigue, in hope of a gaze totally present and totally absent.[329]

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[327] Antoni Tàpies, *La práctica del arte* (Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, 1970, 18.

[328] Tàpies, *Memoria Personal: fragmentos para un autobiografía* (Barcelona: Fundació Antoni Tàpies, 2010),
167. "Tal vez le llamó la atención mi manera desenvuelta- en comparación de ello- mi nombre, dijo que conocía a una de mis hermas y que gracias a ella había visto ya muchos de mis dibujos, "Usted es ya un artista. "¡Qué modestia venir a practicar aquí!" me pidió que le retrata, cosa que hice en pocos minutos ante lo que para mí era una extraña admiración. Usted tiene madera. Siga adelante sin miedo." Era lo que quedaba del viejo poeta y crítico de arte Josep María Junoy."

[329] From the collection of newspaper critical reviews of Tàpies's work in the library of the Fundació Antoni Tàpies (BFAT) Josep María Junoy, "Historia de unos retratos," *Destino* Año. X, No. 460 (11/5/46), 15. *Destino* can also be found online through the website of the Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya at http://www.bnc.cat/digital/destino/. " Fue en una sala de estudio de la Academia Valls que ejecutó Tàpies

The role of the journalist cannot be underestimated in twentieth century art and in Barcelona. Where modern art figures had acquired such international prestige, and where techniques change rapidly, the art reporter became essential in keeping the public informed. The advocacy by a journalist of the work of a young artist such as Tàpies could be a huge asset in breaking into the wider world of the gallery, and in Barcelona that tradition of display was deep. Junoy was just such an advocate for the young artist. When Tàpies's grandfather Francesc died in 1946, the critic would write a eulogy for the periodical *Solidaridad Nacional* accompanied by the artist's own portrait of the former bookstore owner.[330] This type of advocacy was indispensable for a young artist and it would be an advocacy that Junoy continued until his death in 1955.

In early 1947, critic Sebastià Gasch, again from *Destino* lauded the work of the artist that "this season will be displayed in one of our galleries." There is no mention of a gallery, but there is the presumption that his work would soon be on display. Here the critic pays particular attention to the artist's technique:

> Tàpies knows all of the resources of the line, its virtues-constructive, expressive, descriptive- and in his drawings the strength of the contours, the architecture of the composition go from his hand with that kind of spiritual splendor that has to exist in all art that is worthy of such. Antoni Tàpies knows how to shine spirit intensely on the material at hand.[331]

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este retrato rodeado de unos yesos que reproducían la figura del 'Pensievoro' , de la tumba de Lorenzo Médici, un rosario de la Santa Teresa de Berini, una mano que me recordaba mi mano enferma, dolorida, yeria-endurecida, temblorosa- de algunos meses atrás. El joven artista tenía clavados en mí fijamente sus ojos llenos de curiosidad y de afecto. Recogió / adivino/ este dibujante novel lo esencial de la fatiga, de la esperanza de una mirada todo presencia, todo ausencia."

[330] BFAT, Josep María Junoy, *Solidaridad Nacional*, 1946.

[331] BFAT, Sebastià Gasch*, Destino*, Año. XI, No. 506, 29/3/(1947), 12. "Tápies conoce todos los recursos de la línea, sus virtudes constructivas, expresivas, descriptivas, y en sus dibujos la contundencia de los contornos, la arquitectura de la composición van de la mano con aquella especie de resplandor espiritual, que ha de existir en toda obra de arte que se precie de tal. Antonio Tápies sabe hacer brillar intensamente el espíritu en la materia proporcionada."

To Gasch there are two types of drawings, one that uses lines to create "a plastic entity and one which wants to register a visual emotion". The drawings of Tàpies do something else, the critic suggests. The author says the drawings of Tápies "strive to marry the two mediums of expression," creating something that is neither "absolute plasticism or uncontrolled expressionism." [332]

This type of thoughtful and precise criticism was indicative of Barcelona critics of the day who threw themselves into publicity for artists, helping to spread the word in an art scene still recovering from collapse after the war and its ensuing period of political and cultural repression. The presentation of new art in Barcelona of the early twentieth century was a genuine cultural "happening." The nature of the art criticism at the time, of the very focus on artistic expression, presented a reprieve from the day to day struggle to survive at this period. Galleries had begun to reopen as of the beginning of the decade, and the need to find and promote new art and new artists was central to their growth.

However, there is an important distinction here to be made between the regime's attitude toward the plastic arts and the regime's attitude toward literature that we saw in the story of Jesús López Pacheco. Francoism censorship, focusing as it did on the written word, did not affect the production of the plastic arts in the same way as it did literature. This did not mean that the content of critical writing would not be scrutinized in Barcelona where Tàpies' work was first reviewed. But, critical evaluations of painting-the message of the critic-tended not to delve into politics or sensitive issues of Catalonian

[332] *Ibid*. "...una entidad plástica y el que quiere registrar una emoción visual,"

autonomy. So, although periodicals were carefully controlled by the regime, the substance of the critical writing on art was no different in content than much of the criticism on art in foreign press. There was little in the criticism of his art, nor in the criticism of the art of his contemporaries, that would send up "red flags" for the regime.[333]

This attention on art, much of it made up of short reviews or announcements of gallery openings, would inhabit small corners of the daily newspapers in Barcelona every week. Those "small corners" would begin to add up and would benefit Antoni Tàpies considerably in the early stage of his career. Junoy again mentioned Tàpies's work in *El Correo Catalán* in October of 1948 regarding an exhibition at the *Salon de Octubre*, and in 1949 there was a spread in the magazine *Estilo* that spoke of the Salón again and the participation of Catalan sculptor Ángel Ferrant. The other main attractions were Tàpies and his cousin painter Modesto Cuixart. Critic and writer Yago Cesar, in *El noticiero universal,* extoled an example of the young artist's work that again at the *Salón de Octubre*. He wrote that the work demonstrated "his decorative filigree" and his "very successful and attractive composition." [334]

What such notices did do for Antoni Tàpies was to begin the job of establishing the artist's reputation, and the interest in him by others would help speed up his involvement in the local scene. Still, at least in these earliest days, he was often occupied

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[333] These observations are based on three months perusal of the reservoir of Barcelona, Madrid, and foreign critical press held by the Fundació Antoni Tàpies that date from the earliest reviews on the artist up until the end of his life.

[334] José María Junoy, *El Correo Catalán* (October 10, 1948); *Estilo* (October, 1949), 13; Yago Cesar, "Crónica de Arte," *El noticiero universal* (October, 1949) "Tápies con una filigrana de su decorativa, bien lograda y atrayente de composición."

with portraiture for his father's friends and clients. One of his biographers, Youssef Ishaghpour notes how Tàpies "showed a talent for drawing and 'descriptive art' comparable with that of the greatest portrait artists, yet he did not consider the portraits of the bourgeoisie of Barcelona that he painted, done to provide for the needs of his friends and family, to be works of art." [335] Whether he considered this type of work tedious, his own autobiography does not directly speak to his feelings on the subject.

What is apparent is that Tàpies, early on, had come to a definition of realism that would constantly reference his confrontations with the human face in his work. The starkness of his own self-portraits, in part accomplished by spending long hours in his bedroom in the sanatorium viewing his expression in a mirror, are a distinctly different sense of reality than would seem to fit in the growing trend of social realism in literature, such as that in the 1950s of the Spanish social realists. But, he understood the artists' role in much the same way. "I don't believe," he said, "it's correct to think that the artist anticipates (reality); all of the world carries the possibility of the knowledge of reality in itself, and the artist does nothing more than help to awaken it in those in whom it has slept.[336]

As he grew in his artistic voice, he believed in the need to demonstrate the desperation of the times through an art of the "real." This would be an art of the materials

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[335] Youssef Ishaghpour, *Antoni Tàpies: Works, Writings, Interviews* (Barcelona: Ediciones Polígrafa, 2006), 17.

[336] Franscec Vicens, *Arte abstracto y arte figurativo* (Barcelona: Salvat Editores, S.A., 1973, 9. "No creo acertado pensar que el artista se 'anticipa'; la posibilidad del conocimiento de la realidad la lleva todo el mundo en sí, y el artista no hace más que ayudar a despertarla en todos los que la tienen dormida." This is Tàpies speaking in an interview that Vicens uses interwoven with his own discussion of the history of figurative and abstract art in the twentieth century.

that would represent reality in a completely different way than did the literature of Social Realism. When you read Jesús López-Pacheco's description of his own work, there is a strong parallel, in fact, to what Tàpies achieves, although through very different approaches. Painting, Tàpies said, "Should not be a depiction of things but an object in its own right, an object of power," a "thing of presence." [337] The work of art becomes a talisman, an actual spiritual object. One can even sense a concept here that falls under the heading of iconography.

In late 1948, Tàpies's association with *Dau al Set* (literally dice at seven, or the roll of seven) a self-published journal created in by and for Catalan artists and writers, represented, in artistic terms, a growing use of surrealism and a distinct departure away from the purely figurative. In political terms, the magazine represented a nascent statement of protest. The short-lived journal, which included poetry, drawings, and essays in Catalan, became part of a growing underground of Barcelona expression that would bring together Catalan writers and artists, who themselves would become influential in their own right over the next twenty years.

Writers Joan Brossa, Arnau Puig, and painters Modest Cuixart, Tàpies's cousin, and Joan Ponc contributed material over the two year span of the publication. The magazine was not widely disseminated, but it was widely known within the artists' circle. It still attracted enough attention from the regime, however, that an exhibition of work from the magazine in 1952 was shut down because certain content was deemed offensive. Tàpies himself points to attacks by elements of the SEU (Sindicato Español

[337] *Ibid.,* 17.

Universitario), the obligatory Francoist student organization, at his first exhibition in 1948 at the Salon de Octubre, because some of his imaginary portrayed clerics and military figures.[338] And yet, Tàpies's presentation at the *Dau al Set* exhibition had also attracted the attention of foreign press and was indirectly responsible for photos of his paintings being published outside of Spain for the first time in Vogue Magazine. [339] The Francoist cultural dyke had some holes and artists were more than willing to take advantage of them.

Tàpies contributions to the magazine in the late 1940s represent a transformation from his figurative self-portraits into Surrealism, a transformation that would bring him to the doorstep of abstract painting within a period of five years. What had been a fascination in his childhood with the issue of D'Icí i D'Allá, were, by the early 1950s, becoming ties to the European avant-garde, to artists such as Miró and Picasso that he would consider his mentors. Surrealism itself, with its emphasis on the sub-conscious and on improvisation, was a direct epistemological confrontation with the Franco cultural project of National Catholicism.

1946 - 1953: From Portrait to Surrealism

This emphasis on the spontaneous was in contrast to Tàpies' methodical self-portrait investigations and in a sense freed him to explore his own voice beyond his obvious graphic talents. The Surrealist movement in Europe of post-World War I had viewed the Freudian world of dreams as a freeing agent from the stultifying bourgeois

[338] Tàpies, *A Personal Memoir*, 203.
[339] Tàpies, *A Personal Memoir*, 203.

culture of the 1920s. But during Francoism in Spain, the influence of Surrealism in the plastic arts carried, if anything, greater weight. And in a twist, this was the opposite side of the coin from the mission of Social Realism that attempted to portray a Spanish reality hidden by state controlled press. Instead, Surrealism could be a vehicle for portraying the "unreality," the warped reality of the time.

Although by nature an insular person, a trait probably enforced by his battle with tuberculosis, the artist could not help but recognize the real events that surrounded him in Barcelona. Antoni Tàpies lived in the arbitrary, the "surreal world" of Francoist cultural paradigms. Much in the way Jesús López Pacheco found direction in his art, Tàpies had to confront how he viewed his surrounding reality, how he engaged it, and what tools he would bring to express it. His early surrealist works, including drawings such as those for *Dau al Set*, evolved into a body of work that offered some brilliant examples of his graphic abilities and exemplified the technique discussed by Gasch. Now, however, he was beyond the merely figurative into an exploration into the "unreal" that would, within a matter of two or three years, change his artistic language forever.

Influenced tremendously in the late 1940s by Joan Miró, who met and encouraged the young artist, and affected deeply by the literature of his friend, Catalan writer and poet Joan Brossa, Tàpies found that Surrealism offered him a way past his initial self-portraits into a more abstract, yet still graphic set of works. Miró was a hero to young Catalan artists not only because of the integrity of his work, but because he had made clear, as was true of Picasso, his political leanings to the world outside of Spain even in the early 1940s during the worst violence of the repression. Both artists' large

international profiles at a time when a Europe recovering from World II had distanced itself from Spain's recent association with support for Germany, helped to inoculate Picasso and Miró from the regime's criticism and placed them and their art beyond the regimes grasp. In Picasso's case his disavowal came from the safe distance of Paris, although he remained a vocal opponent in the press. But Miró an unapologetic supporter of the Republic during the war, because he maintained a presence in Spain and by his mere presence in Spain was an icon to younger artists.

One of his earliest paintings of Surrealism, *Zoom* (1946), which hangs periodically in the Fundació de Antoni Tàpies in Barcelona, has a combination of surreal portraiture, a face floating upside down, an incarnation of the sun resting in the air on two large handprints, set over a pastoral hillside that is lined with deep grooves in the oil carved by the tail end of a brush that radiate from the face. Though the subject matter is surreal, the technique is impressionistic and the texture, as in much late nineteenth century French art is in the forefront. At the same time, this use of texture becomes instrumental in his move in the early 50s toward greater abstraction.[340]

Surrealism, then, was a way-station in Tàpies' development, important because it bridge the gap between his figurative and the purely abstract, but, nevertheless, for Tàpies, it was not an end. He was a "realist" in his process and his process was his expression. His decision to move toward abstraction spelled a new commitment to confront this reality head-on.

From his youth, the artist had always had a sense of texture, even when he was

[340] Appendix B, Figure 2, *Zoom* (1946), pg. 373.

using pencil on paper. The surface he touch and the materials he used, especially his earliest work with oil and his early explorations into surrealism, always had a physical property about them that cannot be analyzed merely by subject matter. His turn in the early 1950s to a language of abstraction, then, significantly different from his previous work also lay in his understanding of the term and its history. For Tápies the discovery in the late nineteenth century of the cave paintings of Altamira in Northern Spain carried the germ of a thought and concept of abstraction that had less of a progressive meaning artistically than one might assume from his concept of maintaining a "progressive art." [341] In fact, the idea of abstraction was, to him, a reality, a necessity born out of the times and that, in fact, had been a part of human development from the beginning. He would arrive at a place where his art was not a reflection of realism, but realism itself.

It also is important to remember that, by the late 1940s, Antoni Tápies already represented a long tradition in European art the tradition of the avantgarde. When the avantgarde began at the beginning of the twentieth century, the occurrence of which Ortega y Gasset labeled a "dehumanization of art," academia in Europe had its own movement: a retrenchment that promoted figurative art as the bulwark against this

[341] The confusion over what was "European" or French Informalism and what was abstract is more than a matter of semantics. For the purposes of this chapter, my preference is to use the term abstract or abstract expressionism in reference to the Spanish artists of this period. The decision to forego the use of the academic term Informalism or its French origin *Art Informal*, is that the overriding creative impulse in the West in this period is the abstract expressionism of the New York school and the idea of a Spanish avant-garde that is strictly a model on the French model of the American school seems unnecessary and counter-productive. The art and the influences on Spanish art of this period, and the Catalan artists in particular were not derivative of the post-World War II French. If anything it is the other way around. At any rate, because of their own isolation during the Spanish Civil War and the early years of the Franco repression, the production of their art took on an essential quality that is too congealed to drop into some other framework. That quality is a combination of the older avant-garde of these artists' primary inspirations, Picasso and Miró, and their own "abstraction" of the American movement as the 40s progressed.

apparent lunacy of "isms." In fact, as early as the nineteenth century, Charles Millard wrote, "Academicians could only fly from life into the artistic programs of the seventeenth century which they were committed to support." [342] Even with the importance of Futurism, Dadaism, Cubism, and Surrealism, European academia, in the early twentieth century, remained conservative.

For one who was keenly aware of the influences he was absorbing, such recalcitrance on the part of academia mattered little to Tàpies. What mattered most was that new ideas needed to be utilized, ideas essential to the time in which he lived. Walter Benjamin approaches this concept globally in the history of art, but one can narrow it as well, to the microcosm of the individual artist's search.

> The history of every art form shows critical epochs in which a certain art form aspires to effects which could be fully obtained only with a changed technical standard, that is to say, in a new art form.[343]

The "critical epoch" for modern art in Europe was the turn of the century between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when the beginnings of what Benjamin called the technologies of the "Mechanical Age" were altering how and where humans saw images. The nineteenth century had brought into focus a reexamination of reality in art for European artists. Art historian Klaus Berg, focusing on the phenomenon of the influence of mid- nineteenth century Japanese painting on European artists, asserts that the influence of Japanese painters was not merely on a few European impressionists, but on a

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[342] Charles W. Millard, "Dada, Surrealism and the Academy of the Avant-Garde," The Hudson Review (Spring, 1969), 22: 1: 114.
[343] Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction, trans. by Harry Zohn (New York: Schoken Books, 1969), 237.

whole way of seeing. This awakening on the part of European artists, coined "Japonisme· by French critics, became a major well spring for the European avant-garde of the twentieth century. The appearance in Europe of the paintings of Katsushika Hokusai (1760 - 1845), in particular, elicited rave reviews in Paris in the 1880s. The artist's woodblock prints, featured in exhibitions throughout Europe and America, became part of this new way of seeing. Hokusai's vision of a suggested reality through an electric palette of color and motion were a revelation to many European artists. The phasing of his colors could be seen in the work of impressionists from Gaugin to Van Gogh, while the unreality or super-reality of his images suggested later surrealist excursions into dreams.

Antoni Tàpies was keenly aware of that history and of the Eurocentrist art history that permeated much of academia in Europe during the nineteenth and much of the twentieth century. He write that "It is almost unimaginable today, as Malraux puts it, to think that in the days of Baudelaire, for example, the most valid ancient sculpture was still Donatello's. That ignorance of the cultural contributions of Asia, Africa, Oceania, and pre-Columbian America was ludicrous." [344] The study by Tàpies of this phenomenon in his own development is noted in his autobiography and is cataloged in the copious library at the Fundació Antoni Tàpies in Barcelona.

There were, no doubt, profound influences on European art from technology as well, and photography most of all necessitated that European artists reevaluate ways of

[344] Tàpies, *A Personal Memoir*, 264. The Fundació Antoni Tàpies was inaugurated on June 5, 1990. The library is beyond merely a collection the painter's own writing, but amounts to one of the great collections of literature on modern art in Europe.

seeing that had left artists not merely struggling for new techniques, but questioning the very act of seeing itself and what the mind is capable of imagining. What were artists truly sensing of the real world around them? Were these images mirages or dreams? This struggle with an image of reality is, then, the pinnacle of modern questioning of representative art in the West and leads directly to the work of Antoni Tàpies and other artists for whom an abstraction became part of their natural artistic voice.

How does the artist, however, confront his or her own time in the middle of a political, social, and economic reality that puts enormous pressures on daily life such as that of the years in Spain between the end of the Spanish Civil War and the early decades of the Franco regime. Is there a role for the socially aware artist that goes past political dissidence? Tàpies believed so.

> An artist can denounce the injustices of his time and have solidarity with those who battle against them. And he can do it not only with words, but also from the interior of his work. But he cannot remain there, limiting himself to being a loyal notary of the reality of an epoch. He has to go much further. He should be in dialog with reality that is at the same time blended with what is upcoming. In fact, art usually is the first signal that a new reality is approaching to modify, with its presence, that which until then we imagine as "definitive and stable". [345]

Being a "notary of the reality of an epoch" was to the authors of Social Realism in Spain, such as López Pacheco or Juan Goytisolo, precisely what was important for artistic expression to achieve during the Franco regime, if only because of the total lack

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[345] José-Miguel Ullán, *Tàpies, ostinato* (Madrid: Ave del Paraíso, 2000), 13. "Un artista puede denunciar las injusticias de su tiempo y solidarizarse con quienes luchan contra ellas. Y puede hacerlo no solo de palabra, sino también desde el interior de su obra. Pero no puede quedarse ahí, limitándose a ser notario fiel de la realidad de una época. Ha de ir mucho más lejos. Tiene el deber de dialogar con la realidad que ya se esfumó y, a la vez, con la venidera. De hecho, el arte suele ser la primera señal de que una nueva realidad se acerca para, con su presencia, modificar aquello que hasta entonces imaginábamos definitivo, estable."

of an open appraisal of society. But reading López Pacheco's poetry and the poetry of his prose demonstrates that, even for these writers, a "dialog" with reality that involved more than just reporting was essential. So, even while there is a need to be a part of the stream of thought of the artist's own time, it is invariably a constant and personal problem-solving mission to create, and recreate again, one's artistic voice. For Tàpies, there was an aspect of this dialog that became crucial for his development. This more than any characteristic of Tàpies was a touchstone of his thought and his practice and no more so than in his confrontation with figurative art. Even the remains of his figurative art that he ran through the cheese cloth of Surrealism and its deeply personal psychological milieu, could not satisfy his urge to question his approach.

The *Bienal Hispanoamericana de Arte, 1951 - 1952* (Biennial Hispano-American Exhibition of Art) in Madrid, an exhibition with political ramifications we will examine in more detail in the next chapter, was Tàpies's introduction to the broader Spanish public, as well as the international world of art. Press reaction was varied in Madrid at first. *Arriba,* a spokes voice for the Falange and the *Movimiento* in general, and a newspaper that prided itself as a cultural voice of the New Spain, was mystified by the abstract work from the Catalan artist. Of the nine images presented in the newspaper's pages of the work at the Madrid exhibition, only one was associated with the Spanish avant-garde, a single photo of the Tápies painting, *Paisatge* (1951). All of the others were recognizable as conservative, figurative art by contemporary Spanish artists. The work showed many of the surrealist influences that Tàpies had been working with over the previous three or four years, including the geometric and perspective elements he was

familiar with from studying Paul Klee's work. The paper took care to caption each image with an artist's name with the exception of Tapies's work. The photo of his painting merely carried the caption "Abstract painting of the Catalan school" (Pintura abstacta de la escuela catalana). [346]

Such dismissiveness was not, however, the general approach to Tàpies's work in Madrid nor Barcelona, although often the general distaste for the avant-garde was apparent. None other than Radio National de España in Barcelona carried a glowing commentary about his work within a few months of the *Bienal*. Despite the decadence and "*crisis espiritual*" that much of the new abstract art seemed to suggest, the critic was convinced of the worth of Tàpies's work.

> Within this revulsion we have toward art that is inspired by the subconscious or hallucination, we have to show respect to the artist, because in this case he merits it. Antonio Tàpies is not just some phony anyone from the avant-garde, but rather a convincing artist of magical painting. (He) is a distinct painter, because he has created his own world of representation: a world formed from cosmic fragments, of fluorescent objects, of monstrous visions. It is not a real world, nor is it a sane world. In it is placed a foreboding sensation where nightmare is life. But his visual torture defines a sensitivity and characterizes an artist.[347]

Likewise, there was this unattributed piece under the heading "El Mundo de las Artes" in *El noticiero universal* published in Barcelona a within two months of the Biennial.

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[346] "9 Notas Graficas de la Bienal", *Arriba* (Madrid), October 18, 1951.

[347] BFAT, from a transcript of a RNE radio broadcast. "Dentro de esta repulsión que sentimos hacia el arte que se inspira en el subconsciente o en la alucinación, hemos de proceder con un respeto hace el artista, porque en este caso lo merece. Antoni Tàpies no es un farsante cualquiera del vanguardismo, sino un convencido de la pintura mágica.... (él) es un pintor inconfundible, porque ha creado su propio mundo de representaciones: un mundo formado de fragmentos cósmicos, de objetos fosforescentes, de visiones monstruosas. No es un mundo real, ni es un mundo sano. En el se antepone el presentimiento a la sensación, la pesadilla es la vida. Pero sus torturas visuales definen una sensibilidad y caracterizan un artista."

> One cannot treat disrespectfully Antoni Tàpies, who is exhibiting these days at the Galerías Layetanas, as another of the boys that are dedicating themselves to extravagant painting. We can agree or not with his tendencies and over all with his themes, but we cannot deny that in his work is present an authentic personality of an artist, which is the most defined and forceful among those that in these times have launched themselves down the confused and dangerous paths of dehumanized art.[348]

What should be noted here is the critic's use of "arte deshumanizado," a common conservative critique of modern art articulated most famously by Spanish philosopher, José Ortega y Gasset in his 1923 essay. The fact that the critic sees as "dangerous" the presentations of some artists in the post-war Spanish avant-garde is emblematic of a reflection of a schizophrenia on the part of conservatives themselves. On the one hand, the denigration of the avant-garde as "decadent art" had lines of influence going back to Nazi propaganda during the late 1930s, when Nazi propaganda and Nazi influences abounded in conservative social circles and the early regime itself. On the other, the persistence and production of avant-garde art continuing unabated by established artists such as Picasso and Miró, and younger voices, such as Tàpies, could not be denied by many critics, who had begun to sense this old line of objection was outdated. The Bienal itself was a result of this schizophrenia and we will see how the regime's own ambiguity would result in an opening for new Spanish art and artist's not only in Spain, but abroad.

By 1952, Tàpies' name was appearing with increasing regularity in Barcelona

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[348] BFAT, "EL Mundo del Arte," *El Noticiero Universal* (May 8, 1952), 2. "Al pintor Tàpies, que expone estos días en las Galerías Layetanas, no se le puedo tratar despectivamente, como a cualquier otro de los muchachos que se dedican a la pintura extravagante. Estaremos conformes o no con su tendencia y sobre todo con su temática, pero no podremos negar que en su obra está presente una autentica personalidad de artista, la más definida y fuerte entre todos los que en estos años se han lanzado por los caminos confusos y peligrosos del arte deshumanizado".

dailies. There was an apparent acceptance on the part of art journalists in Barcelona that the young artist was to be reckoned with even if there was not a total acceptance of the directions he chose for himself. One unattributed article is an example of this type of criticism, intended, it seems, to encourage the artist and readily admit the author's familiarity with Tàpies's work.

> This young artist whose trajectory we have followed since 1948, when he exhibited for the first time, is found still far from having a definitive place in Art or a complete dominance over his means of expression. But, nevertheless, there is an impulse in his work that sets him apart from all local tradition and adopts a heroic aptitude of the universalization of our painting.[349]

The views expressed here in *La Semana* and by other critics that offered similar observations regarding the young artist, his talent, and his not-quite-matured artistic voice seem to have been shared by Tàpies, as well. He was beginning to challenge himself to gain a foothold on his processes.[350]

The first years of the 1950s, then, were crucial for Tàpies in his artistic direction and in the ability to project that direction to a public. Those years were also crucial in developing his personal political beliefs that would forever affect his attitude on art's

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[349] BFAT, "Los Artistas Exponen: Tàpies en Galerías Layetanas," *La Semana Barcelona*, 1:12 (May 16, 1952), 15. "Este joven artista cuya trayectoria desde 1948, en que expuso por primera vez, hemos seguido con vivo interés, se halla definitiva postura en Arte, como también de un domino completo de los medios expresivos. Pero sin embargo hay un ímpetus en su obra que le deslinda de toda tradición local y adopta una heroica aptitud en aras de la universalización de nuestra pintura".

[350] A. Del Castilla, *Diario de Barcelona* (May9, 1952), 4. This is the day after the piece in *El Noticiero Universal.* Again there is the pause about certain aspects or an aspect of Tàpies's work with virtually the same introduction and many of, in fact precisely, the same terms and same ideas. In Del Castillo's article it is "the young artist whose trajectory we have come to follow with interest since his appearance in 1948". In the unattributed article from May 19 in *La Semana* it is "this young artist whose trajectory since 1948, in which he exhibited for the first time, we have followed with lively interest…" and then both go to describe Tápies as not fully having a grasp of his style, but of having demonstrated fully he is "*un artísta*".

place in society. He had traveled to Paris in 1950 on a scholarship from the *Institut Français* in Barcelona. For the first time, free of Francoist censorship, he had access to works by Marxist writers in Spanish by French and Soviet publishers. In particular, he found appealing works that corresponded to his own growing sense of his role as an artist in society, such as that found in the work of pre-Russian Revolution writer, Georges Plekhanov. Plekhanov, one of the first Russian intellectuals in late the nineteenth century to have studied and digested Marxism, was also one of the first to examine the role of art in human society. Plekhanov's appeal for Tàpies was that the Russian did not paint a black and white picture of artistic expression. For Plekhanov, the so-called dialectic between "art for art sake" and "art for the sake of society" created a false choice for the artist. Using examples from Baudelaire and Pushkin, Plekhanov drew a connection between the two views of art that was illuminated by the artist's time and situation. There was no doubt that many artists and writers came from bourgeois backgrounds, but that it was equally true that, depending on their era, they did not adhere to strictly bourgeois interests. An artist's creation had to move in its own orbit, but at the same time would, in fact, always amplify and reflect the era.

> When the bourgeoisie assumed the predominant position in society, and when its life was no longer warmed by the fire of the struggle for liberty, nothing was left for the new art but to *idealize negation of the bourgeois mode of life*. Romantic art was indeed such an idealization. The romanticists strove to express their negation of bourgeois "moderation and conformity" not only in their artistic works, but even in their own external appearance.[351]

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[351] Georgiĭ Valentinovich Plekhanov, *Unaddressed Letters: Art and Social Life* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1957), 159.

This would become the answer Tàpies sought to any formalism that ran counter to his imagination and that placed him in clear opposition to then contemporary Soviet literature on social art.

> These types of manuals, clearly Stalinist, presented in the most naïve way the notorious Manichaeism between materialism (dialectical of course) and what was held as reactionary idealism…I do not need to insist on the misunderstandings and confusions there types of concessions lead to. In any case, from the very first, I thought one had to respect pamphlet or proletarian art as it could make sense in many cases. What was unacceptable was to force all artists to work along this lines. [352]

By the early 1950s, his *Sèrie Història Natural* of 1950-51 showed the result of this contemplation and questioning of formula, but still Marxist and humanist. It is a dialectical trip through human development under a Surrealist umbrella. [353] It is a complex work that shows a sequence of images of degradation followed by emancipation leading through to the then recently concluded period of post-Fascism, post-World War II. But this engagement with a historical dialectic has both a hopeful and somber message that seems rather than a progression through history, to be a re-playing, at different levels, of the same human conditions.

What Tàpies found in Paris was what so many before him had found in the twentieth century and what Antonio José, at roughly the same age, could only afford to taste briefly in his lifetime. At twenty-seven, Antoni Tàpies was seeking to broaden his horizons by mixing in the cultural milieu of the city that still, after World War II, held out the opportunity to meet a huge cross section of European artists. In that regard he

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[352] Tàpies, *A Personal Memoir*, 242, n.2.
[353] See Appendix B, Figure 3, *Feixisme* from Sèrie Història Natural, pg. 374.

succeeded. His connections to Paris would not, however, be the galvanizing experience that projected his art beyond the borders of Spain. In Paris there was interest in his work, but the arc of the pendulum of art reached west across the Atlantic, and by the early 1950s, it ended up in New York. It would be there, where in the next several years as he faced the most challenging questions about his artistic processes, that a true global confirmation of his direction becomes apparent.

The Turn to His Material World

The year 1953, for Tàpies, would involve a total revolution of style and meaning in the artist's life and it would also bring his work to New York. The painter's continued direct and implied reference to the "wall" and what might be called in his life the material turn, became apparent in his work. *El foc interior* (The Inner Fire) from 1953 was what one could call a major transitional work for Tàpies, as it incorporates some of the physical properties that would become even more present in later works. Here was a highly texturized canvas that eschewed figurative emphasis, yet still demonstrated motion and a sense of literal imagery of fire that crossed both surreal and abstract realms. It was the material of the painting that also mattered, because, in this painting, Tàpies employed the use of marble dust as an agent that underpinned the imagery and gave the work its rustic and three-dimensional feel. This combination of effects was essential for his understanding that the "universe and humanity as a whole are made out the same elements. For this reason I wanted them to appear in all their deceitful polyvalence." [354] His use of "valences" in his description is more poetry than chemistry, but the allusion to

[354] *Ibid.,* 271.

those particles of matter that makes up the universe working together to form an organic unity is apt.

El foc interior, as would be true of much of his work over the next several years, was a result of deep, introspective study. A perfect example of where the direction he was headed can be viewed in *Grey and Black Cross* from 1955 at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Los Angeles. [355] If one places images of these two works side by side, the commonalities, but even more the break between them, are apparent. While *E foc interior* suggests texture and movement, *Grey and Black Cross* is almost pure texture. The use of marble dust to build his texture creates a painting in relief. The image of a solitary cross, represents both his own signature (the cross as the initial "T") and a non-descript human signature. But, of course, the cross carries much more meaning in Western symbology, and in this case it is part of the message itself - the overlaying of one reality on another. Two years later, in 1957, Tàpies's showing in New York at the Martha Jackson Gallery, where he had had a presence since October of 1953, was noted by New York Times critic, Stuart Preston, in an article on several exhibitions of graphic and oil works. The critic had noted, a few years earlier, a change in direction by the painter, but this would be the most detailed analysis yet in America.

> The young Spanish painter Antonio Tàpies (sic)…is a nonobjectivist of the most uncompromising persuasion. His canvases, somber in color and spacious in unpremeditated design, are adorned with sand, layers of pitted plaster, and, in one case, pigment writhings in the Pollock manner. In the most precise sense, this art is "informal" abstraction, exercising its power on the spectator's ability to respond to shapes and textures that are prompted from deep within the artist's sensibility rather than being more

[355] See Appendix B, no 4, *Grey and Black Cross* (1955), pg. 375.

consciously determine.[356]

What Preston describes is not only a recognition of Tàpies's confrontation with a unique concept of reality, both abstracted from the essence of a wall and literally a wall itself; he is also describing the nature of Tàpies communication to the viewer. Its "power" lay in the ability of the viewer to respond and in this critic's sense, and as was true of others in Barcelona, it was becoming worth the effort to contemplate the artist's purpose.

This type of image that becomes so much a part of Tàpies's creative voice over the rest of his life is embedded in a dialog with the viewer about reality. The material itself is the reality, or better said, his technique was to utilize material, that became, in the McLunesque sense, his message. The combination of a sculptor's tools with the mixture of marble dust and adhesive form the basis of a new meditation that would revolutionize his approach and the meaning of abstraction, a term with which he never found himself comfortable.

The conceptual meaning of a wall and the human face as a wall are closely associated now with the work of Tàpies. From his earliest self-portraiture, the face was, to him, both a door and a barrier. The fact that his surname in Catalan and Spanish both carry the connotation of a "wall" was not incidental, of course. Tàpies' interest in change in art may have been enough for him to realize that a deeper introspection into the

[356] BFAT, Stuart Preston, "Art: Prints by Shahn: Graphic Works Assembled for Show," (May 2, 1957), 4.

meaning of a wall could offer him an answer to a growing tension he felt in his artistic life. That tension revolved again around his artistic voice. To get to what would be his most stark confrontation with realism in art, he needed to exercise, as he would say years later:

> ...the elimination of all that was documentary or descriptive naturalism, the kind of thing postulated by many Social Realists, because photography and cinema take care of that. I also avoided, evidently, that 'false abstraction'...that consisted in producing naturalism but in a stylized way, or else disguising naturalism to give it an abstract appearance to make it look "modern." [357]

What this "elimination" then implied was any further move into Surrealism would be gone. But, in fact, he assured a direct confrontation with reality on a whole other level. And, here is the heart of the painter's realization and revelation that would change, is artistic voice forever, and I think, it should be quoted at length.

> One had to go farther in the experimentation of purely pictorial visual perception, and one had to let go of the idea of a code. One had to jump into the void, if only to make evident that one was searching. I also understood that the possibilities of forms and colors are infinite when one abandons what is understood as geometricism and enters the unfathomable world of the organic, of stains, of what one could term the amorphous, ambiguous, of the pure expressionism of gesture, of calligraphy, as I learned from Chinese and Japanese painting. Furthermore, I began to realize that in that new language the possibilities of a third element had not been yet explored, or sufficiently explored: *texture*, which could bring about an expressive bluntness. I remember having conceived-and made-paintings in which I wanted to allude to the presence, for example of a reptile, and I did so without tracing its shape, simply giving my texture a scaly look. Or suggest the sensation of age by surfaces of wrinkled skin. Or that of destruction with chippings and torn coats of material. [358]

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[357] *Ibid.*, *A Personal Memoir*, 269.
[358] *Ibid*., 270. (the italics are mine)

This was not only an insistence that he was determined to challenge ideas that pinned reality down to a narrow frame of standard human figurative symbols, but that even the enhancing or resignification of those symbols with some psychological formula, such as presented by Surrealism, was not sufficient for him. It was the very materials themselves and their texture that would confront the viewer head-on. The "skin" of the paintings would stand out in relief, the stucco, the wire mesh, even the dimensions of a wall.

Figurative versus Abstract: The Critique of *Deshumanización del arte*

Here, it might be helpful to examine José Ortega y Gasset's *La deshumanización del arte* and Tàpies' own view of abstract art and reality. Ortega wrote this extended essay as a responsive to the world of the European avant-garde in painting, generated at the beginning of the twentieth century. Tàpies, who was familiar with the philosopher's views, disagreed entirely with Ortega's understanding of both reality in art, its history, and the use of abstraction by artists.

This philosophical battle is important, because it is at the core Tàpies' view of the "naturalness" of abstraction in art. In the early part of the last century, as the European avant-garde established itself in the plastic arts, a tension grew between those who suggested that the abandonment of figurative art was either anti-humanist or elitist - depending on one's politics - and those who saw the avant-garde as a process and a reflection of where human development was headed. This tension has played out now for

over hundred years.[359] For Tàpies, moreover, abstract painting was neither new nor fundamentally revolutionary. His essays and interviews on this subject are more than a seminar on figurative versus abstract art; they represent the template through which he organized his artistic voice.

Any artistic voice, whatever the discipline, requires a "manner of seeing", the way an artist visualizes the subject, whether abstract or figurative. This is one of the fundamentals in a revolution that we still live with today in contemporary art. There occurred a sea change in seeing for European visual artists in the late nineteenth century that eventually permeated all artistic expression, no matter the discipline. Theories of this shift are often tied to the dramatic changes in the modern world through technology and how technology, especially the sense of time and space compressed, affected European artists. Tàpies recognized this in his own writing.

Whatever the genesis, for some like José Ortega y Gasset, it was the effects of this shift that concerned them. To Ortega y Gasset, in particular, the shift caused a disconnect between the modern artist and the reception of art on the part of the public. Ortega's writing on Modern Art today, from the perspective of the next century, seems a naïve and thinly veiled attempt to rationalize the discomfiture of the public with, in general, the totality of avant-garde movements in the early twentieth century. Nothing could be more telling of Ortega's assumptions than his suggestion that a concept of what was "real" representation in art was confined to a special parlance of the Romantic era.

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[359] Ironically, arguments against the European avant-garde in the twentieth century were made from both a conservative, traditionalist, view by those who decried the abandonment of the figurative in art and those from the left who belittled the bourgeois roots of avant-garde abstraction as elitist musings.

> In the works of art favored in the last century, there is always a core of lived reality which becomes the substance of the aesthetic body. Art functions over this and its operation is reduced to varnishing this human core, to giving it a gloss, a brilliance, composition, and resonance.[360]

One reason that Tàpies found *La deshumanización del arte* distasteful was because of the assumptions Ortega makes about some "supposed core of lived reality." This idea to Tàpies ran counter to the history of art, to the very understanding of the reoccurrence of abstraction as a tool in art over centuries. To Ortega, there was also a change in reception caused by the avant-garde in the twentieth century, and as a result, the public that felt itself in an inferior position - somehow viewers of modern art were at a disadvantage. Tàpies never says the contemplation of art was a phenomenon of the avant-garde. He believed, as we shall see, it was a requirement of anyone viewing art throughout history.

In the Romantic era, Ortega insisted, such an engagement with a work of art was not a requirement of reception and had thrown modern art in opposition to the public's perception of what art should be. In fact, for Ortega the Romantic era may have been the only one that so clearly presented figurative art in its fullest, most sophisticated form.

> The new art, apparently, is not for the whole world, as was Romantic art, but for an especially blessed minority. Hence, irritation is awaken in the masses. When one does not like a work of art, but has understood it, one feels superior to it and this irritation does not take place. But when the dislike that that work causes is born from what one doesn't understand, a man is humiliated, with a murky awareness of inferiority that he needs to compensate by means of an indignant statement from himself against the

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[360] José Ortega y Gasset, *Misión de la universidad - Kant - La deshumanización del arte* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1936), 139. "En la obra de arte preferida por el último siglo hay siempre un núcleo de realidad vivida, que viene a ser como sustancia del cuerpo estético. Sobre ella opera el arte, y su operación se reduce a pulir ese núcleo humano, a darle barniz, brillo, compostura o reverberación."

work.[361]

The public of the nineteenth century believed it understood and, in fact, could judge works of art, because it could discern the intent of the artist. They believed they "knew" if a work was good. For Ortega, a change in the reception of art occurred at the beginning of the turn of the century, caused by the young modern artist who divested art of recognizable figures that eliminated the understanding of "human" capacities for love and beauty. What was left then was a warped sense of human emotions that the mass of viewers seemed incapable of contemplating.

La deshumanización del arte, read one way, is merely descriptive of that process of reception occurring in European art, as Ortega saw it. Modern art was changing the way people viewed artistic expression, and Ortega was cataloging the phenomenon, attempting to define it on the principles he understood based on his reading of art history. Tàpies was convinced that Ortega's premises were wrong to begin with and not the responsibility of the artist, at any rate. To Antoni Tápies, the Spanish philosopher was, in effect, only telling half the history.

What we call "figurative art" had often been misjudged, as well, and long before the nineteenth century. Diego Velázquez's seventeenth-century masterpiece hanging in the Prado in Madrid, *Las Meninas*, tells a modern viewer to look past the figures. In his 1985 essay *The Value of Art*, Tápies alludes to those qualities that transcend eras and

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[361] José Ortega y Gasset, 122. "El arte nuevo, por lo visto, no es para todl el mundo, como el remántico, sino que va desde luego dirigido a una minorñia especialmente dotada. De aquí la iritación que despierta en la masa. Cuando a uno no le gusta una obra de arte, pero olaha comprendido, se siente superior a ella y no ha lugar a la iritaciñon. Más cuando el disgusto que la obra causa nace de que no se lahaentendido, queda el hombre como humillado, con una oscura concientcia de su inferioridad que necesita compensar mediante la indignada afirmación de sí mismo frente a la obra."

suggests this aspect of reception has never changed. He addresses what it seems Ortega and others could not see in works that so many had judged "realistic." Realism in art to Tàpies was not less or more transparent than it had ever been. What Ortega found confusing was that a viewer always needs to engage with both the figurative and the abstract in art from the perspective of present life.

> …what characterizes the great masterworks is precisely the durable values that transcend their time. There is no doubt that Velázquez has these values. And they become even more apparent when you judge him in the context of this new universal "imaginary museum," larger than anything in history, we have at our disposal today. Therefore it would be nothing strange to say that we can understand Velázquez better after ¨knowing the "splotches" of some Chinese paintings or the generalized texture" of a Pollock. In order to grasp this relationship you must engage in the exercise of seeing Velázquez's brushstrokes directly and very closely. Reproductions will not do, unless they highlight the details to stress his virtues. Then you see clearly how subtle this disquieting artist can be: the way he weaves colors that say so much with so little, a kind of stirring of the void, a field of forces where the ineffable absolute reality is incarnated. And furthermore (using one of J.V. Foix´s expressions) achieving all this by cultivating his own garden from a rather monotonous life. With no spectacular situations and few religious, ideological, or political connections with his time. Curiously this almost "commonality" of the painter's trade and this manipulation of the simple everydayness make many of his works into a continued object of profound observation and a great model for today's artist.[362]

What the painter sees that Ortega did not, was that there has never been a time when great art did not need contemplation, did not require an engagement on the part of the receiver, the reader, the observer. The marvel of the great works of Beethoven, for instance, that Ortega so privileged, were no less a transcendent manipulation of the

[362] Antoni Tàpies, Complete Writing, vol. II, trans. by Josep Miguel Sobrer (Bloomington, In.: Indiana University Press, 2009),600-601

musical brushstrokes available to the composer than the brushstrokes work of Velázquez, or for that matter those of Picasso. And the viewer or the listener must bring along all which is part of his or her present. In other words, those elements not only transcend their reality and require attention, they also require, for viewers of our time, a contemplation based on their experiences. The presumption of Ortega is obvious - modern art, as he viewed it, only permitted this for a select few. On one level, this would seem to fit Ortega's distrust of the masses and one could construe the philosopher as viewing this change as not all that bad. It is, however, the very assumption that Tàpies challenged.

Tàpies not only disparaged this concept of reception and reality as proposed by Ortega; he condemned it to a purgatory of perpetual blindness. There was something more at hand in this discussion for Tàpies that profoundly bothered him. The philosopher, to Tàpies, had made an astoundingly ignorant presumption. "Why should a Cubist painting be considered 'dehumanized?'" he asked.

> Furthermore, when Ortega dogmatized that the new art would never be popular, and when he showed his incredulity in the face of abstract art and his reticence before Surrealist automatism, he was not only wrong, as the passing of time has already proved. But his authority made people accept for a long time his predicated divorce between the new art and humanism.[363]

And, this was precisely how Tàpies saw his art, a contemplation on humanist values through a prism of the materials of the real.

Returning to Velázquez's seminal work might demonstrate more clearly Tàpies's

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[363] Antoni Tàpies, *Complete Writing, Vol. I*, trans. from Catalá by Josep Miguel Sobrer (Bloomington, In.: Indiana University Press, 2009) 161.

concern. Much of the viewer's contemplation that Tàpies suggests is needed might possibly have gone under the radar of the Felipe IV of Spain, Velázquez´s patron. It is the king's face, with that of his queen, which floats detached in the mirror at the far recesses of the painting. However, to a modern viewer, at least, *Las Meninas* is awash with a warping of reality. A standard historical interpretation of the work is that it represents an homage to King Felipe and his queen by focusing the attention of all the subjects in the foreground, including the painter himself, on their presence. But even using that line of analysis, the modern observer is thrown into a search for where the artist places his focus.

The central figure of the artist and the subjects in the forefront tell us in 2014 something completely different. Velázquez placed himself central to the composition - in one sense on a stage that artists have never relinquished - creating the perspective for the viewer of a viewer being viewed, the artist as object and subject. And from that in one quick step, we could arrive at the artist in the post-modern and post-post-modern disappearing totally, dying and then being reborn in every particle of how a work touches others.

Tàpies goes on to say that, despite its implications, his process did not, in the end, eliminate "figurative" reality, but that the Surrealists and Cubists had already dealt with those areas. His turn in the early 1950s to a language of abstractism significantly different from his previous work, also lay in his understanding of the term and its history. In fact, the idea of abstraction was, to him, a reality, a necessity born out of the times and that had been a part of human development from the beginning. In the depths of this new process, he saw another light. "In truth," he writes, "did not the tradition of ancient art

teach that a world of expressivity went hand in hand with the 'naturalist' theme of great works?"

> I was searching for images without knowing whether they were amorphous or precise, full or empty, whether they came from where bodies began or where space ended. ...It flowed in an almost infinite organic growth as I tried to make curved and imprecise forms to seek the most intimate and secret movements of nature. [364]

Once he had arrived at this point, Tàpies was in another frame of expression. His turn to the wall was another of element of this same organic understanding of form and nature. Yet, the wall is also one of the most human configurations in history. It projects organization and purpose and, at the same time in nature, it can reflect the improvisation of flowing water carving canyons through bedrock.

> More suggestions might come from the image of the wall: separation, cloistering, Wailing Wall, testimonial to the passage of time, clean, serene, placid, aerial surfaces, or else tortured, old, decrepit surfaces. But you would be wrong to believe I just intended to make walls. My need to use earthen materials had its origin in some insistent works from my youth. From the very beginning I always placed the accent on the texture of painted forms. The "quality" of regular oil paint already had its connotations, a fact that obsessed me.[365]

The wall could be a barrier and an opening much as was Tàpies's sense of his own face in the endless versions he painted in his years of recuperation. In one sense, Tàpies exploration had always been turning in on himself, and he returned to his bedroom and his mirror. He had discovered a voice, and it had a history.

19551970: Controversy and Protest

By the middle of the 1950s Antoni Tàpies had engendered a following, but also a

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[364] *Ibid.,* 270-271
[365] *Ibid.,* Tàpies, 290-291.

questioning by some in the press, and others, as to what his work was really all about. In fact, from around 1955 through until the early 1960s, several newspapers in Barcelona ran ongoing open discussions with their readers soliciting reactions to his work. Part of this contestation, to be sure, was a leftover from the old figurative-versus-abstract art debate that had been attending the Western art world since the beginning of the last century. Part of the debate could be attributed to what seemed to some as a too-meteoric rise in attention, and part was probably just plain jealousy. But for some, there also seemed to be a fear that the painter's work was somehow a challenge to all of Western civilization. There can be no doubt that it was his new work, tempered by his commitment to dig into the depths of his expression that was at the bottom of the controversy. And, Tàpies would have had it no other way.

In an interview in 1955, columnist Manuel Del Arco held a session with Tàpies and the setting was Galerías Layetanas where Del Arco had gone to view an exhibition of contemporary works. The interview is direct, and Del Arco does not spare the hard questions that he felt many had begun to ask. This was also one of the first times that Tàpies articulated views he would consistently hold regarding art and reality and the role of the artist for the rest of his life.

Journalist Manuel Del Arco Álvarez had interviewed dozens of artists, politicians, and writers in Barcelona for years. In the same year as his interview with Tàpies, Del Arco also interviewed Minister of Education, Joaquín RuizGiménez. That interview would be a year before the student uprising in Madrid that would cost the minister his job with the regime. Del Arco presented his column as a window into present-day culture in

Barcelona for the everyday readers and, as his longevity would demonstrated, he had an audience. He was, himself, an amateur artist, sketching caricatures of his subjects that would appear next to the byline of his weekly column, "Mano a Mano," which appeared regularly in *La Vanguardia. Española* (his caricature of Tàpies made the painter resemble a mid50s American rockstar).

In the preamble of his piece that day, Del Arco admits up front to his readers that he has no idea what he is viewing, when he confronts Tàpies's paintings. He refers to Tàpies as one of a group of "pintores sin simos" (painters without isms) whose paintings "we might call abstract or non-descriptive, they are not in agreement." He chose to interview Tàpies, he wrote, because "he is one of the most representative of the non-figurative painters." [366]

"What is this?" the interviewer wants to know of Tàpies pointing at three of his paintings hung in the gallery. It was one of those moments that an abstract artist either relishes or hates when asked. Tàpies seemed, however, unperturbed. "Three paintings," assures the artist.

M. D.A. - What is a painting according to you?

A.T. - A vehicle capable of transmitting to the viewer the type of emotion X the author tries to represent.

M.D.A. - This painting…for some it is the skin of an elephant; for others it's a rock. What does it represent to you?

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[366] Manuel Del Arco, *La Vanguardia Española*, **(**October 25, 1955), 16. " los llamemos abstractos o no descriptivos. No están de acuerdo. (Él) es el más representivo de los no figurativos." For the Spanish versión of the interview see appendix at the end of this chapter.

A.T. - Neither the skin of an elephant, nor a rock; it is simply a pictorial composition.

M.D.A. - A painting. ¿Is it all just surface with colors over it?

A.T. - In the sense of a work of art, no.

M.D.A. - Your painting. What is it?

A.T. - I concern myself with arriving at emotion directly without the need to typecast myself in some orthodoxy.

M.D.A. - The whole world regrets that. The paintings of the others excite you?

A.T. - If they are good, yes.

M.D.A. - And when are they good?

A.T. - When they satisfy the viewer's spiritual needs at the moment.

M.D.A. - Togores would answer exactly the same and he is the polar opposite of you. (Josep de Togores [1893-1970] was a Catalan painter who had work with Cubism and Surrealism, but ended up painting portraits of Catalan society figures).

A.T. - Togores tries to solve spiritual needs that are already amply solved.

M.D.A. - What are the spiritual needs that you discover have been unsatisfied?

A.T. First of all, to make my contemporaries think about a new vision of reality. Reality isn't simply what we have in front of our eyes. Through the contributions of science and philosophy, the concept of reality varies: today, more than ever, a series of conceptions have to be altered.

M.D.A. - Can you explain in your canvas reality?

A.T. - Explaining it as a description, no; I avail myself of some mechanisms, we can say a prop, for provoking the viewer to make a conscience examination of all the ideology that they have up to this moment, in order to confront new problems.

M.D.A. - Problems of confusion?

A.T. - On the one hand, yes; for me art has to perturb, to obligate the viewer to discussion.

M.D.A. - But do you make paintings or hieroglyphics?

A.T. - The hieroglyphic, if there is, isn't in the painting, but in the spiritual baggage of the viewer. Through art, the viewer should decipher his hieroglyphics. Is that clear?

M.D.A. - No; in every case I understand that the viewer can interpret this new painting as he feels. Is that so?

A.T. - No; the artist uses some mechanisms that force the spectator, doesn't let him free, and obligate him to analyze things in a certain way.

M.D.A. - But only he will understand you, if you are being honest, who thinks exactly as you do.

A.T. - If he thinks the same as I do, he will have the pleasure of seeing the ideology he shares with me ratified; and if he doesn't think as I do, he will find himself, naturally, perturbed and forced to reanalyze his conceptions.

M.D.A. - And if you remain alone, who is disturbed: you or the people that don't understand you?

A.T. - I believe completely that the artist as solitary as he might be, never is incomprehensible: he exists always in a group that shares his ideology.

M.D.A. - The artist doesn't have to convince others more?

A.T. - The artist in order to make himself understood, does not have to lower himself to others; they are the ones that have to rise to the artist.

M.D.A. - That isn't pedantry?

A.T. - I don't think so, because I'm not denying anyone the capacity of understanding me.

M.D.A. - Do you deny others the capacity of denying you?

A.T. - All of the world has a perfect right to affirm or deny me: precisely all controversy in art can become useful for guiding the public. But at the moment I put myself to work, like a scientist in a laboratory, I don't care whether one affirms or denies me.

M.D.A. - Do you, and all those as yourself, take into account that we like figurative painting more, and do not like those that you all do?

A.T. - Well, then, we have achieved something.

M.A.D. - Sure, destroying.

A.T. - No, forming a new sensitivity.

M.A.D. - And where will it stop?

A.T. - I believe that the progressive artist, together with all progressive intellectuals like him, contributes to shaping a new consciousness.

M.A.D. - A consciousness of what?

A.T. - Of reality.

M.A.D. - And you show this reality; it's in your paintings?

A.T. - Reality is never in some painting, since the paintings of Altamira; art is only a sign, reality is in the mind of the viewer.

(At that moment a viewer passes in front of Tàpies' paintings; he contemplates them and says "This is a chipped wall, with a patina of time.")

M.D.A. - Did you hear that? -

A.T. - That remark doesn't seem bad; there's a lot of drama in the fragment of a wall.

M.D.A. - Why didn't they send you to the room of the crime?

A.T. - I'm already there.

M.A.D. - Content to be there?

A.T. - Facing being an art functionary, I prefer to be cursed.

M.D.A. - You have got it.[367]

The "who gets the last word" nature of this discussion is endemic of the colloquial disagreement of avant-garde art from its earliest days. And to be sure Del Arco was prepared with questions and is skeptical of the artist's answers. Yet, Tàpies does not back

[367] Manuel del Arco, "Mano a Mano," *La Vanguardia Española* (October 25, 1955), 16. For the Spanish text, see Appendix A. Interveiw with Antoni Tàpies.

down and, in particular, confronts one aspect of modern art that Ortega y Gasset and other conservative voices had examined before him. That aspect revolves around Ortega's own observations that a barrier had been thrown up to interpretation by the modern artist compared to art from previous eras. And, here, it would seem, Tàpies ratifies this view from an elitist artist viewpoint, telling Del Arco the artist doesn't lower him or herself, but that the public should rise to the artist's level. But, is that all there is to it? If it were, then Tàpies would actually find himself in agreement with Ortega who saw this chasm as a product of the avant-garde artists. We will focus again on Tàpies' criticism of the Spanish philosopher in regards to modern art in a moment, but for this debate between the journalist and the artist, there are other aspects that need to be examined first.

To say the thirty-two-year-old Antoni Tàpies was anything other than self-assured at this moment in 1955 would be a gross understatement. He had made a personal transition in his expression, one that he had sought, contemplated, and experimented with for three years and was certainly aware of how the nature of what he was doing with his art could be confrontational. And, for all of the confrontational tone of this exchange, Tàpies does not shy from the discussion, because he has given much thought to his process and to the purposes of it. An artist should refrain from making ready answers for the viewer. Tàpies is saying primarily that that engagement with art is not a simple process itself, that contemplation must be involved on the part of the viewer, *and* that there are no guarantees that the result will be agreement between the artist and the viewer. After all, the artist has exposed himself or herself to this environment of the

gallery or exhibition and, in effect, demanded attention. The artist should expect confrontation. To the artist, says Tàpies, disturbance to the viewer's cosmology is worth the effort. This is a patently different concept altogether than speaking of art as merely a reflection of reality or as something that is on a pedestal apart from the public. The only thing that had changed was the public sphere where art was now presented to large numbers of people at once. The artist was still using abstraction much the same way as those who painted the caves in Cantabria - as a sign of the times. [368]

This discussion, in some ways, was a typical one for a Barcelona with the history of the complex relationship between the artist and the public that had been nurtured since Gaudi's own confrontations over architecture starting in the late nineteenth century. The discussion would continue for Tàpies on into the next decade. As Tàpies's profile rose internationally throughout the end of the decade the controversy over his work broadened. He had exhibited in Paris, New York (twice at the Martha Jackson Gallery), Stockholm, and in 1956 the Venice Biennale, most, but not all, to glowing reviews. The controversy indicated in the interview with Manuel Del Arco touched abroad as well. Stuart Preston in1959 in a piece in the New York Times asked if Tàpies wasn't asking too much of his viewers. Acknowledging his talent and the need for contemplation to appreciate his approach, Preston asserted that "… all the taste and refinement in the

[368] Tàpies mentions the paintings several times including in his 1973 extended essay *La práctica del arte*. The importance to contemporary artists because they represented a clear tradition of abstraction in the history of artistic expression.

world cannot prevent these skillful pictures from making a limited and negative impression." [369]

The material turn in Tàpies work also engendered controversy of a different sort in Barcelona in 1961. *Solidaridad Nacional*, like *Arriba* in Madrid another of the network of daily journals associated with the Movimiento, took up a whole page on Tàpies with a side column on a mini-controversy that had erupted over the purchase of three of the artist's works by the city. It seems that without public notice, Barcelona acquired the paintings for a total of 200,000 pesetas or roughly $26,700 in today's US dollars "purely to decorate one of its new rooms." [370] The paper did not hold Tàpies directly responsible. He was asked to sell works to the city and he did. The paper admonished the city about the process, however.

> Non-figurative art is not…a novelty among us; it almost has an official stamp, judging by what our Commission of Foreign Relations carries around the world under our banner. If that is so, then the controversy surrounding Tàpies inclines us to search for an explanation. …We are not making illusions with respect to the impact of the art of Tàpies on our city; it is the gesture of the municipal government to incorporate it in its gallery that has moved the current controversy to a level of renewed concern. [371]

This was a marginal piece, however, on a page that was fully dedicated to the question of the painter's new works and his new approach. Tàpies, seen in a photograph

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[369] BFAT, Stuart Preston, "The Advance Guard Moves Ahead," *The New York Times* (March 1, 1959), X19.
[370] This was computed using Merril's website (http://fxtop.com/en/currency-converter-past.php?A=1&C1=USD&C2=ESP&DD=01&MM=02&YYYY=1960&B=1&P=&I=1&btnOK=Go!) for conversion of 1961pesetas to 1961 dollars and the website Measuring Worth at (http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/relativevalue.php) to calculate US dollars of 1961 to dollars in 2014.
[371]BFAT "El Arte Abstracto y el Municipio," *Solidaridad Nacional* (February 23, 1960), 14.

reading a copy of the paper, is the subject of an interview regarding his work. The interview takes a similar, though less confrontational, arc as his interview five years before with Del Arco, but it does throw into relief the position he now found himself in in Barcelona. He had risen to the point that the city wanted to have some of his latest work installed in its own gallery, which only served to throw light on the whole discussion of his work, what it meant, and why so many seemed interested. Under a large headline in bold type that read "Tàpies, Sí; Tàpies, No: Hoy Habla Él" (Tàpies, Yes; Tàpies, No: Today He Speaks), he was asked how he felt about debates over his work. He replied matter-of-factly, "Now I'm happy. I see that there is interest and the minority grows." [372]

Other commentaries and essays were not so solicitous, however. In the weekly journal *Hoja de Lunes*, published by the National Press Association, Barcelona journalist and editor Luis Marsillach i Burbano wrote a scathing rebuke of Tàpies suggesting that the artist's "supposed pictorial works" were pure nihilism and a threat to the human spirit.

> In the world in which the painting of Mr. Tàpies is taken seriously, where he is proclaimed a universal genius, nothing now matters because everything can be equally false and deceptive. The museums, the libraries, the universities through to the schools of primary education, they know…It is necessary to tell the truth: a false art has been created in order to make a false morality and false politics. If we accept that there is something in the "paintings" of Don Antonio Tàpies, what lie will not be able to infect us? [373]

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[372] *Ibid.*

[373] BFAT, Luis Marsillach, "Ante Unas Imaginarias Pinturas," *Hoja del Lunes* (March 27, 1961). "En un mundo en el cual se toma en serio la 'pintura' del señor Tàpies. Aunque se proclama genio universal, ya nada importa, porque todo parece ser igualmente falso y mentiroso. Sobran los museos, las bibliotecas, las universidades, y hasta los colegios de Primera Enseñanza…Hay que decir la verdad: se ha creado un arte falso para hacer posibles una moral falsa y una falsa política. Si consiguen que aceptamos que en los "cuadros" de don Antonio Tàpies hay algo, ¿qué mentira no será posible imbuirnos?

Tàpies's defenders came from many parts of Barcelona, however. *El Noticiero Universal* in May of 1961 solicited reader responses on their opinions of the artist's work, entitled "Una Encuesta Sobre La Pintura de Tàpies" (A Poll about the Painting of Tàpies). Most of these were favorable toward the painter and his art, and one of these, Barcelona architect, José Antonio Coderch, made an observation that could run as a corollary to Tàpies own view expressed six years earlier to Manuel Del Arco. "More than twenty years of practice in my office, " he wrote the paper, " have demonstrated to me that nothing irritates the majority so much as facts or words on which they have to reflect, to revise concepts or confront something in themselves." [374]

It would be poet Josep María De Sagarra, an old friend of Tàpies's father, who, writing in *La Vanguardia Española* in May of 1961, crystalized the larger picture of Tàpies's and his peers' contributions, with this prescient piece a few months before the poet died.

> To me it seems gratuitous to judge human phenomena according to the measure of our own limitations, and in this phenomenon of abstract artists, I believe that not a few elements coincide that, only after the passage of years and of generations, can be discerned, because judgments and thinking are also susceptible to all kinds of evolution. [375]

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[374] BFAT, "Un encuesta sobre La Pintura de Tàpies", *El Noticiero Universal* (May 3, 1961), 3.
[375] BFAT, José María de Sagarra, "El Espíritu del Tiempo: Polémica y Bizantinismo," *La Vanguardia Española* (May14, 1961), 11. "A mí, me parece gratuito juzgar los fenómenos humanos según la medida de nuestra propia limitación, y en este fenómeno de los abstractos creo yo que coinciden no pocos elementos que sólo al paso de los años y de las generaciones podrían discriminar, y, claro está, no con juicios definitivos, porque los juicios y los pensamientos son también fenómenos susceptibles de toda clase de evolución."

By the middle 1960s Antoni Tàpies's work had spanned almost twenty years of exhibitions, and his paintings were hung in galleries from Paris to New York, Tokyo, Milan, and museums in San Pablo, Bogota, Venice, Chicago, Buffalo and Madrid. It would seem that his place in contemporary art, at least in the history of post-war European modern art, was already assured. But, what was occurring in Spain in the middle 1960s was a slow ungluing of the old guard of the regime politically, and Tápies, in the comfort of his reputation, would be personally affected. He would claim that his involvement in protests against the regime was late in coming. He was humbled by the sacrifices others had made and on whose shoulders he stood when he engaged in the Canputxíns monastery student protests in Barcelona in 1966. We will examine the protest at the monastery in the next chapter, but that protest involvement, iconic now in the history of anti-Francoist protests, changed his life, and it would change his art. The 1970s would involve for Tàpies the closest connection between his Catalan cultural heritage and the construction of his art. It would be an extension of his more overt stand against the regime and a reawakening of influence and the more clandestine protests of his involvement with *Dau al Set*.

Conclusion

All during the 1940s, through the combination of his avid reading, his own personal introspection, and his artistic test-drives through forms and discipline, Antoni Tàpies had been ruminating about the process of artistic creation. His memoirs and writing explored here impart a continued questioning of his own technique and his disciplined approach to problems of expression. His growing sense of his place in

society, of an artist's place, would run parallel to his personal investigations. The consistency of his thought, from the interview with Del Arco through to the work on his memoirs and essays, place him at the forefront of artistic thought in the last half of the twentieth century. From his early self- portraiture work in the mid-1940s, through his explorations into Surrealism in the last part of that decade, through his use of molded marble dust, through the constant probing of materials to construct his paintings, it was precisely his idea that his creations were reflections of a tangible reality he faced every day.

However, the more he formulated his approach, the more he understood that he had another means to express himself, and, over the rest of his life, he would also do so through the pen. Antoni Tàpies became an essayist on the approach of the artist in modern society and his own understanding of the aesthetics of art.

The middle 1940s, which were represented by his self-portraiture, also represented the first stage of his quest to discover his own personalize aesthetics - a quest that took him rapidly through phases touching on Surrealism and the political world around him. As reflected in *La práctica*, even while there is a clear need to be a part of the stream of thought of an artist's own time, it is invariably a constant and solitary problem-solving mission to create and recreate again one's artistic voice. No theory except the one the artist discovers internally can resolve this mission. This, more than any aspect of Tàpies, was a touchstone of his practice and his theoretical confrontation with the figurative in art.

Similar to Antonio José who found direction in his art through an understanding of

its historical direction and his own place in that direction - all the while sharpening his craft - Tàpies too studied closely the history and tools of his art. And, much like Jesús López Pacheco, the painter continually confronted how he viewed surrounding reality and how he engaged it. He understood the parlance of the social realist, but his voice was different. He was a "realist" in his process and his process was his expression.

His arrival on the world stage in the early 1950s was directly related to an awakening on his part of what abstraction of reality might mean. It might not conform to the ideas as spell out by López Pacheco, but there is a direct connection that many Social Realists, including the writer, and some in the avant-garde, not to mention the critics in both disciplines, seemed to miss. The full text of the epigraph from the beginning of the chapter helps to amplify this sense of reality in art.

> Painting has always been an abstraction, from the caves of Altamira to Picasso, passing through Velázquez. In the face of the fanatics of Realism, I have said many times that reality has never been in painting rather that it is found in the mind of the viewer. Art is a sign, an object, something that suggests to us reality in our spirit. I don't see, then, any conflict between the abstract and the figurative, as this idea suggests. The reality that our eyes see is an extremely poor shadow of reality.[376]

The beginning, then, of the consolidation of his artistic voice and its coalescence around his material paintings of the early 1950s, rising as they did during the middle years of the twentieth century, as well as the middle years of the Franco regime, drove the dynamic between art and society in his work and the historical context of his time is

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[376] Antoni Tàpies, *La práctica del arte*, 35. "La pintura siempre ha sido una abstracción, desde las cuevas de Altamira hasta Velázquez, pasando por Picasso. Frente a los fanáticos del Realismo he dicho muchas veces que la realidad nunca ha estado en la pintura, sino que únicamente se halla en la mente del espectador. El arte es un signo, un objeto, algo que nos sugiere la realidad en nuestro espíritu. No veo, pues, ningún antagonismo entre abstracción y figuración, mientras nos sugiera esta idea de la realidad. La realidad que muestran los ojos es una sombra extremadamente pobre de realidad."

certainly in play. But it was in the totality of these elements that Antoni Tàpies saw his art and his life as a reflection, not of a "pure" reality of any academic concept of aestheticism, but as a direct link to the deepest human sensibilities that required a continual rethinking.

Given his childhood under a demanding father, who desired his son enter Catalan society as a well-educated professional, and given the family's status, even with the hard times brought on by the Spanish Civil War and the regime's occupation of Catalan, Antoni Tàpies could have ended up an after-thought, a bourgeois bookmark in the volume of bourgeois family histories of modern Catalonia. Certainly, taking the road he did was no guarantee of success. And, of course, that is the exact reason he was successful-he created his own path, with help to be sure, but with an understanding that, in the end, it had to be not merely his own route, but he had to develop many of his own ways to get there. His preoccupation with learning was a fundamental and his insistence on second-guessing not only what he learned, but his own precepts, made him, along with those ingredients of talent and time, an exceptional artist.

Looking back over the reaction to Tàpies's work in the late 40s and his "material turn" in the 1950s, two points need to be made regarding the response to Tàpies' art at these stages in his career. One is that there is a good amount of evidence that the critics of art who wrote for mass press during these years tended, even among conservatives, to place the graphic, or plastic arts, in a different category than critics who wrote on literature for similar periodicals. For one thing, as discussed in the last chapter, the literary censorship for new works could involve either denial of publication outright, or

suppressions of material before it could even get to the critics. The critic often was not sure if he or she was even reading the original text. One has to look more often for journalism outside of Spain, for example, to find objective critical evaluations of López Pacheco's *Central Eléctrica*, a major novel considered by his peers and, by critics to this day, a pinnacle of the whole movement of social realism in Spanish writing.[377] Visual art did not ever have this type of ministerial oversight. The reason for this, we shall see in the next chapter, had as much as anything else to do with the level of threat the regime saw in literature as opposed to the plastic arts. And, by the way, artists understood this fact and in Barcelona utilized their advantage to the best of their abilities.

Secondly, there could be no mistaking the genuine appeal of Tàpies's expression, avant-garde or otherwise, at this early stage of his career. Repeatedly, his importance, by 1952, was becoming evident. That Antoni Tàpies had begun to carve out a place for himself was noticed by not only his artist compatriots, but by the regime itself. And this created, as we shall, see a new set of problems for the artist whose own political views had been shaped so strongly by his background, his father's intellectual heritage, and his own personal experiences during the Spanish Civil War. However, the implication by some that some artists' success in this period was a result of a more benign artistic climate at the dawning of the 1950s than has been previously assumed is simplistic. What was particularly true of the art scene in Barcelona in this period is that opportunities that

[377] In my research to date I have not found a genuine critique in the Spanish press from the period of the novel. By "genuine", I mean critical comment other than his name being printed along others for his runner-up status for the *Premio Nadal*. However, within two years there were such reviews in Western press outside Spain. For an example see

did occur often had to do with the persistence of artists, galleries, and certain journalists, who promoted and supported new art despite that official repressive culture. Furthermore, repressive elements did, with complicity of the regime, interfere in the exhibition of the plastic arts at will when it suited them.

This wealth of newspaper reporting, depending on the locale - and Barcelona's press was particularly active - helped support a community of artists and critics that spoke a language of their own and that was translated by the press to the general public. And above all else, the numerous painters and sculptors of Barcelona and its avant-garde were blessed with a tradition that would be difficult for the regime to coopt. If anything, as we shall see, in fact, the regime will be coopted by it.

Chapter 7 - The Rise of the Wall of Tàpies

> *I don't believe it's correct to think that the artist 'anticipates' (reality); the whole world carries the possibility of the knowledge of reality in it, and the artist doesn't do more than awaken it in all of those who have it asleep.*
>
> -Antoni Tàpies, 1979 [378]

Introduction

Antoni Tàpies was not only concerned with projecting his art, he was concerned with questioning the broad intellectual and political canon that confronted him living under the Franco regime. This questioning would radiate into his artistic expression. His conviction was that the role of the artist in the modern world is an essential, not tangential, one and one that required of the artist an activist's engagement with society. Here I am applying a broader definition of the word "activist" as being more than political, although in his life, political involvement became a necessity. It is activism as recognizing, living with, and contemplating one's present, one's reality day to day. Tàpies's voice was, in inception and reception, one of dissidence, not only against the politics of his time, but on behalf of a culture slowly rising out of the degradation of Francoism's concerted cultural repression.

The rise of the public profile of Antoni Tàpies was the result of the confluence of several factors, not the least of which was the determination of the painter to endlessly test his own concepts of art and redefine his artistic voice. Tàpies' development of these components was the driving narrative of the preceding chapter and would continue throughout the remainder of his life. Nevertheless, elements of historical timing and the

[378] Francesc Vicens, *Arte abstracto y arte figurativo* (Barcelona: Salvat Editores, S.A., 1973), 9.

perception of modern art within the regime, from the dictator down to ministers, were major factors as well. In fact, the totality of its cultural agenda and tactics of repression in Catalonia had major implications for Barcelona artists as a group, and for Tàpies, in particular, as his artistic voice grew to maturity.

The Intent to Control the Culture in Catalonia

The regime's attempt to throttle a Catalan culture, which had been resuscitated by the state of autonomy passed in 1932 during the Second Republican, was predicated above all on the suppression of the Catalan language in the public sphere. The various measures cutting off the use of Catalan in education, in newspapers, in Church services, in public meetings, and even initially in publishing, were decreed almost from the moment Franco's troops marched into Catalonia in the early months of 1939 near the end of the Civil War. [379] This particular strategy of the cultural project of the regime, to dampen down and marginalize the independence sentiments of Cataloniaand as well those of the Basque countrystemmed from beliefs that had grown geometrically as the Civil War approached. There was deep seeded, long standing fear among conservative Spanish, that cultural autonomy in Catalonia, with language one of the most vital components of it, reinforced desires for political autonomy and hence was a direct threat to a unified Spanish state. But, even more, such a threat would thwart the dreams of cultural conservatives schooled on the liturgy of Acción Española and its latent imperial

[379] The term in its historical sense which, as resurfaced in post-transition Spain, referred in particular to the period of the Spanish Second Republic, where a legislated agreement of autonomy had been recognized by the Republic and a State of Catalonia temporarily existed before it was dismantled by the Franco regime at the war's end. See Fernando León Solis, *Negotiating Spain and Catalonia: Competing Narratives of National Identity* (Exeter, UK, Intellect Books, 2003). Also see Pelai Pagés i Blanch, *War and Revolution in Catalonia, 1936-1939*, trans. by Patrick L. Gallagher (Boston: Brill, 2007), 170-174.

desires. Any threat to the mindset of those who believed Spain needed to look for inspiration to that past was a threat to Spain's very existence. In the end, controlling Catalan aspiration for independence was a fruitless endeavor on the part of the regime, a repressive game of "whackamole" that only engendered hostility and eventually comic derision in the closing years of Francoism. In its attempt to sow fear and insecurity in the public sphere of Catalonia over its culture, the regime would only reap a strengthened Catalonian sense of pride. The success of Antoni Tàpies in Catalonia, itself, was in part an instrument of that pride.

There was far more involved, of course, in the rise of Tàpies than Catalan pride in him and his own deep family roots in Catalan independence. This chapter is intended to examine the twentieth century factors, and the regime's part in them, without which the story of the growth of his influence in the last half of the century might have been very different. It is not, however, the supposition here that the story of the qualitative *importance* of his art, in the end, would have been different.

The control of culture in Catalonia was only part of a broad spectrum of the New State's cultural project. And if one were to think that the regime in its beginnings was only interested in literary censorship or control of education, one would be clearly mistaken. What can be said from this research and others, in particular that of Ángel Llorente, is that Francoist literary censorship fit a model that was already well tested in the Fascist governments of Europe. [380] The Germans, in particular, were not hesitant to give the Francoist regime advice, even to the point of handing the regime lists of books to

[380] Ángel Llorente Hernández, *Arte e ideología en el franquismo: 1936-1951* (Madrid: Visor, 1995), 20.

ban. The Falange relished the chance in Catalonia to demonstrate their best incendiary, Fascist techniques on Catalan literature, as we shall see.

However, the nature of the plastic arts was both problematic and, at the same time, as Fraga and others understood, a useful tool, precisely because its signification was not "literal," or better said, it required contemplation to decipher. One could use this type of expression for one's own purposes, regardless of the author's intent, without worrying about whether any supposed revolutionary ideas would be communicated to the general public. Tàpies would suggest otherwise, as we shall see.

As long as education in the institutions of the arts was controlled and turned to serve the propaganda engine of the New State, the regime felt scure that it could insure future generations were molded appropriately in National Catholic priorities. In order to keep track of artistic production, the Ministry of Education announced the creation of the use of a new index, the *Fichero de Artístas Epañoles*, (The Index of Spanish Artists), in which:

> …a record will be opened on each Spanish artist that sets down the following information: Name and surnames, and in case they use one, their pseudonym, the place and date of their birth, their present residence, those from whom they learned their discipline, most important works mentioned in case their works are found in Spanish or foreign museums, awards they have obtained in official exhibitions, Spanish as well as foreign photographs of their work, or at least the most important.[381]

[381] Boletín Oficial del Estado (BOE), July 19, 1940, 5025-5026. "A cada uno de los artistas españoles se le abrirá un expediente en el que habrán de figurar los siguientes datos: Nombre y apellidos, y en su caso, el seudónimo que utilice, lugar y fecha de su nacimiento, residencia habitual, de quién o de quiénes fue discípulo, obras más importantes mencionando en su caso las que se encuentren en Museos españoles o extranjeros, premios, tanto españoles como extranjeras, fotografías de sus obras o al menos de la más importantes."

The efficacy of the registry is unclear. On one level, a more sanguine view could be that this was a handy tool for the artist to use to promote him or herself. That, however, given the atmosphere of distrust on the part of the regime for intellectuals and the early date of the promulgation of the order, would seem to be a "rosy" analysis. There is no mention of the registry by Tàpies, not in his interviews or in his memoirs. This would seem to be one more indication the mindset of the ministries that these aspects of cultural life needed to be controlled. In the early period of 1940s there would be many others.

Llorente lists the early laws all designed to gain some control over the output of the plastic arts in order to utilize them in propaganda, starting with the Order of May 31st, 1939 that began returning to the state art objects in cities under republican control during the war. The regime's attempts to organize its institutions of art around propaganda and promotion of the National Catholic norms involved a combination of laws that set down, for instance, even the parameters for the exportation or sale of art, a factor that will be important to Tàpies by the early 1950s. A new commission, el *Comisaria del Patrimonio Artístico Nacional*, came to govern the artifacts of national patronage.[382] Within a few years, the regime's own structures were in place to attempt, not only the control over what had been painted and sculpted, but the control of dissemination of art , as well.

Again, in this first stage of the regime, the direct influence of outside contemporary fascist governmental organizations, particularly that of National Socialism, was evident. The influence of the Nazis, nearing the zenith of their control of the

[382] *Ibid.,* 98-99.

continent, was already apparent in the Spanish Press in the early 1940s. Spanish translations of German propaganda were common and magazines lauding Nazism were published, one by the German ambassador himself, A*ctualidades Semenals de Prensa Alemania*, (Weekly presentations of the German Press). German advisers, and trips of Spaniards to Germany, as well as regime newspapers such as *La Vanguardia Española,* Barcelona, all served to promote "the artistic achievements of National Socialism." [383]

When the war started to turn in the Allies favor after 1942, the Francoist regime slowly, but determinedly, started distancing itself from the Fascist regimes of Germany and Italy. However, while its diplomatic stance altered to adjust to the new dynamic of a possible Allied victory, nothing regarding the purpose of the Francoist regime's internal locus of control changed. The regime may no longer have been as enamored with pro Nazi or Italian rhetoric, but the Francoist State had by then fully established a "voice" of its own. What seems apparent is that the regime those who headed up the administration of the ministries, those who ran the institutions of education, especially had come to understand that they could not control each individual, but they would attempt to do all things possible to control ideas and to maintain their image of what the New Spain was to themconservative, traditional, apostolic Catholic, imperial, vehemently anticommunist, and socially congealed. Art and its expression had to project that imageuntil, that is, events outside Spain again would force the regime to recalibrate.

[383] *Ibid.,* 100.

Having rid Spain of the Republic, the regime intended to fully implement control of expression, and all aspects of artistic expression within the culture needed to play a part. Andrés de Blasé puts it succinctly this way.

> The formation of this cultural framework is contemporary with the first moments of the Civil War, and it will be continued during and after it. In agreement with the generic principle of the creation of a "New" state, within this field occurs a stated intention of controlling each and every one of its components. And so, teaching, research, media, and artistic production, along with the personnel commissioned for its implementation were at all levels were the object of a legislative subversion of the preceding Republic. They were responsible for its implementation at all levels the object of a legislative subversion of the republican precedent. [384]

No factor in this "framework", however, was more salient to the daily life of the public and artists in Catalonia than the regime's attempted suppression of the native language. Given Western Europe's historical geopolitical environment, Catalan had been the object of suppression before and from the same source - the rulers of Spain. Phillip V, in the early eighteenth-century, had tried to prevent the public use of Catalan after the Spanish War of Succession, as punishment for Catalonia's backing of his Hapsburg enemy, Archduke Charles. But where Philip was merely content to ban the use of Catalan administratively, the purposes of the Franco regime were far more ambitious. The Franco regime was not always consistent in its attempt, but its attempt was far broader and had

[384] J. Andrés de Blas, "El libro y la censura durante el franquismo: Un estado de la cuestión y otras consideraciones," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma,* Serie V, Contemporánea (December, 1999), 287. "La formación de ese entramado cultural es coetáneo a los primeros momentos de la Guerra Civil, y se continuará durante la misma y con posterioridad a ella. Acorde con el principio genérico de creación de un «nuevo» Estado, se produce en este campo un intento estatal de controlar todos y cada uno de sus componentes. Y así, la enseñanza, la investigación, los medios de comunicación y la producción artística, junto al personal encargado de su implementación fueron a todos los niveles objeto de una subversión legislativa respecto al precedente republicano."

more tools available through the control of media and the educational system, than anything in Philip's arsenal. This was a cultural war of the first order and its efforts, although they changed somewhat over time, never lost their essential purpose, the submission of Catalonia to the culture of the New State. As more and more has been published over the last forty years since the demise of the Franco regime, the breadth and range of language suppression has become clearer. To Antoni Tàpies that suppression, although not necessarily an obstacle to his own visual expression, offended his Catalonia pride and became a major focus of his art in later years.[385]

The diversity of the repression of Catalan under Franco is important to understand, because it verifies so much of the regime's own fear of the Catalan culture in general. It was in late 1938, before the actual fall of Barcelona to the Nationalists, that Nationalist troops under Franco occupying parts of Catalonia after the Battle of the Ebro issued the first official decree banning the use of Catalan in the region and overturning Republican law that had granted Catalonia status as an "Estado de autonomía" (autonomous state).[386] Once Catalonia had been totally pacified by the beginning of 1939, more explicit regulations were put in place. The decree from September of 1939 to administrative heads of the occupying forces was an example of this order from the municipality of Barcelona.

> For the purpose of strict compliance to what is ordered by his Excellency, the Civil Governor of the province, please review all printed material, all books, and documentation pertinent to this dependency, for

[385] See Tápies use of Catalan symbology and texts on page
[386] Found in Josep Benet, *L'intent Franquista de Genocidi Cultural Contra Catalunya* (Barcelona: Publicaciones de l'Albadia de Montserrat, 1995), 272.

> the purpose of editing (them) in the national language, (and) giving them to me for revision.[387]

Again, as was true of the orders promulgated for censorship in 1938, these types of administrative decrees were in effect throughout the lifetime of the regime. But Catalan writers, unlike Catalan painters, were under a linguistic double onus. If they were to make a living, they had to be able to write, and many in this period, wrote only in Spanish, because they could not publish openly in Catalan through a Catalonian publishing company. Of course, even then their work still needed to pass authorization in Spanish by the censors in Madrid. Next to political and moral objections, however, "*Suspendido en catalán*" (Suppressed in Catalan), was one of the more used phrases in the censors' parlance.[388]

By the mid1940s at the time Antoni Tàpies was about to leave law school and permanently embark on his career as an artist, Francoist language restrictions in Catalonia were in the middle of what became called figuratively "*L'escletxa*," or the gap. It was a period when an administrative change in the civil governorship between that of a Falangist and a nonFalangist would make a temporary difference in terms of the publishing. We noticed the opposite occurrence in early Francoist repression in the Burgos of Antonio José, where Governor General Dávila, a Carlist, was replaced by a Falangist, who had little sympathy for the composer. On a larger scale the influence of the Falangists in general were on the wane with the destruction of Germany and the Nazi

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[387] *Ibid.,* 274.A objeto de dar estricto complimiento a lo ordenando por el Exoso. Sr. Gobernador Civil de la provincia, sírvase revisar todos los impresos, libros, y documentación pertinente de esa dependencia, al objeto de que están redactados en idioma nacional, dándome cuenta del resultado de la revisión.
[388] Manuel L. Abellán, "Apunts sobre la censura literaria a Catalunya durant el franquisme," Revista de Catalunya: 27, (February, 1989), 123-132.

regime at the end of World War II. In this case, the nonFalangist, Bartolomé Barba, permitted a mild resurgence of Catalan in print and in certain theatrical productions, but left intact prohibitions in most novels, essays, translations, histories, and children's stories. "Censorship only authorized books of folklore and some classics, and works of creative literature, a concept that censorship interpreted arbitrarily."[389]

The overall public prohibition project required diligence and persistence in the implementation of Francoist laws, because of the amount of material to suppress in Catalonia, was extensive. Again, it was, in terms of artistic expression the written word that would be targeted, although theater and music, in terms of lyrics, were not totally exempt. Not even religion was safe from the scalpels of Francoist language surgeons.

Here is a sampling of Francoist machinations of the repression of Catalan individuals, artists, poets, and businesses that presents a good crosssection of the type of concerns and, one might say, fetishes that obsessed the regime. The restrictions mostly pertain to the suppression of language, but in all cases pertain to the suppression of Catalan culture. Most of these rulings came from Barcelona and applied to Catalan exclusively, while some came from Madrid. Those from Madrid could apply to both the use of Catalan, and the use of the Basque language, Euskera. In 1944, in addition to the administration of all public documents in Castilian, the regime verified the prohibition of the publishing of a volume of Christmas carols with Catalan lyrics by Professor Ezequiel Martín Rovira (18871963), who taught music to children at the Municipal School for the

[389] Joan Samsó, *La Cultura Catalana: Entre la clandestinat i la represa pública*, Vol. 1 (Barcelona, Publicaciones de l'Abadia de Monserrat, 1994), 70. "Censura només autorizá literaria llibres de folklore i alguns clássics, i obres de creació literaria, concepte aquest que la censura interpretá arbitráriament."

Blind and Deaf; the suppression of both the *First Book of Joys* by Father Hilari d'Arenys (18891976) of the Caputxin order, a history of a Mallorcan Church, *L'Eglésia de Sineu,* written in Catalan by Canon Joan Rotger Niell, and was complicit in the public street burning, thanks to the Falangist SEU, of copies of works of Jacint Verdaguer, the most famous Catalan poet in the nineteenth century. Both Catholic publications were *suspendido en catalán*. The church history by Rotger was republished in Spanish.[390] The "*l'escletxa*" was more of a pin hole than a gap, it appears. As Joan Samsó wrote, "Evidently, the granting of concessions by drops didn't restore in any way the free use of the language and satisfied no one."[391]

From 19451948 the restrictions, in fact, were at times more obsessively rendered. From the Ministry of Industry and Trade came this decree from the New Law of Primary Education of 1945: "All designation of forests that are not written in Castilian, the official idiom, the symbol of the united Nation, remain permanently prohibited."[392] The censor refused publication of a translation of Dante's *Divine Comedy* in Catalan by poet and critic Josep de Sagarra, the same de Sagarra that had written as a critic so favorably of Tàpies's work. Meanwhile, the Palau de la Música Catalana, (Palace of Catalan Music), a landmark of early twentieth century architecture by Lluís Domènech i Montaner, was fined 10,000 pesetas, or approximately $1,000, in 1945 for " displaying

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[390] Josep M. Solé i Sabaté and Joan Vilarroy*, Cronologia de la repressoí de la llengua i la cultura catalnes*, 1936-1975, (Barcelona: Curial, 1993), 140-142.
[391] *Ibid.,* 70. "La concessió d'aquells permisos amb comptagotes no restablí cap manera el dret al lliure ús de la llengua i no va satisfer ningú."
[392] *Ibid.,* 143. "Queda terminantemente prohibida toda designación de buques que no esté escrita en castellano, que es el idioma oficial, símbolo de la unidad de la Nación."

the Catalan flag at a concert of the Municipal Orchestra."[393] The annual Valencian magazine, *Pensat i Fet* did not appear in 1947 because the censors demanded it be in verse and not prose. Not one to be easily turned aside, Josep de Sagarra applied for permission to recite his own works and was at first granted permission in writing to read his *Poema de Monserrat* at the Palua de la Música, but afterward was verbally refused afterward unless he ended the reading with a poem and discussion in Castilian. In 1948, literary critic and poet María Manent was denied her petition to republish Kipling's *Jungle Books* in Catalan. And finally the Academy of Catalan Homeopathy, which had closed its doors at the end of the war, begged the regime in Madrid to allow it to resume its activities. Madrid's answer was that the Academy "…is not important to the national culture." [394]

Histories were published, but not in Catalonia. There is probably no single text of contemporary Catalan history that represents more of a voice of dissidence in the face of the regime´s repression in Catalonia than that of Josep Benet's *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya* (The Francoist Intent at Cultural Genocide against Catalonia). The author wrote a prologue in 1994 for the newer edition (Benet was born in 1920 and died in 2008) explaining its history. Originally published in Paris in 1973, although the author began assembling it in the late 1960s, it was attributed for authorship to a non-existent *Institut Catala d'Estudis, Polítics I Socials* as a cover.[395] Benet opens

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[393] *Ibid.,* 153.
[394] *Ibid.,* "No interesa a la cultura nacional."
[395] Josep Benet, *L'intent franquista de genocidi cultural contra Catalunya* (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1995), 5-7.

with an evaluation of the long standing enmity between Castilians of Catalonia starting with Philip V and recounts the long history of political and cultural independence movements in Catalonia. The author's attempt to write a systematic cultural history of the repression makes it one of the very first, if not the first, such undertaking written before Franco's death by any accredited historian, Spanish, Catalan, or otherwise. And of course the systematic cultural repression in Catalonia is based to a large extent on the rejection of the Catalan language and the installation of Castilian as the sole official idiom, the only one allowed into the public sphere.

The method of Benet involves very little editorializing; his intention seemed to be to paint a picture of the repression in Catalonia through as many sources as he could manage and let the texts he compiled speak for themselves. In that regard, it is a powerful work. He cataloged hundreds of sources as evidence of the multiplicity of that apparatus of procedures and schemes, which the regime attempted used to repress Catalan from elementary school to university, from the control of newspaper and magazine publication, to radio and television, from conferences to lectures to the Church itself. There were, of course, holes in the dyke, and there were times of easing certain select restrictions, and then re-enforcing them. As time wore on toward the end of the regime, the holes became wider and the restrictions counter- productive. Nevertheless, the regime's intention was consistent even if its methods varied. This book provides that evidence.

What is most germane to this study is Benet's understanding of the build-up of anti-Catalonia sentiment in the press in the years of the Republic and later in pacified areas of Spain after the start of the war. Such feelings were, he notes, intense from the

earliest days of the rebellion against the Republic and he repeatedly cites evidence from conservative journals of the time. One indicative example that Benet cites of the temperament of early supporters of the uprising is that of the Manuel Hedilla, the 1937 head of the Falange. "You won't find better work for the patria," he wrote, "than to sow hatred against Catalonia and the Basque provinces. And every time you have achieved your purpose by stirring up old accounts, you are satisfied as if you have done a great thing."[396] The most declarative voices against the rise of Catalan sentiments toward autonomy were raised by Gens. Emilio Mola and Franco himself. The generals saw the spirit of independence in Catalonia, in fact, as the single most dangerous factor facing Spanish unity, a factor enhanced, in his mind, by the Republic's flirtation with autonomy for the region. For Mola the idea of autonomy was a myth. His interest was only in "A united and sovereign Spain, in which its regions preserve personality and without the grotesque characteristics of governance…"[397] Franco put the issue in these terms in the middle of the war.

> Spain is organized in a broad, totalitarian concept, by means of national institutions that assure its entirety, its unity, and its continuity. The character of each region will be respected, but without prejudice to national unity, which we want absolutely, with only one language, Castilian, and only one personality, that of Spanish.[398]

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[396] This is from a speech by Manuel Hedilla cited in Benet, 99. "…no encuentran trabajo mejor que hacer por la patria si no es el sembrar odio contra Cataluña y los provincias vascongadas. Y cada vez revolviendo sucios fondos y viejas cuentas han logrado su propósito, quedan satisfechos como si hubieran logrado una gran acción."

[397] *Ibid.,* 90.

[398] As cited in Josep Benet, *L'Intent Franquista de Genocidi Cultural Contra Catalunya*, (Barcelona: Publicaciones de l'Albadia, 1995), 142. Taken from Francisco Franco, *Palabras de Caudillo*, April 19-December 31, 1938, 226.

This outline of Franco's that speaks of "unity" and "continuity" is dependent upon an understanding of Iberian history that regards empire as the proto-typical entity, a formulation anathema to Catalan independence. To Francoists a blow against the cultural symbols of Catalan independence was part of controlling Catalonian sentiments over independence. And no element of the culture was more a symbol than that of language. While the regime was focusing on editing out of the public sphere any messages considered dissident in Castilian itself through its process of censorship, at the same time in Catalonia, it would the very use of the language that represented a dissidence it intended to squash. That dissidence was part of the art of Antoni Tàpies.

The Intersection of Tàpies's Art and the Regime

For the artist and his contemporaries in Catalonia, the enveloping mode of artistic direction, by then what one could call a tradition in Barcelona, was to move toward the avantgarde. But this was not the avantgarde of the 20s and 30s, itself an extension of the long arc of questioning of modern life fueled by the moral absurdities of World War I. The transcendent values with which Tàpies concerned himself in his essays repeatedly emerged he confronted headon the idea of reality in art and art in the reality of its time. In the Catalonia culture of postCivil War Spain, the one overriding dissonance that permeated life daily was between the sound of Spanish spoken, used, and formatted by the regime for the public sphere and the sound of Catalan spoken at home, spoken on the street, even spoken in the halls of schools and universities and in the bars in the neighborhoods. The Spanish avantgarde of postCivil War Spain and postWorld War II Europe, especially that of Antoni Tàpies, was a direct challenge to regime,

although the cultural gurus within the regime by the early 1950s, as we shall see, believed that they could utilize artists, and Barcelona artists in particular, to mollify Spain's sense of isolation

There were three phases to the intersection of the art of Antoni Tápies and the Franco regime. In the first phase, he was involved in an "underground" production of art on a small scale with his Barcelona artistic companions from different disciplines, some of whom had direct ties to the wider European art world. His second phase was one of a "mutual" interests of sorts, although the regime would not recognize the long terms effects. The geopolitical contest growing between the West and the Soviet Union after World War II would indirectly and ironically, given conservative prejudices within the regime, open up avenues for the new Spanish avantgarde. The dissemination of Tàpies's work would benefit. The final phase would be an open confrontation between the regime and the artist on both the political and expressive fronts that would link his earlier and later artistic expression as dissident.

His work with the group who comprised *Dau al Set* was part of this "underground" effort and that work did have a telling component of resistance to the regime's cultural repression in Barcelona through its utilization of Catalan and in particular the work of poet Joan Brossa. This group included Tàpies, Brossa, Tàpies's cousin, painter Modest Cuixart, painters JoanJosep Tharrats, writer and essayist Arnau Puig, and from time to time others such as painters Manolo Millares or Antonio Saura. The first issue was published in late September of 1948 just as Tàpies himself had his first major exhibition in Barcelona. With a few notable exceptions over the four to five

years the magazine was published, the poems, essays, and text that might be used in the artwork were in Catalá. The issues were printed up monthly by painter Tharrats, one of the few in the group with sufficient resources to print and distribute them, and as well as the literature contained many examples of Tàpies's early Surrealist worksincluding his illustration done for the opening cover.

That inaugural printing was only eight pages. The title was illustrated by Tàpies and he also contributed one of his ink sketches, a Surrealist selfportrait. The modest issue also contained an essay, in Spanish, by Puig, a two page sonnet and a short prose poem by Brossa, both in Catalan, with the last closing the issue. Noteworthy are these lines from that piece, "Oscilla el nombre."

> The mouth of our street, its exact perspective, is as old as the earth. The generations have broken the violin in its concrete form, but we will choose our own actions. The course of perfection penetrated by the spirit through new discoveries, is the table, where the board of the dice is. [399]

Brossa is reflecting on the deep cultural ties of "our street," the old Catalan street. Its music has been broken by events but the actions of the people, played out on its spiritual table, could bring renewal. The poem has weight because it is not only in Catalan, but it is, subtly, revolutionary, as well.

Among all the individuals involved with the magazine, by far the most important to the young painter was Brossa, who was fourteen years older. Younger Catalan writers whose works first appeared in the 1950s, such as the Goytisolos, published in Spanish,

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[399] Brossa, Joan, "Oscil-la el nomber de pergamins," *Dau al Set,* no, 1 (September, 1948), 8. "La boca del nostre carrer, la seva exacta perspectiva, es antiga como la terra. Les gernacions han romput el violí en la seva forma concreta, peró nosaltres triarem les pròpies accions. El curs de la perfeció per l'esperit per a constatacions noves, és la taula on hi hael tauler d'aquest dau."

having grown up in the regime controlled educational environment. To them as was true of Tàpies, Brossa's sense of *Catalanisme* and his own support for their work was a great inspiration. The painter's respect for the poet's artistic instincts would carry into his own work, and the experiences with him at *Dau al Set* would last a lifetime.

> My friendship with Brossa, more than marking a new phase in my career as a painter, may be said to coincide with its onset. Perhaps because he was a lot older than me, I saw him from the very first as a more centered person, aware of what he wanted, and aimed straight for that. He was not a man of great learning, but he knew and had been able to assimilate admirably many essential things. Furthermore, he had a great Catalanist conscience. Having been among the last to be drafted into the army by the Republic, he had been wounded on the Segre front and had witnessed firsthand the desperate struggle of the people and their defeat. He could also contrast the stature of Catalan writers before and after the war…But when I met him the world of Catalan literature was thoroughly dispersed. Writing in Catalá was close to conspiracy.[400]

As noted, the regime had loosened some publishing in Catalan, although the restrictions still held in many areas of literature, poetry being one of them. As a result, Brossa's work would not finally appear in any significant number of copies nor would his work be a topic of much review until the last decade of the regime, and in many ways his work was a discovery to the rest of Europe, not to mention the rest of Spain. *Dau al Set* was a major vehicle for him at this point, and it would open up collaborations with the painter for the next two decades.[401]

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[400] Tàpies, *A Personal Memoir*, 190.

[401] FBAT, Rafael Santos Torroella, "Tàpies-Brossa," *El Noticiero Universal* (December 1, 1965). Brossa and Tàpies worked together on Novel-la in that year. As such, Torroella understands the piece as an incomplete novel, "frustrated" by language itself, but completed by the images of the painter to create a powerful joint work. The text are duplications of the documents of a life with the images of Tàpies, in this case figurative, that portray the documents, what Brossa termed "integrated language."

The association with Brossa and that of Joan Prats, who had a collection of art that included works by Miró, helped lead Tàpies to Miró himself. All three men were to him iconic in their dedication to the cultural history of Catalonia. *Dau al Set* would provide the avenues for him to engage that culture in the semiclandestine network of artists making their way underneath the official world of Francoism. Still, the desire to be a part of that wider art world that in particular in the late 1940s and early 1950s was turning away from Europe toward New York and the American movement of abstract expressionism, demanded that he look for whatever opportunities he could to engage that world. These two concerns were thrown into relief early in his career at the beginning of the 1950s just as he embarked on some of the deepest personal analysis of his own art and direction in his life.

At every step along the way, the artist was attempting two things. First, he despised the regime's control of expression in the public sphere in Catalonia, and as an artist he was concerned about his own. What is also apparent from the development of the means of exhibition for artistic expression in the plastic arts is that exhibition was an example of collateral interests occurring. There were obvious advantages for the Francoist regime in allowing plastic artists freedom of exhibition and even travel. It demonstrated a kind of openness of the Francoist society and it promoted Spain as a modern, "sophisticated" state. The artist received the notoriety and the chance to broaden horizons and contacts in a rapidly growing international art scene, not to mention the chance to open new markets for the artist's work. Work procured on the international level only gave the artist more opportunities.

Even before the political aperture for Spain in the early 1950s, however, an artist such as Tápies had been able to intuit a style, an artistic logic, and a mode of expression running parallel with some of the most contemporary work in the democratic, free world, much of it emanating from New York. Tápies, himself, saw differently the effects of the regime's promotion, a far more proactive one. The chance, as we will see, to be a part of the larger communities of artists, particularly in New York, the center of the contemporary world of art in the latter half of the twentieth century, not only enabled the opportunity to broader one's artistic voice, but it would also serve to help expand the network of antiregime sentiment worldwide.

The dynamics of the attempt by some in the regime to coopt the production of contemporary art to suit the regime's image abroad cannot be denied. There is every indication, however, that at the academic level, at least, the avantgarde was dismissed has having little cultural value. This did not stop artists such as Tàpies from obtaining an audience for new work much of the options available for Antoni Tàpies came as a direct result of calculations on modern art made by some in the Franco regime. [402]

PostWorld War II and the *Aperatura*

After the Second World War Western art expanded rapidly around the abstract expression emanating from New York. Tàpies readily admits he and others in Spain were on the receiving end of the benefits from the political aperture created for Spain by its Cold War agreements with the United States. As a result of this new political reality,

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[402] Miguel Cabañas Bravo, *La política artística del franquismo: el hito de la Bienal Hispano-Americana de Arte*. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1996), 20.

Tàpies, as much as any artist at the time in Spain, was offered possibilities for reaching a wider audience.

Ironically, the transference of Joaquín Ruiz Giménez to the seat of Minister of Education left open the seat of Jefe del Ministerio de Infomación y Turismo that was soon filled by Manuel Fraga Iribarne. It was Fraga's stewardship that would cause, in the end, the most trouble for Jesús López Pacheco. The new Minister of Educación, however, promoted the idea of greater contact for notable Spanish artists with the outside world, and he and art academic Eugene D'Ors promoted the idea of a biennial exhibition that would be held in the capitol city and brings artists from all over the world.

So, with the help of Francoists in artistic academia, such as D'Ors, and administratively from those within the regime whose concerns were primarily cultural, suc as RuizGiménez and Fraga, the regime had decided to use the plastic arts in particular as a cultural link to the rest of Europe and America.[403] The reason was simple; no one within the regime, not the least Franco himself saw painting, in particular, works of abstract expressionism, as a threat. The promotion of the 1951 *Bienal Hispano Americana de Arte* (The HispanicAmerican Biennial Exhibition of Art) in Madrid was precisely just such a vehicle and was intended to promote contemporary art from the Americas and Spain. It also provided an opportunity for young artists such as Antoni Tàpies.

But this does bring up a salient point. From this point on, Tàpies had garnered a healthy reputation from his peers in the first Bienal, and support from other European

[403] Miguel Cabanas Bravo, 41.

artists, that he was now in a position to extend his work outward to a wider audience outside of Spain. The regime's tight censorship tools tangentially affected him, but he could see them as more of an annoyance than a roadblock. And again what needs to be emphasized here is the extent to which the written word mattered so much to the regime.

The concerted attempt of the government to treat Spanish artists as a promotional tool in the early1950s is not questioned. Whether or not the government, as Manuel BorgeVillel has implied, was attempting to achieve a "parity" with the rest of the Western artistic community's abstract expressionism was probably doubtful, and at any rate clearly not the point for the regime. There is no doubt the effort to present the Spanish artist as a cultural ambassador was real and this attempt was effective from the artists' standpoint in introducing new Spanish talent to contemporary world of art.

However, there was an equally important force working against the biennials in the form of protests from outside Spain against the endeavor. Pablo Picasso, living in Paris and an arch foe of the regime, openly disdainful of the regime's attempt to wed contemporary art with its cultural project in this form of exhibition, mounted a virtual oneman campaign. Sending opinion pieces to the world press and petitions artists outside of Spain asking them to boycott the event, Picasso believed, rightfully, that these were showpieces intended to pump up the regime's image abroad.[404] It should be noted, as this will become important in this discussion, that at no time did Picasso openly try to influence younger Spanish artists living under the regime themselves to withdraw, nor, in fact, did he ever hold against them their desire to participate. As a stalwart Republican

[404] Cabañas Bravo, 307-320.

artist who lived peacefully throughout the Second World War under German occupation in Paris, he understood the finessing of power one might have to engage in under the a dictatorship. And no artist was more important to Tàpies as a model of independence than Joan Miró, whom the artist got to know in the late 1940s. Miró, likewise, understood the predicament of the Spanish artist at this period and, likewise, was supportive of the artist's attempt to get out of Spain to exhibit and to soak up influences from others.[405] All three artists, in fact, would join together, as will shall see, to counteract the regime's penalites on political protest that would erupt in the 1960s.

Nevertheless, controversy has followed Antoni Tàpies regarding his use of avenues provided to the plastic arts by the regime in the early 1950s, as it has the very meaning of his work for much of his career. There are serious questions to ask about the implied acceptance by artists of the Spanish avant-garde of Francoist manipulation of the plastic arts to promote an image of Spain as a forward-looking, modern country to the outside world, all the while at home in Spain the same tyranny of suppression of expression existed on a daily basis. Tàpies, as the best known of his generation of artists must be the target of these questions. Starting with the fact that several artists, and again Tàpies in particular, seemed to be the darlings of Barcelona critics writing in government controlled press, utilizing exhibitions funded by the government, accepting prizes from those exhibitions (Tàpies was not awarded a prize at the first Bienal in Madrid, but was at the Barcelona exhibition in 1954), traveling without noticeable interference to exhibitions

[405] Both artist were extremely supported of Tàpies in his career. Tàpies design the 1983 sculpture, *Homeaje a Picasso* (Tribute to Picasso) (1983) commissioned by Barcelona to honor the period when Picasso lived in the city. Also see Tàpies, A Personal Memoir, 191'195, 253-254.

all over the world with support and encouragement from the government, all in order to promote their art and indirectly the regime, has made some examine the role of the Spanish avant-garde in this period, and again, in particular, Tàpies.

One such critic, Jorge Luis Marzo, has written much on art and literature in the post-Franco years. Marzo sees the Spanish avant-gard of this period as a part of the master plan of the Francoist "*Generación de Fraga*," a reference to all of those who wanted to paint a "new face" on the New State that was more acceptable to the democratic West. Manuel Fraga, and others who grew up in conservative families with a neo-aristocratic outlook, came to their positions a decade after the Civil War. They had grown weary and uncomfortable with the constant victory march of the regime in the 1940s. These were "enlightened Franquistas" looking modernize the image of Spain. [406] Such individuals understood that Spain was isolated, politically and culturally, and its isolation was being portrayed abroad as representing that of a "backward country". As much as Spanish conservatives in the twentieth century believed they were the up-holders of tradition, and in particular of class, the idea of being "backward," being poor and unsophisticated on the word stage was totally anathema. And, most importantly, in the early 1950s, economically the rest of "sophisticated" Europe was quickly passing Spain by. For Fraga and the others it was imperative to find a way to inject what they considered benign, but cutting-edge elements of culture onto the world stage in order to serve the regime as an inoculation against this bias. "They went to mass," says Marzo,

[406] Jorge Luis Marzo, http://humanismeemergent.blogspot.com/2012/01/jorge-luis-marzo-manuel-fraga-y-el-arte.html accessed April 20, 2014.

"but they read Sartre and Camus". [407] On to this stage, then, come the contemporary *avant-gardistas* such as Tàpies.

In his detailed analysis, *Arte Moderno y Franquismo: Los orígenes conservadores de Vanguardia y de la politica artística en España* (2008), Marzo points directly at the Spanish avant-garde, taking them to task for having benefitted from this period, not recognizing the part they played in the regime's project of propaganda, and of being outright *colaboracionistas* - what Marzo labels "*oportunismo*". He asks questions that deserve answers, the most glaring just alluded to "How does one understand the attitude of the artist, if not through the prism of complete indifference facing the political impulse that is made from his work?" [408] Moarzo goes on to quote Tàpies, himself, who did recognize the use the artists made of the space provided for them by the regime. It is interesting to read Marzo's use of Tàpies own words here. There are two distinct interpretations to make from them. Tàpies in his interview in 1977 with Imma Julián readily admits what some of the foreign exhibitions meant for him and others.

> …in principal the artists took advantage of more than one appropriation of some official platforms (regime sponsored or promoted). I believe we did take advantage to a certain degree….The way to go abroad was to participate in the Biennials that they permitted us to go to Venice (1956) and San Pablo (1958). We thought that if the officials gave us the opportunity of going we shouldn't waste it.[409]

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[407] *Ibid.*
[408] Jorge Luis Marzo, *Arte Moderno y Franquismo: Los orígenes conservadores de Vanguardia y de la politica artística en España* (Girona: Premio Espais de Girona, 2007), 109.
[409] Imma Julián and Antoni Tàpies, *Diálogo sobre arte, cultura y sociedad* (Barcelona: Icaria Editorial, 1977), 91.

Jorge Luis Marzo's interpretation of this quote is that it reflects an artist who participated in these Biennials and was insensitive to such participation as helping to build a gulf between artist and public.

> The distance created between the artist and the citizen that accompanies it assumes, during those years, such magnitude that the artists are placed in an ethical orbit in which the surrounding reality and (the artist's) social responsibility as visual members and representatives of that reality itself are disposed to the point of complete cynicism.[410]

However to Tàpies, "wasting" such an opportunity would have been a serious error. It would prevent the artist from important perspectives, on not only the art of others outside the culture, but of taking his own expression to them.

Infact, one could wonder if the supposed "distance" spoken to by Marzo was not a product of the much more profound cultural repression placed on the citizenry itself, but, regardless, let's place the historical "shoe on the other foot" for a moment. The long term question, one the regime thought it was answering- no doubt - is: who will be remembered in the end? After all, is that not the purpose of the whole cultural project of the regime to begin with? And, in fact, whose role promoted whom? I believe the consistency of Tàpies's long term humanist exploration into his own expression and the unfolding of his work and ethic during the 1960s and 70s will answer both those questions.

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[410] Marzo, 109. "La distancia creada entre el artísta y el ciudadano que lo acompañaba adoptó, durante aquellos años, tal magnitud que los artistas se situaron en una órbita ética en la que la realidad circundante y su responsabilidad social como integrantes y representantes visuales de la misma se disipó hasta el punto del más completo cinismo."

One of the damning theories for Marzo and other critics of the Spanish avant-garde is that such "collaboration," if one chooses to define it as such, somehow managed to buy the Franco regime time. The critic believes that the regime's cultural project, with the help of these avant-garde artists, inoculated it from criticism, enabling it to last for the almost forty years. Tàpies denied the effectiveness of the regime's promotion and understood a far more proactive artistic vision. "What weighed more than the 'official aperture,' was the force of the individuals leaving the cultural morass." [411]

Simply put, moreover, the so-called "opening," as a calculation to draw Spanish avant-guard artists into collaborating, was fundamentalling a consequence of the overall geopolitical realities of post-war Europe and the world. These do not point in that causal direction. In the very real political world of 1948-1953, key years in both the resuscitation of Spain and the rise of the new Spanish avant-garde, the late Truman and early Eisenhower administrations had one and only one real desire in regards to Spain, and that was to *use* it as a bulwark against the perceive Communist threat as possible. And the United States had the money to do it. The idea that cultural events in Spain such as the Biennials were seen abroad in the United States or even in democratic Europe as an indication of Franco liberalism does not seem plausible. Even allowing a few artists to travel and hold gallery openings in New York or Pittsburgh do not make for an open society. The only thing that truly bought the regime time was American defense money.

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[411] Manuel J. Borja-Villel, "Los cambios de gusto, Tàpies y la critica" in *Tàpies: els anys 80* by Ferran Masacrell i Canalda, ed. (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1988), 60. "Más que la 'apertura oficial' lo que pesó fue el e esfuerzo de las individualidades por salir del marasmo cultural. Esfuerzo que es evidente en los medios de la oposición."

Sixty million dollars in credit given to the Spanish (to be more precise, $62, 500,000) to prop up the cash-starved Franquistas whose economy was consistently struggling. Given the rate of inflation, that amount converts into $564,000,000 in today's currency, something any moribund economy who relish. Furthermore, in terms of political value that aid did far, far more for Spain than whatever benefit the regime might have received in propaganda points though avant-garde art presentations in another country. The rule of thumb for diplomacy is bread over circus every time. The functionaries of art under the regime were wallowing in their own hubris.

Nevertheless, the question of whether an artist such as Tàpies should even allow himself to be associated with this cultural project on purely moral grounds is fair and one that Tàpies did confront in his interview with Imma Julián in 1977. Tàpies discusses the initial invitation that he and others received. "I remember well," he said, "that we all met together in the end to resolve the dilemma: to participate or not, a dilemma that still arises with certain invitations. Finally, we decided that it was better to attend and that all the world could see our work…"[412] And then he points to an anecdote that for him was full of meaning. He had related it many times before, and Marzo cites in his critique.

This version of the story appeared in his interview with Julián. It pertains to a visit Franco made in 1951 to the first Bienal HispanoAmericana de Arte in Madrid. As the dictator and his party strolled through the various rooms of the exhibition, someone in Franco's party reportedly said, "Excellency, this is the room of the revolutionaries," referring to a particular salon into which Franco had wandered. The dictator's reply was

[412] Julián and Tàpies, 28.

"If this is how they make revolution, then fine." One interpretation of this anecdote is that Franco is unconcerned (as was the censor who reviewed López Pacheco's *Central eléctrica*) with the dissemination of this type of material, because "it will not be understood". Along with that interpretation comes the corollary that this art, of a nature that demands more participation on the part of the viewer, is lost on most, and, therefore, not a threat to the Francoist society, or as Tàpies puts it "*inoperancia*" (ineffectiveness) of avantgarde art.

Tàpies's explanation of the meaning of this event strikes a different note. Instead of the ineffectiveness, Tàpies sees a bigger picture.

> To me this demonstrates exactly the opposite: the ignorance of the Franco regime about contemporary art. The facts show that art, that all of culture, while not instantly triggering the spectacular 'revolutions' that some imagine, does, instead, the quite work that prepares the conscience in a way generally more substantial than most violent acts. Franco always undervalued culture, intellectuals, artists...without realizing, to his own discredit and that of all of Francoism, the greater part of the inhabitants of the state was fed precisely by intellectuals and artists…[413]

What might fall under the heading of "unintended consequences," instead, is part of the agency of the artist. The consequences of attempts by the regime to paint a portrait of a content, peaceful, creative, and contemporary Spain to the world, while in reality strapped to a conservative, cloistered, and stagnate society at home, did not fool many

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[413] Imma Julián y Antoni Tàpies, *Dialogo sobre arte, cultura y sociedad* (Barcelona, Icaria Editorial, 1977), 55. The full quote is: "Algún tonto ha sacado la conclusión de que ésta anécdota demuestra la inoperancia del arte llamado de vanguardia o de mi propia pintura. A mí, me demuestra exactamente lo contrario: la ignorancia de Franco sobre el arte contemporáneo. Los hechos prueban que el arte, la cultura toda, si bien no desencadena instantáneamente 'las revoluciones' espectaculares que algunos imagen, hace, en cambio, una labor callada que preparar las conciencias de forma generalmente más sólida que muchos actos violentos. Franco infravaloró siempre la cultura, a los intelectuales, a los artistas…sin darse cuenta de que su propio descrédito y el de todo el franquismo en la conciencia de la mayor parte de los habitantes del estado español fue alimentado precisamente por los intelectuales y los artistas…"

outside Spain as we will see that the events of the Caputxinada in 1966 clearly demonstrate. Such a contradiction eventually would help to erode the regimes legitimacy anointing by the US in the middle 1950s would seemed to suggest. This contradiction also offers a role for artistic expression, that of preparing the environment for a "consciousness" on the part of the society itself, which would grant power to art well off the cultural radar screen of the regime. Or put better, artistic expression can be affected, but not derailed by a repressive straightjacket or attempted manipulation. It has its own voice.

In his book of essays, *La realidad como arte: por un arte modern y progresista* (Reality as Art: Toward an Art, Modern and Progressive), Tàpies takes up the role of art in modern society. He begins the discussion by stressing the importance of an artist's voice. He says that "…outside of a few artists of tremendous precociousness, most artists with often years of efforts put themselves into forming their vocabulary the maturity of their thought…and all that conforms to their personality." [414] He goes on to chastise former "demagógicas de entender el arte" (demagogues of understanding art), who believed that all was technique and who failed to understand the more profound sense of an artist, "la manera de ser y de pensar," the manner of being and thinking.

> When the artist finds his voice, it is in order to exercise it with continuity, in order to display it and carry to others, as the constant vigilance that has to be, the durable and thoughtful symbol of consciousness and liberty.

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[414]Antoni Tàpies, *La realidad como arte: por un arte moderna y progresista,* tran. by Javier Rubio Navarro (Valencia, Spain: Artes Gráficas Soler. S.A., 1989), 147. "…fuera de unos pocos nombres de precocidad genial la mayor parte de artistas se juegan con frecuencia años de esfuerzos para ir formando su manera de hacer, su manera de decir, su vocabulario..., la madurez a de su pensamiento. ..y todo lo que conforma su personalidad."

> And what could appear to be an individualist scrambling, can also be a tuned and deep form of sensing the problems of man and society. [415]

These are not the musings of an artist regarding the subject or emphasis of his work, nor of an artist out to aggrandize his art at the expense of his soul. This is a humanist statement of a political nature of an artist of the twentieth century avant-guard. In that respect, he has much in common with Breton and the early Surrealists. But there is another deeper sense that we need to recognize in his life; it is that sense of isolation we have seen in him regarding the loneliness of the creative process that possibly carries us back to the period of his isolation with tuberculosis as a young man. Had it affected his sense of his own social instincts about inclusion or about himself as an artist in society? Probably there is no way to know for sure, but there are indicators. The self- portraits themselves are one key. Here was a man who understood perfectly well who he was, because he had stared at himself, and had digested for himself the meaning of those images more than anyone in his life. He knew who he was, though maybe he was not interested in letting all of humanity know it too. But in *La realidad como arte,* he notes that the artist finding his or her voice is not at the end of the journey. It was that sense of the isolation of the artist that made the sit-in at the monastery of Sarriá in Barcelona in 1966 so important to this man, who was, first and foremost, an introspective artist-a man who found both fear and solace in his aloneness in the world.

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[415] *Ibid.,* 150. "Cuando es que artísta encuentra la voz, es para ejercerla con continuidad, para desplegarla y hacerla llegar a todos, como el vigía constante que ha de ser, el símbolo duradero y siempre atento, tan útil en la conquista de la conciencia y de la libertad. Y que lo que podía parecer un individualista yendo a la arrebatiña, puede ser también una forma afinada y profunda de sentir los problemas del hombre y de la sociedad."

La Caputxinada: The Artist Confronts Politics

At about one o'clock in the morning of November 6, 1966, seven months after the sitin in Sarriá, a smoke bomb was thrown through the window of the convent in the complex of buildings at Sarriá. The next day a letter the priests and nuns received a letter signed by Falange Español that began "What's up, children of the devil. Did you like the bomb?" It continued in a rambling and threatening tone:

> You are swine and disgusting apprentices to fags, and we step on those faggots and white slavers such as the priest Dalmau (Josep Dalmau i Olivé) and after we mess them up we demand explanations. We aren't Communists, but one would thanked them that if instead of killing only a few priests, they had liquidated all of them in the Spanish (Civil) War and also the parents that brought those children into the world to be followers of the devil dressed in robes, and now in the clothes of the "yeyès" (teenieboppers of the 1960s), and who go looking for young girls in order to spend the night, abuse them, and then preach morality in the church pulpit...What the smoke bomb is, is only a warning; the next will be another of more powerful, and so little by little we'll destroy all that your children of sows have built. Separatist, Catalan swine, we spit in your face and step on you.[416]

This vitriol toward a segment of the Church would have shocked the country in the 1940s, but the position of the Church and the regime had altered, along with that of the Falange. Although Franco had moved the Falange to the side administratively as early as 1945, the party was always useful in its natural capacity as the regime's para

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[416] Joan Crexell, *La caputxinada* (Barcelona: Ediciones 62, 1987), 145-146. "¿QUÉ TAL HIJOS DEL DIABLO HOS GUSTO LA BOMBA? Sois unos puercos y asquerosos aprendices de maricas y nosotros con los maricones o los tratantes de blancas como el mosén Dalmau los pisoteamos y después de estropearles el físico les pedimos explicaciones. No somos comunistas pero agradería a esta gente que en la pasada guerra española en vez de matar a tan solo unos pocos de curitas los hubieran liquidado a todos y también a los padres que han traído hijos a este mundo para que luego fueran adeptos del diablo vestidos con sotanas y ahora con vestidos yeyés y que además se vayan en busca de chicas para pasar en el púlpito de la iglesia…Lo de la bomba de humo es tan solo una advertencia la próxima será otra bomba pero de mayor capacidad explosiva y así de poco en poco haremos destruyendo todo lo que vosotros hijos de cerdas construyáis. Puercos separatistas catalanes los escupimos en la cara y los pisoteamos."

military enforcer of cultural policy. It was a role it played from the earliest days of the uprising in 1936, as in the case of Antonio José death, and in precisely the way that it violently took to the streets to confront Madrid university student protests in 1956. The Falange assumed that role again in Barcelona, but probably never in the history of the party had there existed as much animus between the Church and a state sponsored organization as did exist in Barcelona. In a large part this hostility was due to changes internal in the Spanish Catholic Church. Ever the stalwart defender of the regime in matters of culture throughout the Civil War and the 1940s, The Spanish Church had itself begun a transformation, in particular among younger brothers of the orders. The Second Vatican Council called by Pope John XIII a year earlier in 1965 gave great impetus to social concerns of younger church members and served notice that the Church's job was not to confirm the nationstate, but to act morally independent of it. In other parts of Spain, in Asturias where mine worker strikes resurfaced in 1962 and in Madrid in 1965, where students again took to the streets, the Church was no longer sitting on the sidelines and in opposition. A student strike in April of 1966 in Barcelona was a direct outgrowth of the actions of students in Barcelona and would end up involving over a hundred priests marching in support of the students against police violence, only for the priests themselves to be clubbed by charging police.[417]

The movement in March by students to open the University of Barcelona to more democratic voices, and in particular to open the university to the voices speaking in

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[417] Pere Ysàs, *Disidencia y Subversión: La lucha del régimen franquista por la supervivencia, 1960-1975* (Editorial Crítica: Barcelona, 2004), 10-11.

Catalán, garnered much sympathy among the brothers of the Caputxin order of Franciscans (hence the incident became known as La Caputxinada) in Barcelona. The fledgling, antiFrancoist *Sindicat Democràtic d'Estudiants* (Democratic Students Union) of the University of Barcelona had originally planned to hold an organizational meeting at the university between March 9th and 11th. For reasons of security, the leaders changed their mind. Instead, the Franciscan friars of the Order of Caputxin, whose order had existed in Barcelona since the late sixteenth century, invited the students to hold their meeting in what was consider a more secure environment, the convent in the compound of the order in Sarriá. The regime had a received a report of such a meeting, but was where it was to be held. It turns out the convent was a good choice. [418]

While it had been true that Tàpies's world had grown exponentially over the half decade from 19601965, with exhibitions in the United States and other parts of Europe, it was not true he was unaware of what was happing at home. His work did consume him, and yet both he and his wife Teresa were slowly being drawn into the building protests over the regime's still unbending repression. In 1962, the regime's Brigada Socialthe same "Social Police" who raided Jesús López Pacheco's apartment in 1956arrested eleven women in Asturias, who had taken part in a series of demonstrations and protests on behalf of the largest miner's strike to that point in the regime's history. They were held and had their heads shaved as a punishment by humiliation.[419] Tàpies along with 101

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[418] Crexell, 47-49.

[419] Boletín Informativo del Centro de Documentación y Estudios Españoles, Los Intelectuales y la represión de las huelgas de Asturias (November, 1963) 19: 17. A typewritten summary published by the Paris based Center for Documentation and Studies dated November of 1963, contains copies of the initial letter from concerned Asturians complaining of the action taken by the Social Police-in effect the Francoist

other Spanish intellectuals and artists from all parts of Spain signed a letter of protest that to Manuel Fraga the head of the Ministry of Information and Tourism. It was a followup letter to one sent by Asturians themselves, to which there had been no reply. The artists and intellectuals protested again the maltreatment of the strikers and in particular the women and condemned the captain of the Brigade by name and his lieutenants for violations of basic human rights. Included among the signatures were Tàpies's friend and one time cocontributor to *Dau al Set*, Antonio Saura and critic Rafael Santos Torroella. And seven spaces down was that of writer Jesús López Pacheco from Madrid.[420] The painter's signature on the document earned him an appointment with the Captain General of the Social Police in Barcelona, on Christmas Eve, 1963. Tàpies saw the whole thing as theater to an extent.

> It was clearly a move to scare us and, considering the day and the hour, to mortify us. I asked my lawyer, my friend Albert Jacas, to come along, but he was not permitted to enter. Needless to say, in the official waiting rooms of the time one met the cream of Barcelona intellectuals. When they ushered me into an office I saw Joan Teixidor (a Catalan poet) coming out. I found myself facing a kind of tribunal of middleaged officers, a bunch of corpulent and loud men. One of them sat in front of a typewriter. They showed me a pile of papers with signatures and asked me if I recognized mine. As I had signed many petitions and I had not yet been informed what the summons was about, it occurred to me to ask what the signatures were about. Raising his voice, one of the officers showed me the document and let me read it. I recognized my signature. The one at the typewriter had signed it, and in my naiveté I asked again why they were asking me. More yelling to inform me that they were ordered to ask some questions and did not know anything else. I cannot remember the rest of the questioning. They asked me to sign my deposition.[421]

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secret police. Along with the initial letter of protest along with a denial of the mistreatment by the regime, and a copy of letter sent with the names of all 102 signatories.

[420] *Ibid.* 17.

[421] Tàpies, *A Personal Memoir*, 348.

This would not be the last time that Tàpies was called into headquarter of the Brigade "for motives that might make us laugh today, but at the time you never knew where they could lead." [422]

The year 1966 was a watershed year for student protests against the regime in Catalonia just as it was a demarcation in the interaction between Antoni Tàpies and the regime as well. He had first been approached to get involved in the gathering of Catalan students in early 1966 by his friend writer Xavier Folch. Tàpies schedule, which involved travel and exhibitions, was full, but it was clear that his presence could help, especially since he owned "a large car" and could pick up two of the other men who would attend the meeting. The "large car" was a Mercedes and one of his assigned passengers was Salvador Espiru, at the time eighty years old and still president of the Institut d'Estudios Catalans. [423]

At their arrival at the compound of the monastery on the morning of Wednesday, March 9th the three along with the other invited guest as and student delegates entered the auditorium to lead a discussion on ways and approaches to meet their democratizing goals for the university. The students were all under an order of expulsion from the University by the rector Garcia Valdecasas. The rector's official notice was printed the next morning on page 34 of *La Vanguardia Española* under the headline "La convocatoria de reuniones y asambleas estudiantiles: nota de La Oficina de Prensa del rectorada". (The convening of meetings and students assemblies: Notice from the Press

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[422] *Ibid.*
[423] *Ibid*., 350.

Office of the Rector.) It banned the use of university property for such a meeting, but in addition threaten with expulsion any student for attending such a meeting. The rector's admonition stated that "the collective absences for disobedience, in each case, will be considered grave misconduct… collective absences will be sanctioned by the Ministry (of Education) with loss of tuition." [424]

Joan Crexell's version of events in his book "La Caputxinada" parallels those of Tàpies and along with photos available paint a fairly clear picture. Attending invitees were professors of economics, philosophy, chemistry, architecture (including Luis Domènech), and biology as well as reporters from La Vanguardia Española, El Noticiero Universal, and Diario de Barcelona reporter Josep Cadena who served as the journalist contact for the student journalists present.[425]

The planning of the meeting was, from all of this information, precise and, considering the resources of the Social Police, extremely closed mouth until it was well underway. The inclusion, in fact, of journalists demonstrated at least tacitly that there were sympathetic voices within the media and the idea of a rigid Francoist press by the middle 1960s might seem overstated. In fact, as always appearances belied a different truth. The actual reporting making the dailies on the meeting is sketchy and generally could only be implied through such notices as posted by the rector himself of the University of Barcelona. It would be up, in the end, to sympathy demonstrations, strikes, and vitally important, foreign accounts passed for Spanish journalists to build pressure

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[424] "La convocatoria2'53e reuniones y asambleas estudiantiles," *La Vanguardia Española* (March 9, 1966), 34.
[425] Crexell, 52-53.

continue to build on the story of what would become one of the legends of the protest movement against the regime. It would be in that publicity that the name of Antoni Tàpies would be vital.

The combination of student delegates, intellectuals, writers, and artists sitting at the front facing a group of some four hundred students was interrupted on the first day by news by the information that the Social Police were on their way. When they arrived they insisted that the "dignitaries" were free to go, but that all students must hand in their identifications. This the group of visitors refused to do and the stalemate began. For the next three days the combined group stayed put, walking the grounds within the auditorium plaza on the inside meeting ad hoc, learning from each other of the news that was slowly starting to trickle out. In the end, the police entered again and began herding the hundreds of students and collect identification cards. The individuals such as Tàpies were arrested and incarcerated.

Tàpies's attitude regarding his brief two day imprisonment, was much like that of López Pacheco in regards to "making a fuss" about the details. "Do I need to give you the details of our stay in jail and the irritations inflicted upon us?" he wrote:

> Thinking of people who have suffered such terrible things in those sinister cells I feel almost ashamed to mention my travails…But there is no doubt that for us the enthusiasm, the optimism, the feeling of having achieved something positive for our country made us quickly forget the humiliations and fears of the days we were detained. [426]

[426] Tàpies, *A Personal Memoir*, 353.

The growth of the protest movement from that point was also more noticeable in Barcelona and other parts of Spain. The regime from Franco to Fraga was aghast at the brazenness of the event, upon hearing the report of the sitin, and immediately a call went out from the dictator to clamp down through new regulations and put an end to the protest. Franco was kept informed up to the minute as things had unfolded in Barcelona by Minister of Interior Alonso Vega and it was he directly who ordered the eviction of the students.[427] On March 15th, , four days after the arrest of Tàpies and his cohort at the monastery, another notice in *La Vanguardia Española*, from the rector's office, but this time the rector was forwarding a note from the Undersecretary of Higher Education of Spain. Warning again of imminent and sever actions on the part of the regime, it stated, "It should be remembered…that the establishing of any other type of association is at every point illegal; it violates the provisions on penalties incurred that the law prevents."[428] The students of the university, probably beyond their wildest dreams, had the regime paying attention. They had set in motion a series of protests and actions across the country that would tie in with those of miners and other workers, as well as a growing radicalized Catholic clergy over the next decade that would in fact be instrumental to change.

When comparing the two accounts, the firsthand account from the memory of Antoni Tàpies and that of Crexell, what is also apparent is that the painter saw himself very much as newcomer to this whole protest movement and he defers in his account to

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[427] Ysàs, 12.
[428] BFAT, "La constitución de asociaciones de estudiantes: Nota de la Subsecretaria de Enseñanza Superior del Ministerio de Educación Nacional," *La Vanguardia Española* (March 15, 1966), 25.

the students and to the bravery they demonstrated, but also to their dedication and organizational prowess. He was learning about them, but about himself as well. “I was impressed,” he wrote, “by the friendship, the assuredness, the serenity, the generosity, and the contagious warmth that the militants exuded. They seemed to be human experts in all that was happening to us and what we needed to do.” And for his art there were lessons as well. “We need to recognize that art, despite the possible success and what people say that makes artists famous, also isolates us from others; we are not always easily understood; many see us as a monument that is hard to approach.”

That the involvement in Caputxinada for Tàpies was transformative seems clear enough. But from a strictly political standpoint, there were no clearer indication of the strength of Tàpies name recognition, nor the importance of his experiences outside of Spain, than the publicity which arose over his involvement in the Caputxinada. Whatever the regime’s intention in promoting modern art and artists dating back to the early 1950s, the negative publicity that occurred when Franco troops busted into the Catholic convent that March in 1966 was not part of their its plan. The international scope of the response was telling; the condemnation from newspapers in the United States and Europe was universal and helped to generate actions to aid those arrested. In Washington, New York, Paris, London, and Rome articles on the Barcelona protests not only presented the student case, but it was Tàpies name that was mentioned more often than intellectuals who added themselves to the effort of the students. Although there was great unanimity among contemporary critics about Tàpies talent and work, and his approval was certainly not based on some stamp of approval by the Spanish government, it would seem that their

calculations regarding his usefulness at gone horribly array. And the painter would not stop at having been arrested.

In the summer of that year money was being raised in New York and Paris through auctions of the work contributed by wellknown painters and writers, including Tàpies, in order to help pay the fines imposed by the regime. The publicity about the auctions in the form of more articles appeared, again reminding readers of the protests and the larger issue of regime intolerance. Here's an example from the Monday, June 27 New York Times.

> Paintings by Picasso, Miró, Calder, and Tàpies, and manuscripts by Jean Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir have helped to pay the equivalent of $42,583 in fines levied by the Spanish Government against 33 Barcelona artists and intellectuals….A special auction held on their behalf last Monday at the Palais Gallíera in Paris actually produced $50,000 and the excess will be used to aid in paying the fines of another group of intellectuals in Madrid….In both instances, the Spanish Government fined the artists and intellectuals for having attended "illegal" meetings of university students pressing for campus organizations free of official control.[429]

The $42,583 in fines, or approximately 2,500,000 1966 pesetas, was levied on all those who participated in the protests, with the government reserving the heaviest fines for the artists and intellectuals. None with the exception of Tàpies, had the ability to single handedly raise the resources through the sale of work abroad, and Tàpies's associations with other artists abroad and in Spain helped publicize the students cause. It would seem, if one were to hold to the idea that the artist had somehow been coopted, that the government had "created a monster".

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[429] BFAT, Tad Szluc, "Art Auction Aids Fined Spanish", New York Times (June 27, 1966)

L' Esperit Catalá

By the beginning of the 1970s, still traveling and still exhibiting abroad, if Antoni Tàpies was not immune to the regime's repression, was almost "to big to fail." Given the timing of the growing protests in Spain that overlapped with other leftist student movements in the late 1960s a great Tillian umbrella was spreading its canopy providing him with new contacts and a new audience. His alliance with people on the left, and his body of work that now spanned the globe, had granted him this undeniable weight of recognition. In the early 1970s he again participated in protest actions in sympathy with sixteen Basque nationalists, a part of E.T.A. (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna or Basque Homeland and Liberty) in the Monastery of Montserrat twentyfive miles outside of Barcelona and added his name at the top right after Joan Miró to its manifesto. The document was signed by three hundred "Catalan intellectuals, artists, professionals, and university students and remained in session in the monastery for two weeks.

There was a new urgency in his work and every step he took radiated back to his experiences in Barcelona of the spring of 1966. Although he a new, less insular, more outwardly political role, he still was obsessed with his process, only now he was looking for some conjunction between his own aesthetics and the political aspirations he saw reemerging all around him. Painting he would say "should not be a depiction of things but an object in its own right, an object of power, a thing of presence with an ability to stir and awaken". [430] The work of art becomes a talisman for Tàpies, an actual spiritual

[430] Ishagpour, 17.

object. One can even sense a concept here that falls under the heading of iconography. His found a focus by returning to images he knew from growing up in Catalonia.

Catalunya durante el franquismo (Catalonia during Francoism) was published in 1985 by the editors of *La Vanguardia*. The newspaper, under regime control during the Franco years, was renamed *La Vanguardia Española* in order to emphasize its adherence to the unity of the New Spain. It took back its original name *La Vanguardia* in 1978 three years after the dictators death. The book, which details chronologically events during the regime as seen through the pages of the newspaper published in Spanish, not Catalan: in fact, the newspaper did not begin printing a Catalan version until 2011. However, it is the cover the book that gives us a good place to begin the discussion of Tàpies's use of Catalan imagery as it was the artist who painted the cover.

The image is a series of four vertical brush strokes in blood red on a field of gold and is an allusion to the Catalan flag, which dates to the medieval Kingdom of Aragón. Tàpies is not credited with the illustration, though on the inside jacket he is mentioned as a contributor. There is little doubt this is his work. The images first begin to appear in his work in lithographs from the early 1970s and then in the vividly multidimensional *L'Esperit Catalá* of 1971. That painting using oil and ink on wood includes the four red bars of Catalonia over a field of cursive in Catalan listing the names of contemporary and historical figures. It has the effect of a graffiti wall and creates a full circle from Tàpies early material work to his post-Caputxinada expressions.

Conclusion

Tàpies began his autobiography in 1967 shortly after the protests in Sarriá and it takes events of his life to that point. The original Catalan version came out in 1977. However, the artist had lived only half of his life. Most of the last half would be lived in a Spain without Franco and his dictatorship. The Spain of the transition, the new constitution, and a consolidated democracy offered for Tàpies one extra element that he had not enjoyed fully, the same lack of freedom that had driven Jesús López Pacheco and his family out of Spain at the end of the 1960s. Tàpies between 1975 and his death he published written works and did interviews that were the culmination of his years of study and contemplation on his own artistic expression and the role for art.

Titled "The New Culture and Catalonia," in this 1984 essay the painter begins by a search for a new meaning of "mysticism" and religious experience "not exclusive to religion itself.

> Given the great leap forward that science a, and especially physics and its atomic and subatomic discoveries, relativity, quantum theory, etc. and with the studies of the human psyche, its symbolic transformations, and comparative studies of religion, now scientists inform us that the new way of seeing the world, the new systems of perception and the new scale of values that derive from them, are surprisingly similar to many mystical visions from all times, and especially those of Asian wisdom….It should not feel strange that today's great scientists and thinkers bring back to us names until recently forgotten or mistrusted even by the, In their books we see the *I Ching* or the *Vedas* cited next to C.G. Jung or Teilhard de Chardin...[431]

[431] Antoni Tàpies, "The New Culture and Catalonia," *Complete Writings*, Vol. II: Collected Essays, trans. by Josep Miquel Sobrer (Indianapolis, In.: Indiana University Press, 2009), 457-458.

But setting up those observations for Tàpies can only lead to the further emphasis that artistic expression itself has reflected this vision in the twentieth century all along.

> Artists and poets have greatly contributed to showing that reality is no longer the product of the naïve realism of the out-of-date- classical paradigm that made nature a static terrain at the mercy of conquering imperialisms and of destructive speculators. They have also contributed to awakening the interest in the mechanisms of the artist's work... [432]

As a result of the emphasis he placed on the individual artist throughout history and as well his critique of any rigid aesthetic in art, because of his own insistent investigation into his expression through his essays and his art, possibly we can approach the illusive nature of what is an artistic voice. In the case of Antoni Tàpies, his early adulthood struggle with his health was the linchpin on which his artistic development turned, but those years of his life only initiated the primal timbres of that voice so to speak. It is true that the recognition of an artist's voice in society by those who view, hear, or read it, does aid in bringing that voice fully into focus historically. After all, it is through comment, criticism, exhibition, performance, or reading, the social components of the artist's intersection with society, that an artist's work enters the public sphere and finds its place in a culture. And then historians take note. Nevertheless, the creation narrative of artistic expression, as Tàpies has said, is first and foremost a solitary one. Fortunately, Antoni Tàpies published work gives us an extra view into that solitude. The formation of the artistic voice of Antoni Tàpies, rising as it did during the middle years of the twentieth century, as well as the middle years of the Franco regime, drove the dynamic between art and society in his work and the historical context of his time is still,

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[432] Tàpies*, Complete Writings*, Vol. II, 459.

certainly, in play. However, Antoni Tàpies's art is a reflection of other elements that rose beyond his time, not of some "pure" reality of a conceptualized aestheticism. His expression was a direct link to the deepest human sensibilities and requires a continual reexamination for any interested in artistic expression.

Chapter 8 - Conclusion

That is what art is. It is the hope of hope. For "no hope" we have reality.
- Osvaldo Golijov [433]

The strongest bond between the work and lives of these artists was not their politics, nor their social class, nor the degree and extent of their status, nor their disciplines of art, nor, for that matter, opposition to the culture of the regime, although the latter was a strong bond. It also was not the moment when the door to a prison cell shut in the face of each of these free men, although that was an experience one of them would not live to recount, and the two that did would not speak of it out of respect for those like Antonio José who suffered the regime's ultimate punishment.

If there is one bond that links the lives of the three artists here, it is their endless search and refinement of their artistic voice, the personal language that they came to recognize as their own, which had to be discovered, fundamentally, on their own. Antonio José heard it floating in the pueblos around Burgos and had to incorporate those voices he had heard and memorized into the orchestral colors he had acquired in his studies. That he was executed before he had been able to present that voice to a wider audience outside of Spain was a crime against humanity, one of many the Francoist regime committed. Yet, we are hearing that voice, because those that remembered what he had accomplished in the little time he had, insisted that it be heard. He spoke of the

[433] As quoted in Jeremy Eichler, "Standing the Whole World on Its Ear," New *York Times,* January 22, 2006. The Argentine composer was discussing his composition, *Aindamar,* inspired by the life of Federico García Lorca.

"pure artist" who carries "noble sentiments." This is because to him there was no other goal to achieve than to continue to create.

Whether or not he had the resources, given his background, to attend world famous conservatories mattered little because in Madrid, in Paris briefly, teaching in Málaga where he composed some of his most beautiful music, and in his native Burgos with his beloved Orfeón Burgalés, he could find the resources and adapt them to his voice. Teaching for the young composer was a necessity in order to make a living, but he threw himself into it because he understood it was also part of his voice.

The Orfeón represented everything he had learned from when he was ten, studying counterpoint with José María Beobide, and everything he had learned in the hills around Burgos. There can be no more intimate experience as a listener than to hear his old choir today in the Iglesia de San Nicolás de Bari of Burgos. The Church was built in the early fifteenth-century. In comparison to the gargantuan medieval Cathedral of Burgos, behind which San Nicolás is tucked on Calle de San Fernán González, the old stone church seems to be the size of a postage stamp. In fact, it is deceivingly vaulted in the inside and seats a large congregation comfortably. The organ and choir loft is in a balcony behind the parishioners facing the grand gold-fringed altarpiece that rises above the congregation in the front of the church. The acoustics in this church are nearly perfect. One can hear well every note from every voice, men and women, clear and resonant. One can also experience hearing the Orfeón Burgalés today in that church performing the very piece, "¡Ay! Amante mío," that was banned by the Jefe de Seguridad of the Nationalist provisional government in 1938. The composer would probably be

stunned to know, and no doubt overjoyed, that it is possible now, from virtually anywhere on earth via the internet, to hear his orchestral *Suite ingenua,* or the last piece of his performed in the Republic before it fell to Franco's troops in 1937 in Valencia, *Evocacioines*. The 2005 recording by the Orchestra Sinfóníca de Castilla y León has brought this music back alive and with it the crystal clear voice of the composer out of the shadows of the hills of Estépar.

But an artistic voice is, of course, not only musical. It resonates with words, as well, and those of Jesús López Pacheco carry special meaning today, maybe even more so than they did at the time of his battles over censorship with the regime. His son Fabio López Lázaro spoke in one interview of the "preciseness" of his father's words. The image he conveyed was of his father in their Canadian home, sitting for hours in his study in the summer on break from the teaching responsibilities of the university, stepping out for a moment into the garden to ask his young sons, wife, or daughter if they felt he had this one phrase right or not. Did they feel he had captured what he intended? And he would go back to the study, with his cigarette and start over again until he had it just right. And he would do the same the next day and the next.

This is the image of a writer who could not stop writing and who understood that there was no end to his craft. This was exactly the same endless search for his expressive voice that drove the art of the composer from Burgos. The Francoist regime and Jesús López Pacheco's battles with its censorship were over, but that had nothing at all to do with his continued searching.

The author did not take his freedom for granted, but neither did he see it as something unusual. It was what was supposed to be in order that he write. He had politics, yes. And, they were reflected in the humanity that his literature projected. To repeat lines from Chapter 7: "I have never felt the loss of a particle of my liberty as a writer after writing my works, and certainly I have not written them for any set point, save those that I give to myself internally."[434] His voice was, in fact, constrained under the regime and he fought against that system that constrained it. But the act of writing, the thought and preciseness of writing, was not bound by constraints. And, yes, it was necessary for Jesús López Pacheco to leave Spain, to "tear himself away from Spain," as he wrote in *Pongo la mano sobre España.* If he was not permitted to express himself authentically, then to be "Spanish" for him could not exist until he left.

Antoni Tàpies would seem to understand what both artists' voices were expressing, because, although his circumstances differed, his practice did not. As Antonio José bent over scores analyzing how Ravel achieve a certain effect with his strings in an orchestration, or Beethoven combined voices with horns, Antoni Tàpies wanted to know how a simple line could reflect a change in the composition of a face - in the composition of his face, in fact. But that was not enough. It became also a matter of how his face interacted with the world around him, as the Surrealist paintings he employed in the late 1940s reflect. But neither was that enough.

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[434]Duran de Cogan, 38. "…yo no he sentido nunca la perdida de una parcela de mi libertad como escritor al escribir mis obras, y desde luego no las he escrito por ninguna consigna, salvo las que yo me doy a mí mismo desde mi interior."

The move toward a more abstracted vision for his art was, for him, the natural consequence of his material world, his technique, and his understanding of human expression. The wall is one of the most human representations of all. It represented form, construction, and purpose. It represented a barrier and an opening. More than that, the materials of which it was constructed, the marble dust of *Grey and Black Cross*, for instance, is a projection of reality, not the social reality of Social Realism exactly, but just as close in reality.

For the regime, a wall of Tàpies, however, was insurmountable. His art from the mid-1950s is precisely what Spain of Franco faced in the future. The regime's calculation was that the West would "buy" their story. The West, and the United States in particular, saw Spain as an airbase, nothing more. This fact meant that the whole calculation about appealing to the West culturally was predicated on a culture, Spain's own, of which the regime had little understanding.

Its bloated misunderstanding, in fact, of abstraction, as the story of Franco's foray to the 1951 exhibition implies, was representative of its hubris. Never did the regime expect that promoting contemporary art could have unintended consequences for its own survival. And yet, it did. Antoni Tàpies's voice grew geometrically and the regime eventually imploded.

Was one truly the consequence of the other? That is a premise of this work. The Francoist regime, for all of its techniques at survival, its toying with the politics of Europe after its own internal rape of Spain, truly believed it had a cultural history on its side and a cultural dynamic that mattered. What Antonio José, Jesús López Pacheco, and

Antoni Tàpies demonstrated through their lives and their art is that the Francoist regime did not, in the end, matter.

In terms of the Francoist regime and its cultural project, National Catholicism, if the dictator or the thousands of Francoist functionaries who manned the barracks of the consolidated administration in the 1950s and 60s, believed that history would look sanguine on their enterprise, they were mistaken. It is Spanish historians now two generations later such as José Luis Dedesma and Javier Rodrigo, who are determining the ultimate fate of the regime. This terse description is indicative of their attitude. To these historians Francoism was merely:

> …a presence that constructed an epic, mythologized and fetishized past, but with which it imposed a "fractured remembrance" and a "culture of forgetting" of the Republic and the real Civil War and the ideals and political culture of the conquered...[435]

The construction of the regime's violence as it affected Antonio José and the goals of its censorship process as it affected Jesús López Pacheco, were based on siphoning off and cauterizing the contagion of those ideas. Those ideas remained and grew.

But the promotion of its culture as it attempted to usurp expression from artists like Tàpies was delving into areas far beyond the regime's capacity to understand. That the Barcelona painter's work hangs in every major museum in the world today is not a testament to the regimes cultural project; it is a testament to the finality of its cultural

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[435] José Luis Ledesma and Javier Rodrigo, "Caídos por España, mártires de la libertad. Víctimas y conmemoración de la Guerra Civil en la España posbélica (1939-2006)," *Ayer*, 63: 236.

failure. It is Tàpies's art that has touched the lives of millions as a distinct voice from the second half of the twentieth century. It is his voice that ratifies the humanist values of free expression and creativity.

Together, the work of these three artists, in music, literature, and the plastic arts, form a template of creation, in fact, espousing the very purest of human values – the right to express oneself freely and openly, as an individual in society without fear. The regime of the dictator represented precisely the opposite. It was their voices it sought to muffle, stifle, and manipulate. Its own voice-it did have one- was only looking backward like the angel in Walter Benjamin's interpretation of *Angelus Novus*. "His face is turned toward the past. Where we perceive a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet." [436]

In the end, a cultural wreckage will be all that is left of the regime and the voices of the artists all that we hear.

[436] Walter Benjamin, Illuminations (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich: 1968), 257-258.

Appendix A-

Chapter 2

La Política

Antonio José

Confieso sinceramente que de política no entiendo una palabra. Estoy desorientado entre tanto proyecto, tanto sistema, y tanto partido; y a fuerza de desengaños en la realidad vivida y palpable he llegado a desconfiar de todo lo que a política huele. Sin embargo no puede sernos indiferente en conjunto, a los jóvenes, la organización del Estado y el gobierno de los pueblos, a pesar del descontento que sentimos ante este estilo de vida política. Desde luego, no quiero reyes, ni dictadores, ni ninguna de estas cotosísimas e inútiles figuras decorativas. Un consejo de hombres inteligentes, rectos y buenos encargados de la alta administración del país; sin soberbia y sin empeños tercos de amor propio injustificado; encargados tenazmente de la cultura y el bienestar del pueblo; un consejo que suprimiera totalmente el ejército y la marina de guerra; que fomentara la agricultura; que estableciera centros de enseñanza numerosos y completos donde todo el mundo estudiara, desterrando así esa cruel y perniciosa distinción de educación de pobre y educación de rico; que protegiera la industria, el comercio y las artes; que evitara nuestro agobiante papeleo, rompiendo ese círculo absurdo de tantos empleados dependientes del Estado, ocupados afanosamente en cobrar los tributos, y los mismos tributos recaudados precisamente para pagar a aquellos empleados…; un consejo sin gestos forzados de exhibicionismo; de amplio y tolerante criterio; con la vista fija no en su medro personal sino en la prosperidad y el contento del pueblo que le entregó su

confianza; un consejo así, liberal y demócrata, sin más manejos ni complicaciones, digo yo que sería fácil y beneficioso para la nación.

Me interesan de veras las cuestiones sociales y deseo vehementemente trabajar en la mejora de la comunidad humana.

El socialismo bien entendido y bien dirigido es cosa perfecta.

El movimiento actual en favor de una paz perpetua entre las naciones, aunque vacilante y lento y desconfiado, es verdaderamente consolador. Cada vez es menos probable una guerra tan horrenda como la pasada guerra europea. Indudablemente, si todos los jefes de estado quisieran, las guerras serían en absoluto imposibles; pero no quieren. ¿Por qué?...

¡Cuánto lastre de orgullo y de tesón y cuánto prejuicio! ¡Qué mal consejera es la historia pasada para vivir la presente…!

Antonio José, 26 años

Director del Orfeón Burgalés

Chapter 4

From interview with Jesús López Pacheco in *Revista Canadiense de Estudio Hispánicos*, 1985

La universidad canadiense me ha ayudado a ver con más claridad los aspectos excesivamente tradicionalistas, dogmáticos, cerrados, que había en la universidad española, de los cuales yo mismo me había quejado y cuya existencia contribuyó a la iniciativa que tuve, junto con otros amigos y compañeros, de organizar un congreso nacional de estudiantes, para pedir reformas en la universidad española. Y esas, o parecidas, reformas habían sido hechas y estaban en marcha en la universidad canadiense. Por otra parte, la relación entre la universidad y la sociedad norteamericana es totalmente nueva para mí. Esta es una sociedad mucho más desarrollada técnicamente, con instituciones económicas mucho más fuertes que las de España; empezando con lo más positivo, tanto las universidades canadienses como las americanas disponen de una organización, de unos medios que para cualquier español de los años cincuenta o sesenta, e incluso de ahora, son dignos de admiración y respeto: riqueza de las bibliotecas, abundancia de medios, acceso instantáneo a los más avanzados medios tecnológicos para la enseñanza, etc. Pero, por otro lado, la sumisión de la cultura, y de la universidad, por tanto, a las instituciones financieras, a la presión de los grupos del capital es muy grande. Muchas veces he establecido un paralelo entre esta situación y la dependencia que nuestras universidades han tenido respeto a la Iglesia e incluso los gobiernos. Esta presión continua y muy fuerte por parte de las grandes compañas que, de un modo directo o indirecto, financian las universidades, influye en crear una sumisión excesiva de la universidad a las necesidades del mercado. La universidad se ve obligada a producir

graduados que se incorporen precisamente a lo que la industria necesita, que no siempre coincide con lo que necesita la sociedad, y hasta es contrario a menudo. Esto es completamente opuesto a lo que ocurría en España, en donde uno estudiaba cosas completamente "irrelevantes," en muchos casos, para la sociedad española. Aquí todo es "relevante," o casi todo. La cultura y la ciencia, por otra parte, están recluidas, como los indios, en reservas que las "protege," pero que en realidad, las aíslan. Y separar la vida y la cultura es malo para la vida y la cultura, pues así se favorece, de un lado, el elitismo, y, de otro, el anti intelectualismo, la desinformación y la trivialización, tan típicos de la clase media. Por otra parte, esto hace que en la sociedad canadiense, y en norteamericana en general, la interrelación entre la universidad y la sociedad esté muy mediatizada, y en algunos casos, sea muy pequeña.

Chapter 6

Interview with Antoni Tàpies in *La Vanguardia Española*, October 25, 1955

Manuel del Arco - ¿Qué es eso?

Antoni Tàpies – Tres pinturas.

M.D.A - ¿Qué es pintura según usted?

A.T. – Un vehiculo capaz de transmitir al espectador el tipo de emoción X, que pretende su autor.

M.D.A - Este cuadro – señalo uno de los tres – para unos es una piel de elefante; para otros, piedra, ¿qué quiso usted representar?

A.T. – Ni piel de elefante, ni piedra; es simplemente una composición pictória.

M.D.A – Cuadro ¿es toda superficie con colores encima?

A.T. - En el sentido de obra de arte, no.

M.D.A - Su pintura ¿qué es?

A.T. - Yo me preocupo de llegar directamente a la emoción, sin necesidad de encasillarme en ninguna ortodoxia.

M.D.A. – Eso todo el mundo lo lamenta. ¿A usted le emocionan los cuadros de los demás?

A.T. - Si son buenos, sí.

M.D.A. - ¿Y cuándo son buenos?

A.T. – Cuando satisfacen al espectador necesidades espirituales de nuestro momento.

M.D.A. – Togores contestaría exactamente lo mismo y está en el polo opuesto a usted.

A.T. - Togores trata de solventar necesidades espirituales que ya están solventadas sobradamente.

M.D.A. - ¿Cuáles son las necesidades espirituales que usted descubre sin satisfacer?

A.T. - Ante todo, hacer meditar a mis contemporáneos acerca de la nueva visión de la realidad. La realidad no es simplemente lo que tenemos delante de los ojos- Por las aportaciones de la ciencia y de la filosofía, el concepto de realidad varía; hoy, más que nunca, se han alterado una serle de concepciones.

M.D.A. - ¿Usted explica en sus lienzos la realidad?

A.T. – Explicarla, como descripción, no; yo me valgo de unos mecanismos, podríamos decir de una tramoya, para provocar al espectador que haga un examen de conciencia de toda la ideología que tenía hasta el momento, para que se enfrente con nuevos problemas.

M.D.A. - ¿Problemas de confusión"?

A.T. – De un lado, sí; el arte, para mí, ha de perturbar, obligar a discutir al espectador.

M.D.A. – Pero ¿ustedes hacen pinturas o jeroglíficos?

A.T. – El jeroglífico, si lo hay, no está en las pinturas, sino en el bagaje espiritual del espectador. A través del arte, el espectador debe descifrar sus jeroglíficos. ¿Queda claro?

M.D.A. – No; en todo caso entiendo que el espectador puede interpretar como le dé la gana esta nueva pintura, ¿es así?

A.T. – No; el artista usa unos mecanismos que le fuerzan al espectador, no le dejan libre, le obligan a analizar las cosas en un sentido determinado.

M.D.A. – Pero sólo le comprenderá a usted, si admite su sinceridad, el que piense exactamente como usted.

A.T. – Si piensa igual que yo, sentirá el gozo de ver ratificada la ideología que comparte conmigo; y si no piensa como yo, se encontrará, naturalmente, perturbado y forzado a reanalizar sus concepción si se queda usted solo, ¿Quién está perturbado: usted o la gente que no le entiende?

M.D.A. – Creo rotundamente que el artísta, por soltarlo que esté, nunca es del todo incomprendido; siempre existe un grupo que comparte su ideología.

M.D.A. - ¿El artísta no ha de convencer a los más?

A.T. – El artísta, para hacerse comprender, no ha de descender a los más; son los más los que han de subir al artísta.

M.D.A. - ¿Esto no es una pedantería?

A.T. – Creo que no, porque yo no niego a nadie la capacidad de entenderme.

M.D.A. - ¿Niega usted a los más la capacidad de negarle?

A.T. Todo el mundo está en perfecto derecho de afirmarme o negarme; precisamente toda polémica en arte puede llegar a ser útil para orientar al público. Pero, en el momento de ponerme a trabajar, como el hombre de ciencia en el laboratorio, me tiene sin cuidado lo que se afirme o niegue de mí.

M.D.A. ¿Se da cuenta usted, y todos los que son como usted, que por ustedes nos gusta menos la pintura figurativa y no nos gustan las que ustedes hacen?

A.T. – Pues algo hemos logrado.

M.D.A. – Sí, destruir.

A.T. No, formar una nueva sensibilidad.

M.D.A. - ¿Y adónde vamos a parar?

A.T. Creo que el artísta progresivo, junto con todos los Intelectuales progresivos, como él, contribuye a formar una nueva conciencia.

M.D.A. - ¿Conciencia de qué?

A.T. - De la realidad.

M.D.A. – Y dale con la realidad; ¿está en sus cuadros?

A.T. – La realidad no ha estado jamás en cuadro alguno, desde las pinturas de Altamira; el arte es únicamente un signo, la realidad está en la mente del espectador.
(En este instante pasa un espectador ante sus pinturas; las contempla y dice: “Esto es una pared desconchada, con pátina del tiempo.”)

M.D.A. - ¿Ha oído? –

A.T. – No me parece mal este comentario; en un fragmento de pared, cabe mucho dramatismo.

M.D.A. - ¿Por qué no le han mandado a usted a la sala del crimen?

A.T. – Ya estoy en ella.

M.D.A. - ¿Contento de estar ahí?

A.T. - Antes de ser funcionario del arte, prefiero pasar por maldito

M.D.A. - Lo ha conseguido.

Appendix B-

Figure 1 *Autorretrato* (1944)

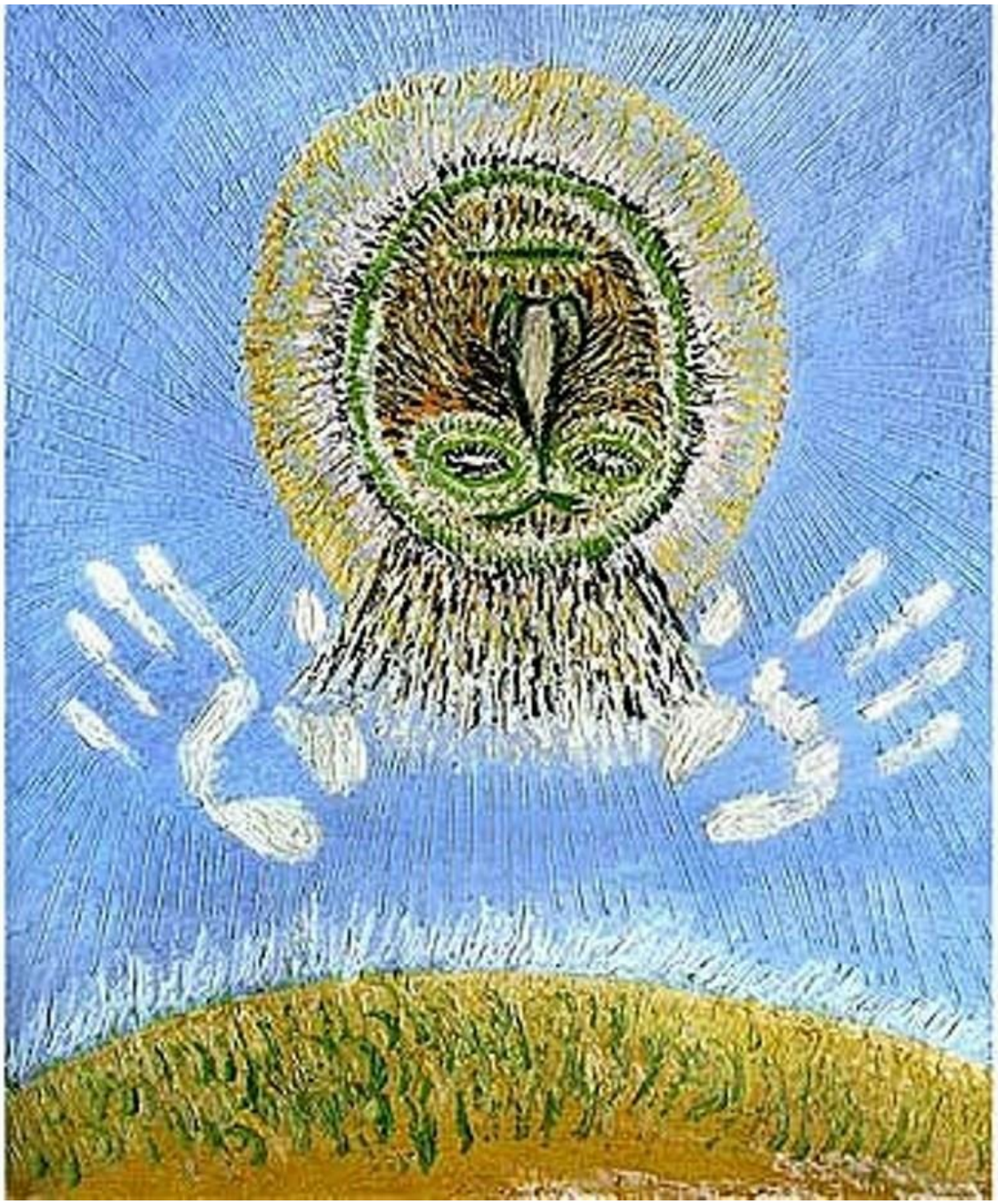

Figure 2- *Zoom* (1946)

Figure 3- Feixisme from Sèrie Història Natural (1950)

Figure 4- *Grey and Black Cross* (1955)

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AGA-AJLP- Archivo Jesús López Pacheco

AUAB-Archivo de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

AMB-Archivo Municipal de Burgos, Burgos

BNE-Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid

BNC-Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya, Barcelona

BFAT-Bilblioteca de la Fundació Antoni Tàpies, Barcelona

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