Embodying Revolution: Viscerality, Embodied Solidarities, and Bodily Practices in Literature and Culture of the Spanish Revolution and Civil War

By

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Abstract

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This dissertation examines representations of social revolution and its agents in literary and cultural texts written, published, and, in the case of the dramatic text, staged during the three-year conflict known as the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). More specifically, this dissertation discusses what these texts postulate about the relationship of theory and practice in revolutionary politics. The body is central in this dissertation since, in many regards, it is a place where theory meets praxis. In order to examine this relationship, we focus on the revolutionary process — the Spanish Revolution of 1936 — that began alongside the civil war, both of which ensued from the military coup d´état against the democratically-elected government of the *Frente Popular* (Popular Front) during the Second Republic in July of 1936. We analyze how the texts respond to the Spanish Revolution of 1936 and, in some instances, the civil war, by examining their depictions of bodies, their compositions, and their processes.

The texts we study are Joan Oliver's *La fam* (1938), an emblematic text of Catalan drama of the revolution and civil war, Lucía Sánchez Saornil's *Romancero de Mujeres Libres* (1938), a collection of *romances* (ballads) that narrate the life and death of three figures — María Silva Cruz, Encarnación Giménez, and Buenaventura Durruti — as well as major episodes during the conflict, and Mary Low and Juan Breá's *Red Spanish Notebook* (1937), a text that comprises chronicles about the first six months of the revolution and civil war. For these texts, we consider bodies, their compositions (the visceral, intellect, their fleshiness), and their processes (hunger, eating, collective affect) in our analysis of portrayals of the revolutionary process and its agents. This dissertation argues that the practices that derive from the visceral, engage the materiality of the body, and produce collective affect critique, exercise, and influence revolutionary politics in 1930s Spain.

Chapter I analyzes *La fam* as a text that critiques a revolutionary process that fully relies on the intellectual side of its agents while it neglects their visceral side. Through three manifestations of viscerality, the text critiques the intellectualization of the revolution and its bureaucratization that follows the triumph of the armed struggle. Chapter II examines Sánchez Saornil's political poetry in its popular form, the *romance*. In this chapter, we analyze four poems that conceptualize a

central principle in workers' struggle — solidarity — as kinship and in bodily terms (fleshiness and mutual embodiment). Additionally, three *romances* of this collection narrate major episodes of the struggle, including the antifascist resistance of Madrid in November of 1936 as well as the antifascist resistance of the Northern Front in the autumn of 1937. We examine Madrid, Asturias, and the *pueblo* as suffering bodies that self-transform as a means to resist oppressive forces. Lastly, Chapter III studies the bodily practices in the *retaguardia* (behind the lines) that Low and Breá document in *Red Spanish Notebook.* These practices that exemplify political action and behavior in the *retaguardia* include raising fists, wearing the *mono azul* (blue overalls) and *espardenyes* (rope-soled shoes), carrying and responding to political symbols such as flags, attending political rallies as well as political and funeral processions, and singing anthems. We examine how this text tracks a commitment to the workers' struggle and the fight against fascism in physical terms. Additionally these practices produce affective atmospheres in which bodies influence one another and configure one another's revolutionary subjectivity.

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Introduction

"The thing that had happened in Spain was in fact, not merely a civil war, but the beginning of a revolution" (Orwell 50). George Orwell writes in his first-hand account of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), *Homage to Catalonia* (1938), that the antifascist international press of the time focused solely on a war between democracy and fascism, and that the revolution that was underway in Barcelona after the military coup d'état that was contained in the Catalan city in July of 1936 was not reported in the news. To this day, the Spanish Revolution of 1936 is indeed not as widely known as the Spanish Civil War. However, it was a defining episode in the outcomes of a war that changed the trajectory of the Iberian country. Central to this dissertation project is the Spanish Revolution of 1936 that began alongside a civil war that would conclude in a four-decade dictatorship, which crushed every political opposition, including revolutionary politics. In order to bring to light the revolutionary process that emerged in the summer of 1936, this dissertation examines three texts that were written, published, and, in the case of the dramatic text, staged during the three-year conflict. Our selection of texts respond to the war and revolution as they are in progress. One of the central questions that guides this dissertation is how these three texts respond to a revolution that unfolded in the middle of the civil war. More specifically, we are interested in what these texts posit about the relationship between theory and practice in revolutionary politics. The body is, in many regards, where theory meets praxis, and it is one of the major throughlines of this dissertation. We consider representations of the body, its compositions, and its processes in order to examine the depictions of the revolutionary process and its agents. Our focus is on three key texts: Joan Oliver's *La fam* (1938), Lucía Sánchez Saornil's *Romancero de Mujeres Libres* (1938), and Mary Low and Juan Breá's *Red Spanish Notebook* (1937).

The order in which we examine the texts is not chronological. Instead, we have organized the materials in terms of their relationship to partisan politics. We begin with Oliver's *La fam*, a text that is not politically affiliated to any party or movement. Most scholars consider it a reflection on the ideological reality in Barcelona of the late 1930s (Gibert Pujol 150). Thus we begin with a text that reflects on the politics of the time rather than being politically partisan to a specific revolutionary cause. The other two texts we examine were written by authors who were affiliated to a movement or a party. Lucía Sánchez Saornil was an anarchist poet and writer and the cofounder of the women's organization *Mujeres Libres* (Free Women) whereas Mary Low and Juan Breá were Trotskyists and members of the POUM ((*Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista* or The Workers' Party of Marxist Unification) party. Although the writers belong to specific political projects, the degree of party propaganda in their texts varies according to the genre of each text. In the case of Sánchez Saornil's *Romancero de Mujeres Libres*, the text is not explicit about the politics the author champions. In contrast, *Red Spanish Notebook* is overtly partisan given that the use of the chronicle form lends itself to reporting, in this case, about the different political factions during the war and revolution. As a result, we begin our analysis of revolutionary embodiment with a literary text that does not defend a particular ideology, then proceed with a literary and cultural text that poeticizes war and revolution without overtly promoting specific partisan politics, and conclude with a cultural text that chronicles the different political ideologies that inform the conflict the authors experience first-hand.

In our discussion about the relationship between theory and practice in revolutionary politics, we focus on the political participation of the working class. That is, we are interested in understanding how the working class, as the protagonist of the social revolution, becomes

involved in politics that align with their class interests. In the texts we examine, we focus on what these texts convey about the political participation of the working class in revolutionary politics. That is, does it begin with the acquisition of class consciousness or instead does it start with revolutionary action? This question is also a central question that drives this dissertation given that it analyzes texts that were written during a revolutionary process that would eventually fail. The Spanish Revolution of 1936 has been studied primarily in the field of history, but hardly in literary studies. The reason is evident: most of the literature on the civil war that was written during the conflict, the dictatorship, and in contemporary times with the "memory boom narratives," as Helena Buffery denominates the return to literature about the civil war, refers to the struggle as a civil war, not a revolution (866). Moreover, the revolution only began in specific areas of the Iberian Peninsula, so it is regarded as a part of the major conflict known as the Spanish Civil War. Despite these facts, we find that a literary analysis of texts that respond to this particular revolutionary process is a significant and necessary contribution to the field of modern Iberian Studies. It is our hope that this dissertation opens up new avenues for the study of revolutionary literature during the civil war in 1930s Spain.

A brief overview of the historical period we study will help contextualize the chapters that follow. The 1930s was a tumultuous decade in Spain. It witnessed the abdication of the monarchy, the proclamation of the Second Republic, during which there were three elections within its five-year existence, political violence, strikes, including the 1934 general strike in October, which became an outright revolution in Asturias, a military coup d'état, revolutionary processes across other areas of the Republic, a civil war, and a dictatorship. This decade also witnessed the growth of working-class movements, particularly the anarcho-syndicalist movement in different parts of the peninsula. The last Republican elections took place in February 1936, four months before the outbreak of the revolution and the war in the summertime. The previous elections in 1933 had yielded disastrous results in which the right had won. The general strike of 1934 was a consequence of these elections. During this strike, the miners led the Revolution of Asturias, while the Catalan government declared the Catalan State. The latter led to the suspension of Catalonia's autonomy and the imprisonment of the members of the government. As a result of the right-wing government of the Republic, in the elections of 1936, the left-wing parties came together to form a political coalition of Republican and workers' parties as well as workers' organizations under the name of *Frente Popular* (Popular Front). In the February elections, *Frente Popular* was declared the winner. During the following months after the 1936 elections, political instability continued in the form of political violence and assassinations. The boiling point came in the summer months when the Spanish military, in alliance with the aristocracy, the bourgeoisie, and the Church, devised a military coup d'état against the democratically elected government of the Second Republic. Although the military managed to gain control of some areas, the rest of the territories contained the military rebellion. In the case of Barcelona, a major industrial center, its defense against the Spanish military was led by its civil population, which consisted of an anarchist majority as well as members of other workers' parties. In the words of Heleno Saña, "la revolución se llevó a cabo sin instrucciones impartidas desde arriba. Fue la clase trabajadora la que espontáneamente tomó las riendas en sus manos" ("the revolution was carried out without instructions from above. It was the working class that spontaneously took the reins into its hands"; 175-176). The defense of the city against the attempted coup facilitated a temporary workers' control of Barcelona. With this new power, the anarchists began a collectivization of different industries in the Catalan city. In the early

months of the revolution, the anarchists put into practice their revolutionary program with the collectivization of industries (176).

Even as the Second Republic organized to fight against the military uprising, revolutionary processes were underway. However, this revolution had domestic and international enemies. The government of the Second Republic, for example, had been reluctant to arm the civil population after the military coup d'état given its fear of fueling the revolution. Another major adversary was the Soviet Union and its representation in Spain with the Stalinist PCE (*Partido Comunista de España* or Communist Party of Spain) and its Catalan affiliate PSUC (*Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya* or The Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia). Though these parties supported the Republic, they were in categorical opposition of a social revolution. The influence that the Soviet Union had in the derailment of the revolution is well documented. For example, their support of the Republic in the form of arms was conditional on the guarantee that no other communist party, namely the dissident POUM party, would gain prominence in the country. The POUM party, in contrast to the PSUC, supported a social revolution. We discuss more in detail the POUM party in the third chapter that examines a collection of chronicles by internationalists Mary Low and Juan Breá who joined the dissident party upon their arrival to Barcelona in the summer of 1936.

While the anarchists began collectivization endeavors after the successful defense of Barcelona against the military rebellion, state power was briefly vacant. Even though the anarchists had control of the streets, they refused to seize control of the state. Instead, they decided to collaborate with other antifascist parties and organizations in the struggle against fascism.[1] The anarchist movement, with some internal opposition, joined the *Generalitat* (the Catalan government that had been established prior to the coup d'état) and other antifascist political forces in the creation of the *Comité Central de Milicias Antifascistas de Cataluña* (Central Committee of Antifascist Militias of Catalonia) days after successfully defending the city in July of 1936. It would be a short-lived administrative body given that two months later it would be dissolved and replaced by an ever more powerful *Generalitat*. With this new development, the success of the revolution was now uncertain. The arms support from the Soviet Union arrived in time for the defense of Madrid as the fascist rebels advanced toward the capital. The Republican defense of the capital began on November 6, and, by mid-November, it summoned the anarchist leader and revolutionary Buenaventura Durruti and its Column, who had been fighting at the Aragón Front. Though there are different accounts about how he met his end, Durruti was wounded and died hours later on the 20th of November of 1936.[2] This larger-than-life figure would be the inspiration of several *romances* (ballads), including one poem written by Lucía Sánchez Saornil, whose *romances* we study in the second chapter of this dissertation. With respect to the defense of Madrid, Sánchez Saornil also composed a *romance* about the participation of the civil population in the defense of the capital against the fascist rebels who had the support of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. Months after the successful antifascist defense of the capital, the disagreements as well as the rivalries between the different antifascist factions reached their apogee in May of 1937. After nearly a year since the beginning

[1] For a detailed account of the anarcho-syndicalist movement's participation in the Spanish Civil War, see *Revolution and the State: Anarchism in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939* by Danny Evans.

[2] See the biography Abel Paz wrote of the anarchist leader titled *Durruti en la Revolución española,* which discusses the different versions of Durruti's death.

of the war and revolution, the city of Barcelona witnessed days of confrontations, what is known as *Fets de Maig* (May Days), between militia members of the different antifascist factions, pro-revolution against anti-revolution, which would conclude with a major blow to the revolutionary process and a fragmentation of the antifascist resistance. Another consequence of these clashes was the outlawing of the POUM party due to the efforts of a more powerful PSUC party. In order to discredit the POUM, the Stalinist PSUC party accused POUM members of being agents of fascism (Solano 39). These events that disintegrated the antifascist coalition were influential in the writing of the dramatic text *La fam* (1938) that we examine in the first chapter. Another major episode from the war and revolution that is in conversation with the poetry of Sánchez Saornil is the antifascist resistance in the Northern Front (Asturias, Cantabria, and Biskaia) in the autumn of 1937. The anarchist poet wrote two *romances* about the resistance of Asturias, the last province of the Northern Front that was captured by the fascist rebels. This historical overview ends in the autumn of 1937 since the texts we examine were written between 1936 and March 1938, so their response is to major events in the first year and a half of the war and revolution.

After this brief historical overview, we now outline recent scholarship on the body and the Spanish Civil War. The body in studies of the Spanish Civil War has been a research interest in the last twenty years. The *Ley de Memoria Histórica* (Historical Memory Law) from 2007 was a significant piece of legislation in the reevaluation of the Spanish past in the sense that it recognized the victims on both sides of the civil war; in other words, it challenged the dominant Francoist narrative that continued to linger after the end of the dictatorship. One of the main issues that continues to be unresolved from the war and dictatorship and that this law failed to address was the support of the Spanish state in the opening of mass graves and the exhumation of bodies of the victims of the war and the dictatorship. The identification of the victims has the body at the center of the matter. Consequently, there is scholarship whose focal point are the bodies of the victims who have been exhumed, thanks to the efforts of the non-governmental group *Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica* (Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory), as well as the bodies who remain in mass graves throughout Spain.[3] There is also an interest in the study of biopolitics during the conflict. Many of these investigations focus on women's bodies. For instance, Laura Vicente Villanueva discusses that women's bodies during the Civil War were battling grounds in which to exert power. The vulnerability of the body makes it an ideal place on which to punish women for their "transgressions" of gender roles and social conventions that controlled them. Shaving women's heads was a specific act of violence during the war that the fascist side perpetrated, and this form of humiliation was on exhibit in processions in which women would show their "indignity" for transgressing the social and political order.[4] Another study whose focus is the body is María José

[3] See Layla Renshaw's *Exhuming loss: Memory, materiality and mass graves of the Spanish Civil War.* Other examples include Alfredo González-Ruibal's "Absent bodies: The Fate of the Vanquished in the Spanish Civil War" and Ulrike Capdepón's "Memorias familiares, identidades reprimidas y la vida política de los cadáveres: el significado actual de las narrativas de parentesco en las exhumaciones de la Guerra civil española."

[4] For a study on sexual violence against women in the Republican zone, see Adriana Cases Sola's "La violencia sexual en la retaguardia republicana durante la Guerra Civil Española" from 2014. Another study is Tatiana Romero Reina's "¿'Violencias sexuadas'? Cuestiones en torno al análisis de la violencia ejercida sobre los cuerpos de las y los 'rojos' durante la guerra civil española" from 2019. Regarding the violent act of shaving women's heads, Laia

Palma Borrego's examination of oral testimonies of women who experienced the civil war and the dictatorship. The author examines the mourning and melancholia of women's testimonies. Palma Borrego affirms that the physical violence is a means by which to dehumanize and objectify women who were directly or indirectly associated to the Republican cause or against the military uprising. The body of the deceased in the context of the war is another topic of study. Given the ample photographical archive produced during the conflict, there are studies on the representation of death in photographs that were taken during the war. An example is Mar Marcos Molano's analysis of the impact photographs of the deceased have on those who observe them and the potential of these photographs to begin a process of closure in regard to such a violent and traumatic past for the Spanish population.

The body is also at the center of performance studies dedicated to this period. Helena Buffery analyzes contemporary onstage performances of three productions about the Spanish Civil War. In her analysis, Buffery examines how these productions address the corporeal inscription of traumatic memories of the war. Lastly, in literary studies, there are studies that analyze the body. For example, Mario Martín Gijón focuses on the poetry that the conflict inspired both at the front and behind the lines. The author distinguishes the poetry from each context as poetry from a culture of presence and poetry from a culture of meaning. Martín Gijón considers Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht's distinction in that the latter is what reigns in the field of literary studies in which we search for meaning. The former, the culture of presence, is another dimension of the poetic sign, that is, a spatial relation with objects or processes, which are tangible (present) and capable of influencing our senses and bodies. Thus, Martín Gijón argues that the poetry of the front belongs to the culture of presence, since it emphasizes the body as well as the relationship between man and nature, while the poetry of the *retaguardia* belongs to the culture of meaning as the poets seek to find meaning in the struggle. Another contribution to the field of literary studies is Olga Muñoz Carrasco's article, which analyzes the centrality of the body in César Vallejo's *España, aparta de mí este cáliz* (*Spain, Take this Cup from Me*) (1939), one of the major poetry collections that was written during and about the civil war. In this collection of poems, Vallejo materializes the struggle in corporeal terms. For example, the civil population forms one body in the defense of the Republic while Spain is a bleeding suffering body. Additionally, Spain is a mother who carries her womb in a state of agony (517). Another article that studies the body in the poetry of the war is Helena Establier Pérez's article, which examines the body as a space for social and vital experiences in Ernestina de Champourcín's poetry written during the war (122). The poems, written and published in 1937 and 1938, reflect upon the place of the individual existence in the collective endeavors of the defense of the Republic. The body of the soldier becomes a symbol of resistance of the *pueblo* in one of the poems from 1937 (123). Death, particularly of innocent children, is the subject of two poems from 1938. In these poems, Champourcín explores absence as an effect from war as well as the overwhelming destruction that is difficult to counteract (126-127). Establier Pérez also underscores the change in tone between the poems from 1937 and the poems from 1938, which goes from hopeful to dispirited (131).

This dissertation is in dialogue with these scholarly contributions about the Spanish Civil War. First, it examines "forgotten" literary and cultural texts about the war and revolution. In a

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Quílez Esteve analyzes how fictional and documentary films resignify this violent act through different narrative strategies in order to dignify and give voice to the women who experienced it.

sense, it unearths responses to the war and revolution that yield new ways of understanding the struggle. Secondly, by focusing on the body, its compositions, and its processes, we demonstrate the centrality of material conceptions of the revolutionary process. Thirdly, our focus on the body highlights it as a site of agency and potential in a war and revolution rather than a mere casualty of the struggle. Therefore, this dissertation argues that the practices that derive from the visceral, engage the materiality of the body, and produce collective affect critique, exercise, and influence revolutionary politics in 1930s Spain.

Chapter I examines the depiction of a revolutionary process and its protagonists that critiques the revolutionary action that began in 1936. Through the perspective of two contrasting revolutionary figures as well as other participants, Oliver's *La fam* (1938) captures and critiques a revolutionary process through three manifestations of viscerality. Samsó, an unhoused and unemployed individual, is the central figure of this analysis, which examines this character's viscerality as a mode of critique that evinces the limitations that hinder the success of revolutionary emancipation. The three manifestations we examine include Samsó's physicality, his hunger, and his "gut feelings." We contrast these visceral manifestations with the figure of the intellectual revolutionary, Nel, who at the hour of need is incapable of leading the workers into battle. The visceral revolutionary, Samsó, replaces him. In this sense, the chapter probes the way *La fam* highlights the significance of the visceral for the triumph of the social revolution.

In Chapter II, we examine how Lucía Sánchez Saornil's *Romancero de Mujeres Libres* (1938) poeticizes war and revolution through the materiality of the body. This poetry collection narrates the first year and a half of the war and revolution in Spain. It features poems that are immediate responses to different episodes of the struggle. These *romances* lionize famous figures such as the anarchists María Silva Cruz and Buenaventura Durruti. Other *romances* immortalize unknown figures, for instance, Encarnación Giménez, anonymous *milicianos* (militia members), and the civil population of Madrid and Asturias. Four of the seven poems conceptualize solidarity through kinship and in bodily terms (fleshiness of the body) while the last three poems portray Madrid, Asturias, and the *pueblo* as suffering and resisting bodies. The poems posit that solidarity is physical, that is, it is embodied and shared. With respect to Madrid and Asturias as suffering bodies, this personification becomes a form of resistance in the tribulations these territories experience and the transformations they undergo.

In Chapter III that examines Mary Low and Juan Breá's *Red Spanish Notebook* (1937), we focus on the actual body as an agent of practices that exemplify revolutionary action and behavior in the *retaguardia*. We show how the text tracks a commitment to workers' struggle and the fight against fascism in physical terms. Additionally, these practices produce a collective affect that influences the commitment to the struggle in the early months of the Spanish Revolution of 1936. The diverse bodily practices — raising fists, wearing overalls and rope-soled shoes, carrying and reacting to political symbols, such as flags, attending political rallies as well as political and funeral processions, and singing anthems — promote the political projects and remind individuals of the magnitude of the struggle as well as their duty to continue the work of the fallen comrades. We examine everyday practices that begin with the new revolutionary era: raising fists as greetings and wearing the *mono azul* or blue overalls and *espardenyes* or rope-soled shoes. At the beginning of the revolution and war, these objects represent the revolutionary and antifascist causes. As the war progresses, the *mono azul* and the *espardenyes* are only associated with the revolutionary project. Flags are also adornments or complements that politically define those who carry them. As symbols of political parties and organizations, flags also signal a commitment to particular political projects as they complement individuals that

participate in processions, which publicly display said political projects. Political processions as political action that strategically occupies the public space showcase not only the political projects they represent, but also the current power these projects have in the city, i.e. the anarchist movement in Barcelona. With respect to funeral processions, they fulfill a political function in the new era. More specifically, a funeral procession promotes political projects previously linked with the fallen. They are also events that remind others of the commitment they have to the struggle. The singing of anthems, which express political projects, is another practice we examine. We focus on how this practice produces affective atmospheres in which bodies influence one another and configure one another's revolutionary subjectivity. Our hope is that in the aggregate these analyses will open new lines for thinking about the role of bodily practices within the revolutionary politics of the Spanish Civil War.

Chapter I

Visceral Critiques of a Social Revolution: Animality, Hunger, and Gut Feelings in Joan Oliver's *La fam* (1938)

> "Només serà un ball de garrotades! No penseu en res ni en ningú! Com una canilla rabiosa… A sarau, fillets meus[5]!" (It will simply be a dance of hard blows! Do not think about anything or anyone! Like a raging pack of hunting dogs… to the soirée[6], my sons! Oliver 50)

These are the words that Samsó, one of the protagonists of Joan Oliver's *La fam* (1938)[7], utters to rally a group of revolutionaries in the third episode[8]. This statement provides insight into how Samsó conceives an armed revolution and how to conduct revolutionary action. More specifically, the violent image his description evokes is the character's visceral understanding of the world. *La fam* (1938) is a dramatic text that depicts a revolutionary process as a two-part conflict that begins as a violent struggle and continues with bureaucratizing efforts by a political party's revolutionary movement; the consolidation of the revolutionary endeavors never arrives, and the story concludes with an open ending. This dramatic text was written after the May Events of 1937 in Barcelona, in which the antifascist front suffered a major internal blow to its resistance[9]. Some critics posit that these historical events and their aftermath inspired the crafting of this play (Foguet 13). We agree that the context that surrounds this dramatic text is fundamental in the analysis of revolution and revolutionary agents. *La fam* was written, published, and staged two years after the military coup that gave rise to war and revolution in Spain. Given that the text is linked to the war and revolution that began in 1936, *La fam* is a document of sociohistorical value that responds to a tumultuous time in the late 1930s Iberian Peninsula.

Our interest in this text first resides in its potentiality to create and capture a revolutionary process in a dramatic text as the medium. Secondly, by analyzing these depictions, we would like to generate a more profound understanding of the social phenomenon known as

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[5] All the translations from the Catalan are mine.

[6] The term "sarau" has two meanings: a dance or soirée and quarrels (plural).

[7] This play has not been translated, but a literal translation of the title would be Hunger.

[8] This text does not follow the traditional form of the dramatic form for its division. Instead, it consists of six episodes.

[9] The May Events refer to the fighting that occurred between different factions on the Republican side in Barcelona that began on May 3 and concluded on May 7 of 1937 (Pagès i Blanch 109-122). The animosity between the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT), an anarcho-syndicalist labor union, and the Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya (PSUC), a communist political party with an affiliation to the Soviet Union, since the beginning of the war, reached its peak in the spring days of 1937. George Orwell captures these events in *Homage to Catalonia* (1938) while Ken Loach's *Land and Freedom* (1995) also depicts the clashes between antifascist groups.

revolution. Through the perspective of two contrasting revolutionary figures as well as other participants, this literary text captures and critiques a revolutionary process through three manifestations of viscerality. The historical context of this play also motivates our examination of the contribution of the dramatic text to (literary) studies of revolution. After its publication in April of 1938 and a subsequent staging two months later, *La fam* yielded distinct interpretations, including criticism by socialist groups that condemned the portrayal of the fictionalized socialists (Foguet 18). Francesc Foguet notes the silence that Oliver's play generated in socialist publications of the time such as *L'Esquella de la Torratxa*. Namely, this publication opted not to review the staging of the play as its depiction of a social revolution did not align with their ideological principles[10] (18). Given these motivations, our analysis focuses on the depiction of the revolutionary process and its protagonists in order to understand the text's critique of revolutionary action in the 1930s. Samsó, the unhoused and unemployed individual, is the central figure of our analysis, which examines this character's viscerality as a mode of critique that evinces the limitations that hinder the success of revolutionary emancipation.

From the outset, Samsó has generated interest in critics and writers alike who have written about *La fam*. Samsó is a unique character, unprecedented in the Catalan stage, according to Xavier Benguerel who wrote about the text and the staging of the play in *Revista de Catalunya* in August of 1938. Benguerel defines Samsó as "un personatge efímer — un meteor — de totes les revolucions" ("an ephemeral character — a meteor — of all revolutions"; 613). That same year, Domènec Guansé discusses how the physiological necessity of hunger forms and deforms characters' nature (*caràcter*) (266). Given the aftermath of the war, this text, though often considered an attempt at thematic renovation in modern Catalan drama, was forgotten during the dictatorship while Oliver's dramatic work also became secondary to his poetry (Gibert Pujol 41). Robert Marrast recovers this text in his 1978 study of drama during the Spanish Civil War. In his text, he defines the main revolutionaries thus: "Samsó hi encarna la força visceral de la revolució, Nel el rigor i el sentit de l'organització" (Samsó embodies the visceral force of the revolution, while Nel the rigor and a sense of organization"; 173). Similarly, Xavier Fàbregas states the text introduces two opposing attitudes of two men with regard to the revolution: one that is a disciplined organizer, the other who is anarchic and spontaneous, both necessary and useful in the different stages of the revolutionary process (1328). In 1986, Joan Buades writes a text about *La fam* where he interprets Samsó as a character who reveals "el farisaisme dels profetes i professionals de la revolució" ("the pharisaism of the prophets and professionals of the revolution"; 21). We are in dialogue with these readings about Samsó. More specifically, we agree that Samsó, as a character, reveals that which limits the revolutionary process. The physiological necessity that he experiences, that is, one of three manifestations of viscerality is the mechanism by which the text critiques the revolutionary process. With respect to the distinct interpretations of *La fam* as a result of its thematic contents, Antoni Serra reduces this dramatic text to a political pamphlet that is inferior to Oliver's other dramatic texts he wrote before the war (19). In contrast, Miquel M. Gibert Pujol asserts that *La fam* is a political reflection on the tension between communism and anarchism in Barcelona during the war and revolution (106). Moreover, he argues that this text is not merely a political pamphlet or a circumstantial text, instead, it is a political reflection of the ideological reality of Spain in the late 1930s in which

[10] Foguet postulates that the text did not paint the anarcho-syndicalists in a negative light, much to the PSUC's dismay, but it did portray a bureaucratization of the revolutionary process that one could associate with the statization that the PSUC had undergone during the revolutionary years (18).

ambiguity is central (150). We agree with Gibert Pujol's interpretation of *La fam* as a serious political reflection of the revolutionary process that Spain experienced. Additionally, the ambiguity that the text presents allows for our interpretation of the visceral qualities that Samsó possesses.

Prior to the analysis of the three manifestations of viscerality, we provide a plot summary of the dramatic text, which is divided into six episodes, instead of acts. The play's episodic structure breaks from the three-act structure of the bourgeois dramatic text, which critics have considered an attempt to renovate Catalan drama (Benet i Jornet 128). *La fam* portrays a revolution in an unnamed industrial city, where a debilitated regime contributes to the necessary conditions for a revolutionary process to occur. It tells the story of two workers, Lupa and Nel, members of a trade union and romantic partners, who attempt to help an unhoused and unemployed individual, Samsó, after he steals Lupa's sandwich in a park. Nel's goal is to rehabilitate him and assist him in the search of a job, contrary to Samsó's wishes. The first two episodes recount the pre-revolutionary period, which detail an unstable political situation that potentializes disparate political interventions. The third and fourth episodes constitute the revolutionary period; it is in the third episode in which the armed revolution begins, and Samsó becomes the undisputed leader, after Nel fails to lead his comrades into battle. Once Samsó's victories in the battlefield become memories, the formation of a new order or bureaucratization of the revolution commences. The fifth episode portrays Samsó's abandonment of the revolutionary movement and Nel's failed attempt to recruit Samsó to help the cause. The final episode depicts another failed recruitment of Samsó, this time by counterrevolutionary forces. The play ends with Samsó back in the streets, in search of sustenance, just as he did at the beginning of the play.

Viscerality as critique of the revolutionary process and its agents: an introduction

The viscerality that Samsó exudes throughout the play serves as critique of the protagonists of the revolution and the revolutionary movement's emancipatory nature. In order to conceptualize the term viscerality, we begin with definitions of words such as viscera and visceral from which it derives. The noun viscera, for example, refers to "the internal organs in the main cavities of the body, especially those in the abdomen" ("viscera"). Likewise, the adjective visceral relates not only to these organs, but also, in a figurative sense, to "deep inward feelings rather than to the intellect" ("visceral"). The second definition of visceral points to a dualism of body and mind, where the former is subordinate to the latter in relation to knowing, which we complicate with the analysis of the viscerality that permeates in the text. It is through the character of Samsó that viscerality comes to life to serve as critique of a revolutionary process that is likely to fail. One way that the visceral manifests itself is in Samsó's physicality that comprises animalistic qualities. Additionally, Samsó's constant hunger indicates a visceral state of mind in a literal sense, while it also aids in our understanding of the revolutionary process as analogous to the process of eating. Finally, his "gut feelings" — that connection he has with his intuition — demonstrate a visceral way of life. Although viscerality in its third manifestation - intuition - tends to be regarded as subordinate to intellect in relation to decision-making and understanding the world, Samsó's enhanced viscerality guides him unscathed throughout the play. His actions are not preceded by any deliberation. He acts instinctually – i.e. stealing a sandwich; joining and leading the revolutionary armed struggle; distrusting certain members of the revolutionary movement, including Múller, a covert counterrevolutionary figure; refusing to join a counterrevolutionary effort. Therefore, it is this viscerality that unearths the

limitations of the revolutionary process, which complicate the efforts to achieve the emancipation the revolutionary agents envision. We begin, then, with an analysis of the animality as a form of viscerality that critiques the revolutionaries the text depicts.

Animality as critique

La fam as a dramatic text presents an understanding of revolution from a visceral perspective, which Samsó's involvement within the revolutionary movement represents. Since our focus is on representations of both revolution and revolutionaries in a dramatic text, we examine different elements that constitute the play. From dialogue to responses to each other's actions, postures, and gestures, which are found in the stage directions, the characters are fundamental to the analysis of the text's depiction of a revolutionary process. While Samsó is the central node of our analysis of revolution, we also analyze the rest of the characters as makers of revolution and counterrevolution as well as contrasting figures to Samsó with respect to the visceral. With Samsó at the center of the critique, we start with an analysis of his visceral characterization in the first two episodes. To help us with the study of the visceral, we utilize recent conceptualizations of viscerality, which we now introduce.

In the introduction to an issue of the journal *GLQ* on viscerality, Sharon P. Holland, Marcia Ochoa, and Kyla Wazana Tompkins elucidate how the study of the visceral exposes the conflation that power makes between the ascribed inhumanity of non-normative populations and animality (396). Alongside animality, their ascribed inhumanity also involves "an excess of passion and appetite, and the abandonment of either piety or reason that enable those in power to figure others as edible, as dead meat" (396). The excess that power attributes to non-normative populations connotes overflowing boundaries, particularly boundaries between subjecthood and objectification, and whose negotiation the authors locate at "the sites on (and in) our bodies" that constitute the visceral (394). This conceptualization of the visceral aids in our understanding of why the visceral is rejected, alarming, and a source that renders its bearer an anomaly. While the critique that Samsó's viscerality does is not of a movement that represents a dominant power, the logic of the revolutionary movement stems both from its belief in intellect as the only form of doing revolution and its unwavering support of abstract ideas, which uphold the dominant power that attempts to control those individuals who overflow boundaries with their behavior. Samsó crosses those boundaries that power establishes between subjecthood and objectification, which is why the members of the revolutionary movement attempt to tame his visceral ways through a form of rehabilitation. *La fam* characterizes Samsó through animality, excess, and viscerality, which are indicative of an anomalous subjecthood that does not quite align with the movement. Samsó, as an outlier due to being both unemployed and unhoused, embodies the visceral that challenges an intellectually-driven revolution that animalizes those who are at its margins. The text presents Samsó's animality in the stage directions and in the characters' impressions of Samsó, which we analyze in depth.

Prior to the verbal exchange between Samsó and the other characters, the stage directions characterize Samsó's visceral-evoking animality through his physicality, which is that of an ambush predator, whose movement is characterized by stealthiness — being unnoticed. His hands are in his pockets, a sign that he wants to keep to himself, in a way that does not draw attention to himself (Oliver 30). He drags his feet, which is indicative of a more passive, almost inactive behavior and, therefore, of harmlessness. He notices Lupa for a moment without stopping, part of his stealthiness. However, he turns back to look at her and stops to observe her. He remains still for a moment, then proceeds to get closer to her without being noticed. The most

evident animalistic description is the comparison of his hand to a paw of a leopard, an example of an ambush predator. It is with a movement reminiscent of a leopard that Samsó steals one of Lupa's sandwiches. From the start, the stage directions set up Samsó as an anomaly that navigates the boundaries between subjecthood and objectification through his animality. This animalistic characterization places him in an in-between. In his case, the animality that is bestowed upon him distinguishes him from an approved subjectivity, yet it does not exactly make him an object. Still, it makes a distinction of this anomalous character who does not quite fit in the current social order nor in the order that the revolutionaries envision given an unpredictability that cannot be disciplined. This incompatibility between subject and social order accentuates the threat that this visceral individual poses to the power of the social order.

Samsó's characterization manifests the unpredictability that his visceral side entails. This characterization contrasts with the rest of the characters who are static caricatures of class-conscious workers. The stage directions in this dramatic text construct characters through nonverbal exchanges such as actions, postures, and gestures, in which the body is central. Prior to characters exchanging dialogue, Samsó's nonverbal interaction with Lupa in the opening episode is fundamental to the unpredictability that questions the revolutionary project. Samsó roams the park, notices Lupa, approaches the bench where she is, sits down, and looks at a sandwich she holds in her hand. After watching her eat it, he surreptitiously gets closer to her and snatches the second sandwich she is about to eat: "*Tot d'una, Samsó, amb un moviment rapidíssim, un gest de pota de lleopard, arrabassa el menjar de les mans de Lupa i el devora amb frenesí*" ("Suddenly, Samsó seizes the food from Lupa's hands with a swift movement, a gesture resembling that of a leopard's paw, and he devours it in a frenzy"; 30, Oliver's emphasis). Samsó's introduction to both Lupa and readers is by satisfying his physiological need of sustenance – a basic need for survival. Seeing Lupa eat the first sandwich augments his hunger, which triggers his stealing of the second sandwich. The comparison of Samsó's gestures to that of a predatory animal not only explain Samsó's current physical state – hunger, but it also underscores his living conditions, which include seeking food like an ambush predator would in the wild. This zoomorphism of Samsó corresponds to the ascribed inhumanity of non-normative subjects, which renders the character an anomaly that is in need of rehabilitation according to the logic of the revolutionary project that rejects Samsó's viscerality.

The contrast between Samsó, characterized as a wild animal, and the other class-conscious characters, portrayed as guided by reason, constitutes the critique of a social revolution that condescends to those who are at the margins of its project. Samsó's visceral ways are incompatible with a project that champions reason, deliberation, and intellect. This revolutionary project also envisions class-conscious workers as ideal subjects, and Samsó is not one of them. Although he seems to understand class struggle, his refusal to work doubly marginalizes him. Given his marginalized positionality not only in the current order, but also with respect to the revolutionary movement, Samsó's viscerality critiques the value that the revolutionary movement gives to intellect as the only form of knowledge that informs a revolution. In other words, revolutionary participation depends only on ideas, intellectualizations of the struggle, as opposed to also understanding class struggle and acquiring class consciousness from and through a visceral perspective, which has informed Samsó. Instead, the goal of the revolutionary project that the other characters promote is to profoundly transform the current sociopolitical and economic conditions of the workers. In the opening episode, Lupa tells Samsó that the time will come when the workers will own their own labor (32). This view alludes to a workers' revolution in which the proletarian class topples the bourgeois economic system —

capitalism. Nel, one of the promoters of this revolutionary project, does not discuss it in detail in the first episode, but he states that the party to which he belongs gets most of its inspiration from a social religion rather than a political doctrine (34). In a similar way to what is required of religious dogma, Nel has an unwavering faith in the revolutionary ideals, which he sees as powerful weapons to execute a successful revolution (40). On the eve of armed revolutionary struggle, Astals, one of the leaders of the movement, reminds readers that the revolution is a workers' revolution as he mentions what is at stake: the fate of the workers — freedom or slavery (45). During the bureaucratization of the revolution, Nel is more explicit about the different ideals (abstractions) that he champions as a revolutionary. In a speech to convince Samsó to return to the movement, Nel presents the principles that drive the project: social justice, a dignified life, and the promotion of solidarity and fraternity among the workers (64). In short, labor is the central motor of revolution, thus any other form of powering a revolution that lies outside labor is a challenge to the revolutionary project.

Samsó's visceral characterization is also palpable in the way the stage directions describe his consumption of the sandwich, which adds to his embodiment of a predatory animal. Two words are central elements to his zoomorphism. First, the verb devour in its literal sense refers to eating something hungrily or quickly, reminiscent of a predator. Secondly, the noun frenzy emphasizes the manner in which he eats the sandwich — with "uncontrolled excitement or wild behavior," which implies an absence of reason and composure that the other characters[11] seem to possess. This particular feeling-driven act of eating is a visceral activity. In *Carnal Appetites: Food, Sex, Identities*, Elspeth Probyn discusses how eating, which may seem like a mundane activity, not only "brings our senses to life," but it also underscores "the viscerality of life" (7). In the opening episode, Samsó's viscerality emerges in his corporeality as well as in the manner in which he eats. A stark contrast with Samsó's act of eating is Lupa's ingestive activity, which she alternates with the reading of a newspaper (Oliver 30). While the stage directions detail how Samsó eats the sandwich, it omits descriptors of how Lupa consumes hers. Instead, it forefronts the activity of reading a newspaper, thus relegating the act of eating. All of her attention is in the words that she reads, in an act of consumption. It is a consumption of ideas that feed and stimulate the mind, in contrast to eating which feeds the body. Though Lupa also needs physical nourishment, she prioritizes intellect over the visceral necessities of her body. The plain description of Lupa's eating renders it mundane, which, as a result, establishes a contrast with Samsó's visceral consumption of the sandwich. What this contrast points to is the attention each character gives to a basic need for survival. Whereas Lupa focuses all of her attention on reading the newspaper — her eyes never leave the page as she unwraps her *berenar* (afternoon snack), Samsó seems to engage the senses in that one activity, giving it his undivided attention (30). Attention is not the only way we learn about the degree of food (in)security of each character. The use of the word snack to refer to a sandwich that Lupa eats is indicative of a higher degree of food security that she presently has in contrast to Samsó, which demonstrates the difference of each character's material conditions. Conversely, Lupa's attention to the newspaper constitutes her characterization of a class-conscious citizen whose sustenance is in the form of information. This portrayal highlights the importance that characters like Lupa give to ideas, reason, and intellect. The fact that she gives her undivided attention to the act of reading demonstrates that

[11] Lupa's reaction to Samsó's snatching of the sandwich, for example, is at first instinctive, but she immediately shows a sign of composure. This instinctive reaction demonstrates the inability to fully tame their own visceral side.

this intellectual nourishment meets her self-actualization needs, which have become basic needs like food and shelter.

Samsó's act of consumption not only informs us of the level of food insecurity he experiences, we also learn about his present circumstances – more specifically, his material conditions and how he navigates the world. In Marxist terms, Samsó is a member of the lumpenproletariat. That is, Samsó is representative of a segment of the population, who are not wage earners and, as a result, are not considered members of the revolutionary proletariat (Bussard 677). Samsó is unemployed and unhoused, which means he belongs to a social group that does not contribute to the economic system with a form of labor. He is a disenfranchised member of society, even more so than the working class to which Lupa and Nel belong. Given the status of the lumpenproletariat as an underclass, lower than the proletariat, its representatives are deemed non-normative subjects not only to the current order, but also to the revolutionary project to which Nel and Lupa adhere. Samsó is also an anomaly to these revolutionaries because he refuses to work. To the revolutionaries, labor is what defines their social positionality, and a job would aid Samsó to "refer la [seva] vida" ("redo or repair his life"; Oliver 35). This logic is also part of the current order, which socially ostracizes those who do not actively contribute to its economic system. More specifically, the current order criminalizes individuals who refuse to work. Thus, Samsó's current existence poses a threat both to the current order and to the new order the revolutionary project envisions.

In his first encounter with a member of the underclass, Nel "diagnoses" Samsó: "El company es troba físicament i moralment depauperat" ("The comrade is physically and morally impoverished" Oliver 34). Nel accentuates not only his apparent malnourishment, but also his impoverished appearance, that of a member of the lumpenproletariat. This diagnosis underscores Samsó's inability to distinguish between right and wrong (morality), which, he claims, would explain Samsó's propensity to go astray. This amorality that Nel allocates to Samsó points to an animalistic nature in the sense that in the logic of the dominant power morality depends on abstract reasoning. Aside from the amorality that Nel designates Samsó, there is also an infantilization which is striking. According to Nel, Samsó is incapable of knowing what is best for him because he is like a child, which is why both he and Lupa must assist him. Nel uses an image of a defenseless being — "an infant nu i famolenc" (a naked and starving child) — to persuade Lupa to reconsider her position of helping out their new acquaintance (34). This image evokes a vulnerable and defenseless being at its most natural state (no clothes) as well as a primal state given that he is a creature who lacks nourishment. Infants are also visceral beings, which is to say that they are preverbal, instinctive, and characterized by physical needs. This vulnerability contrasts with that of the previous image of Samsó as a ferocious being. These seemingly contradictory images augment the viscerality that permeates in Samsó. Firstly, both comparisons relate to the physical needs of animals and infants. At the beginning, Samsó appears ferocious because he is hungry and must find nourishment, but then Nel's paternalistic view transforms him into a vulnerable and defenseless creature. This transformation is an attempt to control his wildness, by making him a defenseless creature in need of help. These images also evince a primal state of the underclass whose way of life is visceral.

Besides determining Samsó's material and moral conditions, Nel makes a case for "saving" Samsó, by predicting he will resort to stealing, a bias against members of the lumpenproletariat. Nel shows confidence in how much he understands Samsó: "Em basta mirar-lo per a conèixer-lo. Creus que patiria fam si s'avingués a fer de criminal" (I only need to take a look at him in order to know him. Do you think he would experience hunger if he became a

criminal?" 35)? Nel recognizes a person in need of rehabilitation. Nel's logic stems from Samsó stealing a sandwich; if he does not help him now, he will become a criminal. Though Nel is the leader of a social revolution that would potentially change the current rule of law, he considers theft a social transgression. Regardless of whether or not Samsó steals, his current existence is criminalized. In the current order, there is a law that criminalizes the existence of members of the lumpenproletariat. That is, this group poses a threat to society itself as they are not contributing to the productive process. In a conversation with Lupa about his non-participation in class struggle Samsó mentions the law that criminalizes the idle:

> Jo no hi tinc ciri, en aquesta processó. Ara han fet una llei, una llei contra els dropos. Volen obligar-nos a treballar. La bòfia ens inquieta. N'han caçat alguns i diu que els amorren a les obres del metro, amb aigua fins al genoll. Cinc andoles al dia i un ranxo pudent. Si m'hi enganxessin…, si m'hi enganxen algú en sortirà amb el cap badat. Ja us ho deia: no hi tinc ciri, en aquest enterrament… El treball que s'abraoni amb el capital, i jo m'ho miraré d'un tros lluny (I have no say in this matter. Now they have made a law, a law against the idlers. They want to make us work. The cops torment us. They have hunted some of us down and some say they place them in the subway construction, with water up to their knees. Five *pesetas* a day and a fetid meal. If I get caught…, if I get caught, someone will end up with a cracked skull. Like I said: I have no say in this matter… Let labor fight capital. And I will look at it from a distance; 32).

The law[12] not only authorizes the criminalization of the idle, but it also sanctions forced labor of those the police manages to detain. Samsó is fleeing this kind of labor as well as other forms of exploitative labor (his brief stint as a worker at a materials factory, which he recounts, is an example). Nel understands the importance of experiencing exploitation in the process of acquiring class consciousness, which is why his solution to Samsó's current material and moral conditions is to find him a job. What Nel fails to see is that Samsó's current material conditions are more likely to encourage him to join the revolutionary struggle rather than enduring exploitation, which Samsó refuses to undergo. Nel's solution is to remove advantageous material conditions for revolutionary participation.

Samsó's reluctance to Nel's rehabilitation plan reveals the disconnect there is between the revolutionary project whose goal is to improve workers' material conditions and the liberation of the wretched of the earth, which would include individuals who are not wage earners. The disconnect may be in part due to Ned's inability to present his plan in a manner that shows how it would benefit Samsó. However, this disconnect is no surprise given the precedent in Marxist thought[13] regarding unhoused and unemployed individuals. The lumpenproletariat, Marx and Engels wrote, was prone to ally itself with conservative forces by the means of bribes (Bussard 677). The examples they provide are of the group's participation in *gardes mobiles* in Paris, which helped to stop the workers' insurrection in 1848; the *lazzaronis* in Naples are another example. Thus, the lumpenproletariat is generally a counterrevolutionary force — a reactionary

[12] The text alludes to the Vagos and Maleantes law that was implemented during the first government of the Second Spanish Republic on August 4, 1933. This law persecuted unemployed and unhoused individuals, as well as other figures it deemed dangerous to the social order ("Ley relativa a vagos y maleantes")

[13] Marxism is a political philosophy closely associated with the politics Nel and Lupa profess.

force (683). In *The Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels describe the lumpenproletariat as follows: "The 'dangerous class', the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of old society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tooth of reactionary intrigue" (92). The lumpenproletariat is what remains of the previous system after the imposition of capitalism; in other words, they are the last vestiges of old society. A reason that they have not yet disappeared is that they are outside the new system; they have not been absorbed by it, which would explain their lingering presence. The analogy of decomposition entails a process that is gradual. In animals, decomposition begins at the moment of death, so if these people are thought to be dead, it means that not only are they useless to the current economic system, but also to the proletarian revolution. Yet, if they are not contributing to the economic structures, the authors express that they may assist a political project that is reactionary to any type of transformation to the current order, whether it is to reinstate a previous order, uphold the current order, or establish a new order. Their "conditions of life," which one would argue are a result of the current structures in place, are central to their actions. These conditions make them prone to bribery. What are their conditions of life? They do not work. They suffer hunger. Some do not have shelter. The basic necessities for a human being are not at their disposal, so this fact makes them prone to participate in acts that are detrimental to their own interests and those of the working class. Naturally, this revolution is a workers' revolution, so the representatives of the underclass are excluded. Yet, as Marx and Engels declare, there is a possibility the lumpenproletariat may join the proletarian revolution. Samsó fleetingly becomes that exception in his own visceral terms, which we examine in depth later in the chapter.

Marx and Engels's reflection of the underclass dismisses a segment of society that is visceral. Three words are central in their dismissal — dangerous, scum, and rotting. As a social class or group, they are dangerous to whom? They seem to be dangerous to the proletarian revolution — they are not an ally. There is a reproduction of the current discourse of the social structures that the revolutionaries are fighting against since this group is a threat to society. The noun scum refers to filth, but it is also a derogatory term to refer to a person or group of people who are worthless or contemptible. So, if this group is worthless or worthy of contempt, are they even human beings? The disdain in the authors' description of this segment of society dehumanizes them. The third word — rotting — is placed between passively and mass. The use of the word mass is interesting; of course it refers here to a group of people, but mass is also a large body of matter, so there is a connection with the decomposition process. It is a process that has no resistance. The quote highlights the idleness of the group, who is characterized as rotting gradually. This rotting process alludes to a viscerality that is in need of control.

Given Samsó's current circumstances, he represents the lumpenproletariat, a disenfranchised group in society not only by the socioeconomic and political structures in place, but also by those revolutionaries who seek the triumph of the wretched of the earth, as the socialist anthem "L'Internationale" proclaims ("The Internationale (Charles H. Kerr)"). Lupa quotes the opening lines of this anthem when she discusses her political beliefs with Samsó (Oliver 31). Lupa's quoting of this anthem solidifies her characterization as a revolutionary that the text critiques through Samsó's responses. In his response to Lupa's political convictions, Samsó is critical: "Sou extravagant! Amunt els damnats de la terra? I vós mentrestant empolvorant-vos, pentinant-vos i envernissant-vos! (*Ha estrafet els gestos d'una dona quan s'agença*)" (You're bizarre! Arise, wretched of the earth? Meanwhile, you are powdering up, combing your hair, and embellishing yourself! (*He imitates the gestures of a woman who is*

getting ready"; 31). Samsó finds an emptiness in Lupa's political statement because it lacks materiality. In other words, there is a distance between words and actions, and this statement anticipates that the revolutionaries' words do not necessarily transform into actions. Samsó's comment also captures the sexism that was not only present within left-wing organizations, but also in the critique of revolution in the 1930s. For example, Lupa does not have a prominent role in the revolution that the text portrays. Instead, her role is limited to supporting both revolutionaries as their romantic partner. Thus, the critique of revolution and its agents is gendered, which limits the study of revolution in this text. This limitation encourages the study of texts in which women are protagonists of revolutionary efforts, which is the focus of the second chapter.

In the same way Samsó finds Lupa's solidarity with the wretched of the earth absurd, the revolutionary ideas that Nel defends do not resonate with him and his circumstances. In fact, he finds Nel's offer of assistance condescending. But what exactly is Nel's rehabilitation plan? The first steps to *delumpenize* or remove Samsó's viscerality is to change his physical appearance, so that he no longer appears like a member of the lumpenproletariat. Samsó also needs a job, which would incorporate him into the economic system that currently exploits the proletariat. Changing his physical appearance is fundamental for the acquisition of a job, according to Nel. Both of these acts would secure his return to society in the form of an integration into the productive process. While this integration would at least decriminalize Samsó's current existence as an unhoused and unemployed individual, it would also remove that "nothing to lose" way of being that would serve the revolutionary movement. Presently, his physical appearance, which is tied to a certain animality, is an obstacle to being a worker.

The viscerality that Samsó's animalistic behavior represents in the first episode is complemented with his physical appearance. In the second episode, Nel intends to change the viscerality that Samsó displays through his body hair. While Samsó has freshen up, he refuses to shave, particularly if he has to do it himself (39). Given his nonnormative status in the world in which they live, Samsó's scruffy appearance demonstrates a visceral quality in the sense that it makes him look like a cave man, according to Nel, which merits a change of appearance in a crucial act of the reintegration into society (41). The association that Nel makes between Samsó and the figure of the cave man is through Samsó's body hair. The image that a cave man generally evokes is that of a "wild-haired" and "hairy" individual in cultural representations (Berman 290). Judith C. Berman examines the implications of the cave man's hairiness in an array of depictions in art, cartoons, illustrations, and museum displays: "The archeological data suggest that the Cave Man can control the world around him to the extent of making tools, making art, and wearing clothing. But his hairiness subverts his humanity; it implies that he cannot master his own body, cannot tame its nature, cannot sever himself from the world of animals" (290). There is then an implication that if Samsó has no control of his appearance, in this case, of his unruly body hair, then he cannot redo or repair his life. Nel's rehabilitating plan is to strip him of this "animality" that characterizes him physically. This act is not merely to humanize or deanimalize Samsó, but rather to remove his power, since by removing a certain wildness, one removes his power in the sense that that which comes from the natural world is perceived as "unchecked, dangerous, unpredictable, and powerful" (de Vries cited in Berman 291). Samsó's reluctance to shave is reminiscent of his namesake's fate after his hair is removed, which results in the loss of his physical strength. In the case of the Catalan Samsó, it is a symbolic attempt to tame him — to control his nature.

Samsó's wildness is a topic of discussion between Lupa and Nel who exchange impressions about the new guest in their home (Oliver 39). While Lupa shares her reservations about Samsó, whom she describes as savage, Nel recognizes certain potential in Samsó's animality. He also tries to contextualize Samsó's current state: "Les circumstàncies l'han desencaminat. És un caràcter aclaparat, adormit… Quan es desvetlli…" (Circumstances have led him astray. He is an oppressed and dormant character… When he wakes…"; 39). Lupa interrupts Nel's judgement with a prediction of Samsó's response: "Si es destvella mossegarà" (He will bite if he wakes"; 39). Both words *salvatge* and *mossegarà* associate danger with this figure. These terms define Samsó's viscerality from the perspective of Lupa, which she sees as threatening both to themselves and to the movement she and Nel represent. Nel agrees with the animalization that Lupa makes of Samsó's behavior, but he recognizes a certain potential as he enthusiastically declares: "A vegades els ulls li brillen d'una manera ferotge" ("Sometimes his eyes light up in a ferocious manner"; 39). Nel notices that Samsó's reaction to particular stimuli — in this case, food since their impressions are based on their interaction with him at supper — make his body react in a visceral manner. This ferocity in Samsó indicates an untamed, wild, visceral character that the revolutionary sees as anomalous, yet intriguing. Nel's fascination with Samsó does not end there. He goes on: "Hi ha moments que sembla una força de la naturalesa" ("There are moments in which he seems like a force of nature" 39). The simile that Nel uses implies not only physical strength, but also the inability to control Samsó's viscerality. Yet, it is significant that the verb *semblar* (to seem or to appear) modifies Nel's comparison, which generates an ambiguity that destabilizes and that demands an intervention. Though being a force of nature may fascinate Nel, he also recognizes that this viscerality needs to be disciplined through the acquisition of a job while disregarding the revolutionary potential in Samsó, which he later proves he has.

The potential that the lumpenproletariat has constitutes one of Franz Fanon's renowned claims regarding the lumpenproletariat in the decolonial text *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), which critiques not only the colonial structures in place, but also the nationalist efforts for independence that disregard both the lumpenproletariat and the peasantry.[14] "In Grandeur and Weakness of Spontaneity," Fanon posits that the lumpenproletariat has an untapped revolutionary potential,[15] and that their spontaneous action can lead not only to liberation, but also to their own reintegration into the nation as well as a role in the new decolonial project:

> The lumpenproletariat constitutes a serious threat to the "security" of the town and signifies the irreversible rot and the gangrene eating into the heart of colonial domination. So the pimps, the hooligans, the unemployed, and the petty criminals, when approached, give the liberation struggle all they have got, devoting themselves to the cause like valiant workers. These vagrants, these second-class citizens, find their way back to the nation thanks to their decisive, militant action. Unchanged in the eyes of colonial society or vis-à-vis the moral standards of the colonizer, they believe the power of the gun or the hand grenade is the only way to enter the cities. These jobless, these species of

[14] Even though Fanon examines revolutionary processes in colonies, where liberation from colonial power is a different context from the one the text depicts, his text helps us to understand liberation from a capitalist system that operates similarly to that of the colonial machine's economic system.

[15] Bakunin also sees revolutionary potential in the lumpenproletariat (334).

subhumans, redeem themselves in their own eyes and before history (58).

Oliver's *La fam* (1938) presents this perspective of the revolutionary potential that the lumpenproletariat has in the characterization and actions of Samsó, but this view clashes with an opposing force that supports the established Marxist idea that the lumpenproletariat generally serves reactionary forces. As mentioned above, Nel sees passion in Samsó, but his solution is to find him a job, incorporate him into the economic system, rather than proposing Samsó to join the revolution through armed struggle.

A critique of the motor of revolution: labor

Samsó's response to Nel's rehabilitating efforts and Lupa's political inclinations challenges the emancipatory nature that labor provides according to their political ideologies. Samsó does not engage in work, not because social circumstances have led him astray, but because, he claims, it is a conscious effort not to participate in an exploitative economic system (33). Samsó is not politically and socially ignorant as Nel claims. He understands how exploitation works; he has briefly experienced it. His visceral way of life critiques the emancipatory efforts of the revolution both Nel and Lupa champion. While Nel and Lupa see emancipation in the form of owning their own labor, Samsó's way of life as a self-described *trinxeraire* (down-and-out; indigent) and *perdulari* (a dissolute person), words that the system bestows upon members of the lumpenproletariat, constitute an approximation to a state of being free: "Això [ser trinxeraire, perdulari] significa que sóc amo de la meva vida. Ho sou, vós? A canvi de què, aquest vestit, i aquests rínxols i aquests mitges lluents? A canvi de què, el vostre jaç i el vostre menjar" ("That [to be a member of the lumpenproletariat] means I am the master of my life. Are you? In exchange for what, this dress, these locks of hair and these shiny stockings? In exchange for what, your bed and your food?"; 31)? Samsó sees that materialism and labor enslave people. The emancipatory nature of the revolution both Nel and Lupa await and champion remains oppressive based on Samsó's definition of freedom, which one could associate with anarchist politics, namely, individualist anarchism. However, our focus is not to categorize Samsó's politics, but to understand how this character fits in the understanding of revolution that the text presents.

This freedom that Samsó claims he has, which we see as a visceral way of life, defies the models of citizenship that Lupa and, particularly, Nel exemplify as class-conscious individuals. For example, the model that Lupa represents at the beginning of the first episode is that of an empathic and solidary individual, whose intellect overpowers her instinctive, visceral self. After Samsó snatches the sandwich from Lupa's hands, her reaction is at first instinctive. As prey to Samsó's predatory activity, her response is that of fright. However, Lupa immediately recovers from her consternation and tries to empathize with the sandwich thief by learning more about his circumstances. The questions Lupa asks him concern Samsó's physical state –hunger, and how and whether he earns a living. The answer Samsó gives to the second question marks him as an anomaly in Lupa's eyes. How is it possible that he does not earn a living? By establishing that he does not work and by indicating why he does not work serves as a contrast to the centrality that labor has in the radical transformation of the current order (31). Samsó's anti-work stance becomes the critique of revolution in the sense that it questions how labor constrains the individual since participating actively in labor is tied to one's livelihood. He ridicules Lupa's belief in the triumph of the working class and the importance of labor in the new system. He sees

work as a way to deprive human beings of their freedom; workers give up their freedom for material things, according to Samsó. He claims to value individual freedom over anything else.

Nel, the model revolutionary, also asks him about his employment status. The text satirizes Nel's concerns to rehabilitate Samsó. He gives the following speech about his responsibility to rehabilitate the visceral character:

> M'honoro amb dir-me germà dels qui sofreixen. La meva consciència de classe m'aconsella, més ben dit, m'obliga a solidaritzar-me amb la desgràcia dels companys. Us vull ajudar. No haureu d'agrair-me res. No us ho toleraria. Voleu que us busqui treball? Encara sou jove. Esteu sa, pel que sembla. Em veig amb cor de trobar-vos una feina que us convingui… Fet? (It is an honor to be a brother of those who suffer. My class consciousness advises me, rather, it compels me to be in solidarity with the comrades who experience misfortune. I want to help you. You don't have to thank me. I wouldn't tolerate it. Would you like me to find a job for you? You are still young. You are healthy, from what I see. I am in a mood to find a job that suits you… Deal?; 34).

Nel's characterization is that of a social revolutionary who is committed to the cause. Nevertheless, the constant reminder that the aid he offers to Samsó derives from a moral duty while also acknowledging that Samsó need not thank him for his help makes Nel a caricature of a selfless revolutionary. There is a sense of self-importance and self-sacrifice in his words that distorts his characterization of the committed revolutionary leader who seeks collective betterment. There are other instances in which Nel looks ridiculous as he embodies the intellectual revolutionary, which we discuss below. Prior to this discussion, we must explain how the embodiment of a revolutionary materializes in *La fam*. We examine formal elements of the text that comprise a critique that begins at the character level and culminates at a macro level, namely, the revolutionary process and the ideology on which it is based. We begin with the embodiment of the intellectual revolutionary and proceed with the embodiment of the visceral revolutionary.

Becoming a revolutionary

Becoming a revolutionary eventuates through a character's embodied experience. The embodiment of the revolutionary has as its center the involvement of the body in this dramatic text. In his exploration of revolutions, Jack A. Goldstone discusses the types of revolutionary leaders and the skills they possess. While visionary revolutionaries tend to engage in writing and oratory, organizational leaders know how to lead armies and bureaucracies (34). In the case of visionary leaders, they understand the conditions of the system in place and the need for their transformation. Although Nel never gives a speech to a crowd, but instead shares his political ideals with characters, we associate him with this type of leadership, or as we deem him the intellectual revolutionary. While visionary leaders propose the steps to take towards the triumph of their revolutionary project, organizational leaders execute visionary leaders' ideas. If Nel is the visionary or intellectual revolutionary, Samsó proves to be a great organizational leader, if briefly, at the dawn of the armed struggle; he is an innate leader, or, as we deem him, a visceral revolutionary. It is important to note that his organizational skills are confined to the armed struggle. Samsó, as a visceral revolutionary, is incompatible with the bureaucracy that follows the series of victories in the battlefield. Thus, the text presents the category of the visceral revolutionary as a leader whose organizational skills are based on intuition, instinct, which aid

Samsó at the theater of war. One would think organizational leadership requires rational reflection, but this text presents intuition and instinct as key elements in organizational leadership during the armed struggle. The text then makes a contrast between a revolutionary who is a man of ideas (intellectual revolutionary) and a revolutionary who is a man of actions (visceral revolutionary) in order to critique the state of revolutionary politics in the 1930s. This critique is manifest in each revolutionary's embodiment, which we examine in the next section.

Embodied experiences

Nel, the intellectual revolutionary, believes in the inevitability of the revolution. In the second episode, as the crumbling regime opens possibilities for a revolution to emerge, Nel and Lupa discuss its development. While Lupa seems pessimistic about the chances the movement has to succeed given their past failures, Nel is certain, this time, the working class, organized in trade unions, is more prepared. Lupa, for example, points out that their enemies have money and weapons, but Nel responds:

> Però nosaltres tenim el que ells no tenen: homes. Homes! (*Eixampla el pit, es redreça i mira enlaire com un il·luminat*). I encara una altra cosa que a ells també els manca: una doctrina, una religió a defensar, una IDEA (But we have what they lack: men. Men! (*He expands his chest, stands up straight, and looks up like a visionary*). And even one more thing they lack: a doctrine, a religion to defend, an IDEA!; Oliver 40, Oliver's emphasis)

With this statement and the gestures that complement it, Nel becomes the intellectual revolutionary or the man of ideas. The embodiment of the intellectual revolutionary is not only built on his own words, but also on his gestures and bodily postures. In plays, gestures and postures generally appear in what some critics think of as a paratext of the dramatic text: stage directions.[16] Stage directions describe the unspoken features of a play, and they can range from one word that describes a character or the mood of a scene to paragraphs that detail characters, actions, space, and time (Rowen 40). In her study about how stage directions affect embodiment, Bess Rowen introduces the term affective stage directions to refer to those lines that inform readers, practitioners, and directors of the mood or feel of what they describe as well as the tone of the play (62). According to Rowen, "affective stage directions are stage directions written in a manner that aims to engage the actor affectively in the thoughts, feelings, and/or mood of a given moment, character, scene or overall play. Affective stage directions are about why and, more abstractly, how certain events happen as opposed to what happens" (72). Given that our focus in *La fam* is on its depiction of the revolutionary process, whose protagonists are actions, and many of these actions cannot occur without characters, affective stage directions that delineate characters are central to the analysis of revolution. The type of information that affective stage directions provide about characters include "[their] past experiences, their future hopes, or their secret dreams; while still others note mannerisms or moods that define a character for the scope of the play, the act, the scene, or the moment" (73). *La fam* features moods that not only describe the characters, but also inform the actions that constitute the revolutionary process.

In the case of Nel, by expanding his chest, he embodies a revolutionary who emits pride, bravery, and confidence. Before this transformation, Nel underscores the manpower the

[16] While stage directions are often thought of as "optional portions of a play text," in this case, they are crucial to the interpretation of the revolutionary figures (Rowen 14).

movement has in order to demonstrate its solidity. Then, his bodily postures and gestures are a preamble to the disclosing of the movement's secret weapon. With these movements, Nel expresses how he feels about who he is and the ideals he upholds. Similarly, by readjusting his posture, the revolutionary indicates his readiness to carry out the revolution once it arrives. Lastly, the stage directions describe that Nel looks up like a visionary. In Catalan, the noun *il·lumitat* has several definitions. We discuss two of them, given that they provide insight into the use of the term to describe this character. The first definition refers to a person who *believes they possess* celestial visions, which has a negative connotation ("Il·uminat"; my emphasis). The second definition has a more obscure meaning as it refers to a sixteenth century religious movement in Castile, whose doctrine promoted mysticism as the leading form of practicing Christianity ("Il·luminat" *Enciclopèdia catalana*). In addition, this religious group did not believe in the hierarchy within the Catholic Church nor in its dogmas (Pérez 67). Another central belief is the absence of intermediaries between God and followers, ascribing it to a form of Protestantism. In Spanish, the adherents of this sect were known as *alumbrados*[17]. According to the affective stage directions that the text provides, Nel seems to be looking for inspiration from an unknown source before he delivers the secret weapon his movement possesses – a doctrine. If affective stage directions guide readers and practitioners to capture a character's internal life, a way to embody them, how would one embody a character who is an *il·luminat*? Firstly, it is vital to determine the perspective from which to grasp these affective stage directions. In other words, who perceives Nel as an individual who possesses celestial visions or is reminiscent of a member of the sixteenth-century *il·luminisme?* Does Nel see himself as such? Does Lupa perceive him like that? Does the text? The interpretation of this descriptor shifts according to the perspective that observes the character. If Nel is the one who sees himself as a "visionary," it would mean that he regards himself as a chosen leader whose role in the coming of a new world has been predestined.[18] That is, Nel sees himself as performing a role of a visionary figure who knows how to undertake a revolutionary process. If the affective stage directions indicate Nel's sense of self, then Lupa's response to these unspoken elements undermines him, hence contributing to the satirization of the intellectual revolutionary. Lupa's reply includes a gesture and a statement: "(*acaronant-lo com un infant*): Pobre Nel! Ets un petit apòstol! Una preciositat d'apòstol!" ("(*She caresses him like a child*): Poor Nel! You are a young apostle! You are an adorable apostle!"; 40, Oliver's emphasis). Before analyzing this response, we present a second interpretation of Nel's epithet.

Another way of interpreting *il·luminat* as a descriptor of the intellectual revolutionary would be that both Lupa and the readers see Nel as a self-deluded person. This interpretation would then complicate the embodiment since Nel sees himself as a well-respected leader or even a visionary — in its positive connotation — within the movement. However, by depicting Nel's self-delusion, the text undermines him and satirizes the type of revolutionary he embodies. There is irony in the allusion to the early modern protestant sect since there is an importance given to the individual and its ability to challenge and change the world that surrounds him. When

[17] A translation of this term would be illuminated or enlightened ones, not to be confused with the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century proponents of Enlightenment.

[18] Nel's name is ironic since it is an abbreviation of the Catalan name Manel, which is a variation of Emmanuel, or Jesus, the Messiah. Nel is a self-proclaimed savior of the working class, yet he fails to lead the armed struggle that will bring about the liberation of this social group.

considering Lupa's response to Nel's gestures and bodily postures, while the stage directions make Nel look like a self-deluded individual, Lupa equates these gestures with a person who disseminates a doctrine, though a young and, presumably, inexperienced apostle. In Christianity, an apostle was once a disciple, thus, Lupa's use of words such as *petit* and *preciositat* imply Nel is not only inexperienced, but also a follower. The disconnect between Nel's sense of self and how Lupa and the readers perceive him is evident in the two juxtaposing figures that the text conjures of the same posture: a visionary and an apostle. While a visionary describes an individual who is an imaginative and wise leader in their own field, an apostle propagates a doctrine that another devised. Although Nel does not consider Lupa's response as belittling him, this statement as well as her gesture allude to Nel's naïveté. It also foreshadows Nel's propensity to follow rather than lead.

In contrast to Nel, Samsó's conjures up the visceral in the form of three images, an act that proves successful during the armed struggle. Whereas Nel relies heavily on the power of ideas to encourage revolutionary action, Samsó evokes different images that are unruly in order to incite fellow comrades to fight on the battlefield. Samsó's viscerality permeates not only in his way of life, but also in how he imagines he and his comrades shall storm the government palace. In his battle cry, Samsó employs two similes to encourage his comrades to approach the city square: "Entrarem a la Plaça com una tempesta desfermada, com un ardat de diables…, escopint foc per tots quatre costats… (*Rialla*)" ("We shall enter the city square like a wild tempest, like a group of devils…, spitting fire everywhere… (*Laughing*)"; 49, Oliver's emphasis;). These images that Samsó conjures up to describe how he conceives a group of revolutionaries who have taken up arms elicit two classical elements of nature: water and fire respectively. This connection to these two elements demonstrates a visceral state of mind. These images invigorate Samsó and aid in his transformation of a visceral revolutionary. Moreover, the characteristics of a storm and a group of devils imply animalistic qualities. For example, an uncontrolled storm or tempest may be a redundant image, but the implications indicate a driving force of nature that no human being is capable of controlling. A storm is also violent. One often employs it as a metaphor to express something that is chaotic, turbulent. A storm may also alter anything upon which it stumbles. Given its untamable and often violent nature, we can equate Samsó's visceral summoning to that of a wild animal. When facing the enemy, Samsó encourages his comrades to tap into their visceral side that is characterized by unruly behavior. The second simile – a group of devils – has a supernatural as well as a moral implication. Samsó conjures an other-worldly/unearthly image to express that the transformation of individuals who fight in a revolution belongs to another, albeit accessible realm, which evinces Samsó's view that the becoming of a revolution goes beyond earthly boundaries. The moral implication is that the figure Samsó evokes is that of a being that is known to be associated with evil deeds. His conjuring of this figure informs us of the way he perceives revolutionary action. That is, devil-like figures have the capacity to carry out deeds in the armed conflict which are often violent. Similarly to the simile of the storm, Samsó fosters an unruly behavior that is more instinctual and, as a result, more visceral.

Prior to their unruly performance at the city square and the government palace, Samsó conjures up another image that is evidently animalistic: "una canilla rabiosa" ("a raging pack of hunting dogs"; 50). In the same manner as the lumpenproletariat who have nothing to lose, Samsó encourages his comrades to fight as if they had nothing to lose since he asks them not to think about anything or anyone. Samsó advises them to silence their intellect and to tap into their visceral side in order to participate in revolutionary action. In this manner, he embodies a

visceral revolutionary. With this battle cry, Samsó emboldens his comrades. What about Samsó? What motivates him to fight aside from the opportunity to be unruly and violent? Hunger — hunger moves Samsó to act, and it is through this motif that we analyze the representation of revolution and its agents in the next section.

Hunger as critique

Hunger as a motif has two functions in Oliver's *La fam*. Firstly, it serves as a critique of the rhetoric that characterizes the revolutionary movement by making an actual grievance — hunger— and its materiality the stimulus for the visceral character to lead a successful armed revolution. Secondly, hunger as a process evinces that the way the leadership conceives the making of a new world is likely to fail due to fissures that prevent the movement from an assured success. Thus, there are two levels of hunger in the critique of the revolutionary process. The first level, which is more literal, critiques the revolutionary movement's rhetoric, specifically the abstractions it employs to articulate the motor that drives it. For this critique to happen, Samsó, as an individual with an unceasing literal hunger, becomes the undisputed leader of the armed revolution and leads it to victory. A state of being that a lack of nourishment produces is an example of past struggles, in this case, corporeal suffering, that promote revolutionary action rather than fighting for imagined futures. Furthermore, we conceptualize the process of hunger as a complex process that involves a lack or absence of something and a need to resolve it. Hunger, then, serves as an analogous process to the abstract demands that the revolutionary movement has, such as an absence of social justice. By reading revolution through the process of hunger-eating-satiation, one identifies its shortcomings. In the next section, we begin our analysis of hunger as the catalyst for revolutionary action.

A revolution in the name of hunger!

Samsó's ascension to the leadership of the revolutionary movement as well as its subsequent success in the armed struggle undermines the intellectualizing of the revolution by revealing that the reliance only on abstract ideas while belittling viscerality in the form of instincts do not guarantee its triumph. In the case of Samsó, what drives him to join the armed struggle are not ideas that envisage the emancipation of the working class, as is the case of Nel's motivation, but his stomach – the viscera. The character who is more in tune to the viscerality of existence leads the armed struggle to victory. The characterization of Samsó as a visceral individual is in display throughout the text, but particularly in this episode, given that he listens to his empty gut before he acts. The stomach, an organ that is part of the enteric nervous system, is often regarded as "the second brain," which innervates the digestive tract (Wilson 34). It is this "second brain" that determines Samsó's decision-making. In other words, Samsó's unceasing hunger and the way he navigates different spaces indicate a strong connection with the stomach, to which he listens. Samsó's ascension and Nel's failure as a revolutionary create a situational irony that serves as a central critique of the intellectualizing of the revolutionary movement, that is, fighting in the name of abstract ideas. It critiques the efforts of class consciousness that the movement promotes. Ironically, Samsó does more for it than Nel and the other comrades do. Therefore, the dramatic text mocks the revolutionary movement by simultaneously making Nel a failed leader and ensuring the success of the least versed in the movement's ideas — Samsó.

The connection with the stomach intensifies in moments in which Samsó's hunger is at its pinnacle. The organs that constitute the abdomen, among which the stomach is at the forefront, react when the body is hungry. Hunger, as a combination of a lack of food and a desire to eat, is

an internal, visceral reaction. Allison Hayes-Conroy and Jessica Hayes-Conroy conceptualize the visceral in their text on food politics, as a form of "internally-felt sensations, moods, and states of being, which are born from sensory engagement with the material world" (462). Hunger, intrinsically tied to food, relates to all three aspects because hunger is a sensation that one feels, a perceived temporary state of mind or feeling, which is alleviated after one eats, and a state of being in the sense of a present form of experience. Additionally, the impact that hunger has on Samsó's decision-making suggests a thinking through his body, a visceral experience that food and eating produce (Longhurst et al. 335).

Samsó's hunger-based motivation to join the armed struggle evinces the emptiness of the revolutionary movement's rhetoric that is incapable of articulating itself in material terms. Instead, its use of figurative language comes across as empty to Samsó, who becomes the champion of the working class through more material means. Samsó's success in the armed struggle, that is, the triumph in the streets that brings about political power for the revolutionary movement, is a direct critique of the intellectualized revolution that is indifferent to corporeal grievances such as hunger, an ailment with which the working class would be familiar[19]. There is a discrepancy between the ideas that the revolutionaries champion and the material conditions and the physical necessities of the workers and those outside the system like Samsó. The revolutionaries ignite the flame with ineffectual rhetoric. Astals's intervention in the debate that ensues after the outbreak of the revolution in the streets, which is meant to remind a doubting Nel about the urgency of joining the armed struggle, is an example: "Al carrer es juga la sort de tots els treballadors… Llibertat o esclavitud! Hem d'anar a ajudar els germans que es baten… No podem perdre temps!" (It is in the streets where the fate of the workers is at stake… Freedom or slavery! We must help our brothers who are fighting… There is no time to lose!; 45) Astals's reason to fight alludes to a new economic system that aims to liberate the workers from the current system that exploits them. Aside from the fact that Samsó is not a member of the exploited working class, the motivation to participate in the armed struggle is insufficient to ignite Samsó. It also demonstrates the irrelevance of intellectual debates in desperate times. What incites Samsó is his current state of being as well as his growing impatience during the aforementioned debate.

As Samsó ascends into the leadership role, he describes the debate as nothing other than mere chatter: "Hem jagut molt i hem garlat massa" (We have rested enough and we have babbled too much; 49). The soon-to-be leader criticizes the excessive intellectualizing as a form of strategy in which the revolutionaries engage, which has no impact in the outcome of the revolution that is unfolding before their eyes. In the revolutionaries' debate, what is central in their understanding of revolution is the idea of a new world to come, a world in which they build and consolidate a new economic system. Fighting for the establishment of a new economic system from which future generations of workers shall benefit echoes certain Marxist ideas of progress. In contrast, Samsó's drive to join the armed struggle, although not deliberately prompted by a sense of collectivity, bases its temporality on repetition of past experiences of hunger. His motivation, then, is in relation to an iteration of past states of being characterized by corporeality.

As mentioned above, an internally-felt sensation like hunger activates Samsó's decision to participate in the armed struggle. Prior to storming the city square and the government palace,

[19] Perhaps it might be worth commenting that hunger is a central catalyst of the French Revolution.

Lupa asks Samsó what he needs in preparation for battle, and the visceral revolutionary replies: "Encara estic dejú… Tinc una gana que m'alça…" ("I am still fasting… I am so hungry that it makes me rise up…"; 50). Hunger as a catalyst for even the most apathetic of characters demonstrates the impact a corporeal-driven motivation has along with its previous iterations in contrast to a motivation based on the possibilities that *may* become a reality in the future. Samsó's statement is significant regarding its temporality. The use of the word *encara* (still) refers to an action that started earlier at an indefinite time and that continues to happen. In other words, his state of being — hungry — began before the present time in which he enunciates it and is also happening at the moment. Thus, it is an experience that began in the past and is ongoing. Being hungry is also a state of being that is not new to Samsó. In past episodes, he acts to resolve his hunger, either by stealing a sandwich or eating what his hosts offer him. This time serves as the culmination of previous instances in which he has been hungry, that is, this is a grievance from the past that motivates him to fight. Samsó's food insecurity becomes a grievance — an injustice that comes from the past, which becomes the reason to participate in the revolution. It is something concrete, material, not a theoretical possibility like the potentiality of a new economic system. This difference between past and future's impact on the present evokes Walter Benjamin's "Theses on the Philosophy of History" (1940) regarding revolutionary action. Through a series of condensed theses, Benjamin discusses the current state of historical materialism. Thesis XII considers the impact that the past and the future have in relation to the present class struggle. It is important to note that Benjamin narrows it down to the influence that past and future generations have on the revolutionary potential of the working class:

> The subject of historical cognition is the battling, oppressed class itself. In Marx it septs forward as the final enslaved and avenging class, which carries out the work of emancipation in the name of generations of downtrodden to its conclusion. This consciousness, which for a short time made itself felt in the "Spartacus", was objectionable to social democracy from the very beginning. In the course of three decades it succeeded in almost completely erasing the name of Blanqui, whose distant thunder had made the preceding century tremble. It contented itself with assigning the working-class the role of the savior of *future* generations. It thereby severed the sinews of its greatest power. Through this schooling the class forgot its hate as much as its spirit of sacrifice. For both nourish themselves on the picture of enslaved forebears, not on the ideal of the emancipated heirs (260).

In his reflection, Benjamin critiques the value that social democrats have given to a time that has yet to come. Benjamin reminds us that in Marxism's origins and in the tenets of the Spartacus League, a Marxist revolutionary movement in Germany, the working class's "greatest power" is not in fighting for better material conditions for its descendants, but in remembering the past injustices of its ancestors. The dramatic text parallels this critique since the revolutionaries have their eyes on the future; that is, what they envision the future will be, as opposed to turning their heads to a past that strengthens their present struggle. Certainly, there are stark differences in what Benjamin proposes, which is more collective, more committed, than what the text depicts, but we see the influence that previous states of being have on the triumph of a revolutionary armed struggle.

Given that Samsó has informed Lupa that he is still fasting, Lupa tries to find him something to eat, but Samsó stops her: "No, noia. El meu mal té espera. Al Palau trobaré menjar i beure…" (No, woman. My ailment can wait. At the Palace I'll find food and drink…" 50). It is in

this moment in which we see Samsó in a heightened state of viscerality that his hunger has engendered. This sort of vulnerable state that Samsó experiences is generative since emboldens him to join and lead the armed struggle. Therefore, he embodies a visceral revolutionary, one whose drives are based on a visceral, corporeal experience, a state of being that is strengthened by an internally-felt sensation such as hunger. It is a corporeal way of invigorating and igniting a class consciousness that becomes the catalyst for revolutionary action.

In the speech that Samsó pronounces after the first victory of the movement, he declares his temporary beliefs:

> Companys! Victòria! [...] El Palau d'Occident és nostre! El poble ha vençut…, i vencerà en tota la línia… Els enemics fugen com les rates… Llencen les armes… Regiments sencers es rendeixen… (*En to plebeu*). Ja n'hem tingut de sort, refotre! (Comrades! Victory! […] The Palace of Occident is ours! The people are victorious…, and they will always be victorious… The enemies flee likes rats… They drop their weapons… Complete regiments surrender… (*In a plebeian tone*). We have been lucky, damn it! 52).

A comrade asks him to wrap up his speech, and Samsó obliges: "Companys: mori la fam! I visca el poble! (*En veu baixa, confidencial, de murri*). Espera'm, Lupa! Avui dinem plegats!" ("Comrades: May hunger die! And long live the people! (I*n a low, confidential, and cheeky voice*) Wait for me, Lupa! Today you and I eat together!"; 52). The first part of Samsó's speech is vague in the sense that it can apply to any struggle regardless of political ideology, as long as it centers the power that the masses provide to it. What is absent is any mention to the system that exploits the working class and its replacement, in contrast to Astals's previous pleas to join the armed struggle. It is also a more direct language in the sense that Samsó declares his belief in the eradication of hunger, a state of being that is both corporeal and material. The stage directions describe Samsó's tone as plebeian – that of the people, which is a crucial element in the charisma he transmits to the masses. In the conclusion of the speech, he crafts a slogan to which the workers respond in the form of support, though they are never given a voice in the text. We only learn from other characters that Samsó is popular among the rank-and-file after his debut in revolutionary struggle (54). Hunger is a visceral experience that is a reality for the working class. Samsó makes a connection between a grievance he suffers often, which is personal, individual, and the triumph of the people in the streets. This connection and the response he receives from the people transform this individual grievance into a collective grievance. It is a visceral experience like hunger that guarantees the triumph of the revolutionary struggle in the streets. In other words, the corporeality of both hunger and revolutionary action is integral to the success of the revolutionary movement in the first phase. Samsó's visceral intervention discredits Nel's belief in the power of ideas in the defeat of the enemies of the revolution. In sum, hunger, which is material, is a more powerful weapon than ideas. It is also a way to understand the absence or lack of social justice, a central principle of the revolutionary movement. A lack or absence of social justice is analogous to hunger, which we examine in the next section.

Hunger as an analogous process to an absence of social justice

In *La fam,* absence takes its form not only in the constant hunger Samsó experiences, but also in a more figurative sense: the absence of social justice for the working class who aspires for better material conditions. Thus, eating, as a solution to hunger, is an analogous process to the fight for social justice that this revolutionary movement seeks. It is through this analogous

process that we identify the shortcomings of a revolutionary movement that appears to be unassailable. In order to understand the analogy that we make between hunger and a lack of social justice, eating and revolution, and satiation and the fulfillment of social justice, we must first explain how each process works.

The first process consists of experiencing hunger, eating to alleviate the lack of nutrients, and achieving satiation after having eaten. This process, of course, is in its perfect form. There may be instances in which one does not attain satiation. In any case, hunger is the result of the body lacking nourishment. When one is hungry, one generally experiences an absence of food and a desire to satisfy that absence. The stomach is involved in this process of hunger, alongside other organs — the brain, for example, communicates the feeling of hunger. Hunger, as a process of absence and at times of desire, is satisfied after the stomach receives nutrients. This process aids in our examination of the revolutionary process that the text depicts. The workers lack social justice in their lives and desire a dignified life due to the exploitation they endure (Oliver 64). That is, there is both an absence of social justice in their lives because of the exploits they face and a desire of a dignified life in which the exploitation is no longer a reality. A means of achieving what they lack is through revolution, a process analogous to eating. Similar to eating, revolution can be raw, visceral. Social revolution aims for the acquisition of power, and through this acquisition of power, a seize of the modes of production in order to achieve social justice for the working class, which would be an analogous process to satiation.

If revolution is analogous to eating - both are processes, then let us think about the revolutionary movement itself. This movement appears to provide satiation to the figurative hunger the workers experience since the revolutionary project has men, ideas, and apparent unwavering leadership in Nel. The third episode reveals that the movement in its current state is insufficient to satiate the hunger given its crumbling leadership. Without this crucial element, the movement cannot remove the absence much less fulfill a desire. Then, Samsó ascends. He completes the figurative eating process that ensures that the absence progressively disappears and a desire in the form of political power is fulfilled. By analyzing the revolutionary movement from an analogous perspective, the text evinces the role that the leadership has in the revolutionary process: it is central; in the same manner that a functional digestive tract ensures an end to an absence of nutrients and the satiation that follows. This assertion seems obvious, but the text also posits that the leadership cannot simply rely on the abstract — the theoretical. It has to also access those visceral qualities that individuals possess since revolution is characteristically visceral. This is where Samsó comes in. As a sort of motor of the process, Samsó's leadership ensures the success of the movement — by attaining political power and being one step closer to achieving social justice.

After winning the armed struggle, the revolutionary movement, having attained political power, now begins its economic and social reconstruction (58). While Samsó serves as a central motor for the satiation of the workers in the form of political power, he has now become a liability. We discuss his officially-sanctioned irrelevance to the movement in the next section. In this new phase of revolution that theoretically aims to transform the current economic and social structures, the originators of the revolutionary movement choose not only to tame a driving force of the armed struggle, Samsó, but they also exclude the masses in this new phase. A bureaucratization of the revolutionary movement begins. By bureaucratization, we understand that the movement no longer relies on the power of the masses. Now that the movement has attained political power, the leaders of the revolutionary movement, with the exception of Samsó, lead a creation of a new world, or what they refer to as an economic and social

reconstruction. These new economic and social structures are the movement's understanding of social justice. In this new revolutionary phase, the process of hunger-eating-satiation reveals the fissures of the revolutionary movement that are indicative of an announced failure.

This analogous process in the second phase functions thus. The workers or, more accurately, their representatives are hungry for social justice, which remains absent since they have only gained political power during the armed struggle and social justice is yet to be fulfilled. As stated above, the leaders of the movement understand social justice in the form of an economic and social reconstruction. No concrete measures are given; the rhetoric continues to be in abstract terms. What is clear though is that only the leaders of the movement have the ability to participate in this process; the people, who had a key role during the armed struggle, are regarded as children, visceral beings, who cannot participate in the new phase of revolution (57). While in the first phase, armed revolution was a form of eating or the solution to the absence of social justice, then, in this second phase, the leaders advance a bureaucratization through which they intend to achieve social justice. As a reminder, bureaucratization means exclusion of the masses in the edification of a new world. In addition, bureaucratization is the absence of participatory politics, thus only the leaders make decisions without the input of the masses. If the revolutionary movement intends to achieve social justice, they aim to do it through a bureaucratization (institutionalization of the revolution) and without the working class. Though the story that the play depicts ends before we know whether the movement's social justice (economic and social reconstruction) is achieved, what is clear is that the movement has fissures in their disavowal of the visceral, represented both by Samsó and the rank-and-file. Without their participation in the second phase, the revolutionary movement is bound to fail. For example, there are counterrevolutionary efforts within the movement that go undetected by the leaders of the movement. We discuss the importance of viscerality in detecting counterrevolution in the next section. With respect to the idea of achieving social justice, the text suggests that this goal is unattainable given that satiation never lasts. It points to the inability to fulfill social justice even through the complete transformation of the established political and socioeconomic structures. That is, this abstraction, in the same way as satiation, is only temporary. It cannot last. An alternative interpretation is that social justice is a constant struggle. It requires constant work equally to satiation, which requires constant nourishment. Lastly, the text critiques how once revolutionaries attain political power, there is a distortion of the ideas they first championed to accommodate their own interests and disregard the interests of the collective. Samsó accuses the leaders of this distortion (57). In short, what the hunger-eating-satiation analogy reveals are the shortcomings that involve a representative and condescending movement that excludes the participation of the workers in a paternalistic effort to avoid any potential dissent as well as any challenge to their leadership roles. This lack of participation deprives the movement of the visceral qualities that contribute to its triumph during the armed struggle. The "gut feelings" or intuition that Samsó depends on to act are vital to revolution since they detect counterrevolutionary activities within the movement. It is this intuition that critiques the revolution whose basis is solely reason.

"Gut feelings" as critique

After the armed revolution, a new phase of revolution begins: the reconstruction phase. Prior to this phase, Samsó becomes part of the movement; he is no longer at the margins. The victories that he achieves place him within the revolutionary project. However, once the new phase of revolution begins, Samsó's viscerality, which ensures the victories of the armed struggle

and is once revolutionary, becomes counterrevolutionary from the perspective of the revolutionary leaders. In other words, Samsó's viscerality is no longer viable in the new phase of revolution. This development renders him an anomaly once again, an anomaly at the margins of the revolutionary project.

In the opening of the fourth episode, Clara, an assistant in the party office, informs us that the leaders of the movement have accused Samsó of counterrevolutionary machinations (53). Clara does not give specifics about Samsó's actions, but we can infer that his viscerality is what they see as a threat. Later in the episode, we learn that his lack of discipline and responsibility as well as his contrarian attitude have become obstacles to the movement's vision. Though Samsó has gained a certain respect among the revolutionary leaders after his outstanding performance in the armed struggle, his leadership is now being questioned. One of the comrades who fought with him side by side tries to warn him before Samsó is removed from office. Astals, one of the movement leaders, advises Samsó to change his ways in order to prevent an ousting of his leadership role: "Cal canviar de tàctica i de conducta" ("You must change your tactic and your behavior"; 56). What Astals asks Samsó is to fundamentally change, which Samsó refuses to do, aligning with previous instances of rejecting advice.

After the triumph of the revolutionary struggle, Samsó is given a position within the movement that has a certain political power and that requires a responsibility that Samsó cannot give. Astals reminds him of this fact: "Som homes de responsabilitat. I tu compromets la sort de la revolució" ("We are men with responsibilities. And you jeopardize the fate of the revolution"; 57). A lack of responsibility is synonymous with counterrevolution. The experiment of giving a bureaucratic position to an innate leader in violent endeavors has failed. The leaders who once embraced Samsó's visceral side are now rejecting it: "I tu no mires prim, tires sempre al dret (you are careless, always saying things without thinking)" (57). This statement encapsulates how Samsó's viscerality is incompatible in a phase of order and discipline. Samsó's leadership particularly in relation to the masses is out of control given that Astals claims Samsó has led the people astray: "Tu el malmets i el desencamines. Tu sí, que l'enganyes, perquè li promets allò que mai no podrà aconseguir" ("You spoil them and mislead them. You are the one who deceives them because you promise them that which they will never be able to achieve"; 57). While it is uncertain what he has promised them, it is striking that Astals categorizes it as something they will never be able to acquire. What is clear is that that which he promises to the masses does not align with the revolutionary project. What could be more appealing than a classless society, a world in which social justice has become a reality, a place in which the workers own their own labor? What is this utopian promise that Samsó has disseminated that consolidates the support of the people? Perhaps Samsó's has promised them a world in which their needs are met without having to work.

While the viscerality of Samsó has no way of being in the new phase of the revolutionary project, Nel believes Samsó's role is still relevant in this phase. Nel recognizes that Samsó's viscerality has helped them achieve the triumph of the armed revolution and the political power to build a new order. In his defense of Samsó, which is not shown, but relayed by Astals, Nel regards this ability that Samsó possesses as compatible with the leadership role of a revolutionary movement. Nel sees Samsó as "l'encarnació del veritable esperit revolucionari" ("the embodiment of the true revolutionary spirit"; 56). Samsó's viscerality is an example of a revolutionary spirit that leads to victory. After the triumph of the revolutionary struggle with the aid of Samsó, Nel recognizes the importance of the visceral in the success of the movement. Astals concludes his retelling of Nel's defense of Samsó: "Nosaltres només servim, si servim per

a alguna cosa, diu ell, per a treballar, per a organitzar. Però tu saps manar, saps conduir la massa, inflamar-la d'entusiasme amb el teu coratge natural i serè. I portar-la a la victòria"(We are only useful for, if we are useful for anything, we are only useful for work, for organizing. But you know how to lead, you know how to lead the masses, ignite them with enthusiasm with your natural and serene fighting spirit. And lead them to victory"; 56). Nel emphasizes that Samsó's leadership is innate; he is a natural born leader. His fighting spirit, which is visceral, is an asset for the movement. They still need him. However, Nel's current reputation discredits his perspective, and Samsó's ousting cannot be prevented.

The disparaging of Samsó's viscerality, in spite of its crucial role in the leadership of the movement, is asserted by a leader of the revolutionary movement — a commissary, who dismisses Samsó from the bureaucratic position bestowed upon him after the victories of the armed revolution. Samsó's dismissal happens as a result of his unfortunate intervention in the movement's assembly (58). We must note that Samsó's speech in the assembly is not depicted; we only learn about it from characters in leadership roles. The absence of this speech is striking since we only know how the movement leaders respond to it, but not how the masses receive Samsó's words. In addition, it is uncertain where in the political spectrum his intervention could be positioned. What is certain is that it does not follow the principles that the movement champions. Also, it is clear that the leaders think Samsó has a powerful influence on the masses, whom they see as children (57). As mentioned above, the masses are absent from this text — instead, the focus is on the leadership of the revolutionary movement. This absence points to the irrelevance of the people in the leaders' eyes. Though the leaders try to appeal to the people through ideas that champion labor and the power of the working class, the masses are also visceral creatures that need guidance. Before Samsó is dismissed from his position, the commissary comments on the visceral revolutionary's poor performance during the new phase of the revolution:

> Sou impenitent, sou incorregible. Amb vós, no hi valen advertiments ni amonestacions. Teniu una mentalitat primitiva, una concepció simplista de les coses. Amb les vostres nicieses i les vostres extravagàncies poseu constantment en perill l'obra de tots… On us proposeu d'arribar? Potser us repengeu en el vostre suposat prestigi popular! Ah! Els dies d'abril ja són lluny, l'olor de la pólvora s'ha esvaït temps ha. Ara els vostres procediments, els homes com vós són un obstacle. Ara es tracta de la reconstrucció social i econòmica d'un poble! (You are impenitent, incorrigible. Warnings and reprimands are useless with you. You have a primitive intellect, a simplistic conception of things. You are constantly endangering everyone's revolutionary work with your nonsense and eccentricities...Where will you end up? Perhaps you rely on your supposed popular prestige! Ah! The April days are long gone, the smell of gunpowder has disappeared. Now your methods; men like you are an obstacle. Now it is time to carry out a social and economic reconstruction of a nation; 58)

After the commissary evaluates Samsó's performance and concludes he is a lost cause, he criticizes his viscerality, his instinctual approach to action and making decisions. Whatever Samsó does or says is considered non-normative behavior given that he says *nonsense* and acts *eccentrically* or does *eccentricities*. The commissary attributes Samsó's words and actions to a primitive intellect, that is, an underdeveloped and unrefined intellect. This revolutionary leader's perspective, which also represents the opinion of the other movement leaders, points to a supposed superiority of the intellect over "gut feelings" in a revolutionary movement. What this

text posits is that relying solely on reason puts at risk the revolutionary movement since the intellect is incapable of recognizing the true counterrevolutionaries.

Yet, the viscerality that the leaders disavow unearths the counterrevolutionary efforts not because it aligns with them, but rather because it is a form of intuition, gut feelings that are outside the intellectualization of both the revolutionary and the counterrevolutionary movements. That is, Samsó's viscerality, in a different manifestation, reveals the true disposition of a character who claims to be a comrade and supporter of the revolution, but that is, instead, a counterrevolutionary who has infiltrated the movement to undo it from within. In this instance, Samsó's visceral side is in the form of gut feelings, which Seymour Epstein[20] connects to intuition or those "feelings" that aid in decision making (398). For the concept of intuition, we rely on Epstein's definition: "intuition involves a sense of knowing based on unconscious information processing" (296). In other words, it is a form of understanding that is different from analytical reasoning (295). In a text that aims to demystify intuition, Epstein concludes that intuition is a way to process information that is associated with affect (311). Samsó is known among the revolutionaries as an individual who is driven by affect, which they regard as characteristic of a lack of intellect. Yet this supposed lack of intellect is capable of recognizing frauds. Not only does Samsó rely on his "gut feelings" to carry out a successful armed struggle, but he also utilizes this enhanced visceral side, his intuition, to see beyond the counterrevolutionary character's rhetoric, which is reminiscent of the rhetoric that characterizes the revolutionary movement. Once again, irony serves as a way to critique the revolutionary project by making the least versed of the characters the most astute in identifying the enemies of the revolution. This irony reveals the incompetence of the revolutionaries who disregard the real threats given the similarities in the rhetoric that both movements employ. It is a rhetoric that relies on abstractions. The apparent similarity between these two opposing forces also demonstrates the fine line between revolution and counterrevolution. We discuss the similarities next.

Samsó's "gut feelings" recognize the counterrevolutionary agent that feigns his commitment to the revolutionary movement. In a conversation with Múller, a character that first appears in the fourth episode, Samsó admits that Múller has never given him a good impression (Oliver 55). If an impression is defined as "the way something seems, looks, or *feels* to a particular person," then Samsó clearly uses his visceral side to know whether to trust or distrust those he encounters (Cambridge Dictionary; my emphasis). He even elaborates on his impression of Múller by stating that he distrusts him: "fas pudor de cremat" ("I smell a rat"; Oliver 55). It is unknown if any of Múller's actions have helped Samsó realize Múller's true character, but his discernment seems to be based solely on their interactions with one another. What Samsó does that the rest of the comrades are unable to do is to identify Múller as a fraud, as a covert counterrevolutionary figure who intends to derail the revolutionary movement from within. This irony critiques the revolutionary project that privileges intellect, reason, and abstractions and relegates other forms of knowing and doing such as intuition. In other words, it negates a part of the human experience of the agents that make the revolution happen. If a revolution is a human invention and action, then its success depends not just on the intellectual abilities of those who

[20] In his article about understanding how intuition operates, Seymour Epstein works with diverse definitions of the term. Some of the definitions indicate a role of affect in this type of decision-making: "gut feelings," "gut instincts," and "feelings in our marrow" (297).

shape it and make it happen; instincts that inform intuition or those gut feelings have proven to be influential in the success of the revolution — at least, based on the success of the armed struggle under the leadership of an intuitive Samsó. It seems that the most complete form of a successful revolution needs more than just intellect; it also needs those gut feelings that inform actions.

While Samsó's viscerality serves as a critique of the revolutionary project by successfully unmasking the covert counterrevolutionary forces, these same forces also disparage Samsó's reliance on his intuition. As mentioned above, Múller first appears in the fourth episode, which begins in the aftermath of the victorious armed struggle of the revolutionary forces that Samsó has led viscerally. In this episode, Múller requests a speech from Samsó, a talk he can give to the comrades of the *Casal*.[21] Specifically, Múller asks Samsó to give a speech in his own words, a type of speech that appeals to the people, who adore him:

> "Una certa mena de conferència, s'entén… La relació viva…, viva i pintoresca dels vostres dies de lluita al carrer; les impressions d'un home pobre i desconegut…, d'un pària…, que esdevé tot d'una el cabdill d'un moviment popular… I tot això, contat sense adornaments oratoris, en un to planer…, familiar…" (A certain kind of speech, of course… The vivid…, vivid and picturesque story of your fighting days in the streets; the impressions of a poor and unknown man, of a pariah..., who suddenly becomes the leader of a popular movement… And all of it, told without oratorical ornaments, in a simple…, familiar tone…" 55).

On the surface, Múller's intention seems to be an attempt to democratize oratory in the sense that he does not want the typical political speech that is full of "adornaments oratoris" (oratorical ornaments), most likely in reference to the abstractions that characterize political rhetoric. What we later learn is that Samsó has recently given a speech that has rejected the core principles of the revolutionary movement (58). As a result, what Múller wants is not to appeal to the masses in everyday speech; his objective is to divide them with Samsó's contradictions. Moreover, Múller's supposed democratizing efforts are undermined by the patronizing description of Samsó and his revolutionary deeds, which Múller requests to be the subject of the speech. Múller is belittling Samsó's revolutionary action, while expressing the remarkableness of Samsó's unique story in which an individual — a pariah, that is, a member of the lumpenproletariat — who is not even a rank-and file member of the popular movement, but someone from a sector of society that is outside the confines of where a leader of a popular movement resides, becomes its undisputed leader. Again, Múller's intentions are not to solidify the movement, quite the opposite. The topic that Múller suggests — a recount of Samsó's revolutionary deeds — is also meant to aggrandize Samsó and persuade him to join and lead Múller's project. Given Samsó's poor intervention in a previous political meeting, it is clear that he is the man Múller is looking for to thwart any chances of the triumph of the revolution in its second phase. Múller also recognizes Samsó's material conditions that make him prone to carry out counterrevolutionary efforts, as Marx and Engels affirm of the underclass. Additionally, Múller understands that the popularity of Samsó among the masses is fundamental to seal an assured consolidation of his endeavors.

[21] Casal refers to a political organization that is popular in nature. It is particular to the Catalan-speaking regions.

Yet, Múller's attempt to lure Samsó into his counterrevolutionary project results in Samsó's refusal to give a speech and a direct attack on Múller's ulterior motives. In this instance, Samsó utilizes his intuition to distrust the covert figure whose rhetoric is indistinguishable from the rhetoric of the other revolutionaries Samsó has come to know. The counterrevolutionary disparages the visceral revolutionary:

> "Vós sou un primari… No, no és cap insult! Sou un primari i tot ho judiqueu d'acord amb les vostres sensacions. I els homes no ens podem refiar, dels sentits: per culpa de la famosa intel·ligència els tenim gairebé atrofiats" ("You are primitive.... No, it is not an insult! You are primitive and you rely solely on your impressions to judge everything. And men, we cannot trust the senses: the well-known intelligence has atrophied them for the most part"; 55).

The senses, as described above, are central in the experience of viscerality. If intellect atrophies them, then individuals no longer have a connection to their visceral side. In Múller's words, relying on the senses and impressions, and by extension, on intuition, is characteristic of those who are primitive or who have a primitive nature. This point of view echoes Nel's rehabilitating plan of taming Samsó since they both see him as a primitive figure who does not rely on intellect, but on his instincts. Nel does not explicitly call him primitive, but he compares him to a visceral being — a child, who is an individual at an early stage of development. Muller's comment also points to an absence of intellect in those who rely on the senses to navigate the world. Although Múller is not a genuine representative of the revolutionary movement, the fact that he pretends to be a revolutionary agent, whose rhetoric is identical to that of the other revolutionaries, undermines the basis of revolution. In other words, the revolutionary rhetoric is neutralized when it becomes the weapon to advance a counterrevolutionary project. The similarities in the discourse of opposing projects also manifest an emptiness in their rhetoric, which Samsó recognizes and rejects. According to Samsó, Múller's belittling comments regarding Samsó's full-blown viscerality only confirm his impressions: "Veus? Una altra de les teves tares; una altra cosa que em fa desconfiar de tu: ets massa savi" ("You see? Another one of your flaws; another reason to distrust you: you are too wise"; 55) Samsó's sarcasm and irreverence for reason destabilize its dominance with respect to being the sole basis for political projects.

Reason, then, fails to identify the counterrevolution that the leaders suspect exists within their ranks (64). In contrast, what Samsó's gut feelings unearth is that counterrevolution is a copy of revolution through its rhetoric. Samsó is able to distinguish it because of his way of knowing that is not contingent upon reason, which is central to this rhetoric. While Nel, Astals, the commissary, and, to a lesser extent, Lupa are the official spokespeople of the revolutionary movement, Múller is the spokesperson of a counterrevolutionary movement that is also international in nature. No specifics are given about which countries or international forces are behind this effort, but the names of the characters affiliated to this movement as well as the languages they speak allude to Germany and France. As discussed above, with the exception of Samsó, the revolutionaries are unaware of Múller's true intentions since he pretends to be a supporter of the movement. In the sixth and final episode, his true character is revealed as his words become distorted while Samsó's viscerality overflows. Though the elements of his rhetoric first appear to be of a revolutionary nature, this copy corroborates "a shared, if mutually destructive, relationship" between revolution and counterrevolution (Lawson 34). That is, the shared relationship is in the discourse that both movements use that is identical.

In the sixth episode, Múller attempts to recruit Samsó for an enterprise he has devised that through its rhetoric appears to be revolutionary in nature. Given Samsó's past deeds with the revolutionary movement, Múller appeals to his revolutionary commitment: "confio en la sinceritat absoluta dels vostres sentiments revolucionaris" ("I trust in the complete sincerity of your revolutionary sentiment"; Oliver 70). Múller recalls Samsó's heightened affect, which he utilizes to persuade him to participate in the enterprise. Moreover, the counterrevolutionary is certain that Samsó has an affinity for revolutionary struggle due to his previous involvement; what he ignores is that Samsó is indifferent to class struggle. We witness a game of appearances in which Múller's deception crumbles as he shows his authentic self. While trying to convince Samsó to join forces with him, Múller emphasizes the unreliability of appearances: "tu, tu que sembles un trinxeraire, pots aixecar el poble" ("you, you who appear to be a down-and-out, you could lead a popular uprising"; 70). Múller continues his condescending attitude toward Samsó because even if Samsó is no longer an unhoused and unemployed individual, the implication of Múller's words is that he still appears to be. Múller claims Samsó's image as a *trinxeraire* is integral in rallying the support of the masses that will actualize his enterprise. There is a crack in his apparent revolutionary discourse because Múller confirms that it is important to appear as such — in this case, a down-and-out, but not necessarily be one. Appearances are only what matter in the consolidation of power.

In an effort to recruit Samsó for his cause, Múller also tries to persuade him through their shared disdain for politicians. He asserts that he and Samsó are leaders who are different than the typical politicians. Múller also reminds him of the negative impact politicians have on the lives of workers and peasants: "No veus com els polítics amb els procediments de sempre ofeguen la voluntat dels obrers i dels camperols" ("Don't you see that politicians with the same methods suffocate the will of the proletariat and the peasantry?"; 70)? Múller implies how politicians have always looked after the interests of the dominant classes — the bourgeoisie and the landowners. With this revolutionary rhetoric after the statement of the importance of appearances, Múller attempts to disguise his true intentions. He also employs strategies to establish credibility and to appeal to Samsó's visceral side. In order to establish a certain kind of ethos, from his point of view, Múller claims to be a lifelong revolutionary. Then, he employs pathos to express his suffering of seeing that the sacrifices made during the armed struggle, including the loss of lives, have been in vain: "Jo, que sóc un revolucionari de tota la vida, sofreixo quan m'adono que la sang dels dies d'abril ha estat infecunda…" (I, who am a lifelong revolutionary, I suffer when I realize that the blood of the April days has been unfruitful"; 70). By claiming that he has been a lifelong revolutionary, Múller seeks to convince Samsó of his experience in true revolutionary politics. This persuading effort demonstrates that Múller sees Samsó through an intellectual lens regarding revolution. In other words, he appeals to abstractions, to which Samsó is indifferent. While Múller also appeals to Samsó's visceral side, in the sense of the emotions that the unsuccessful results of the revolution evoke, according to Múller, his rhetoric is not material, but a copy of the rhetoric of the revolutionary movement, which, we know, does not move Samsó.

Yet this copy begins to degenerate as Múller continues his persuasion: "Samsó, medita un moment, sospesa la teva responsabilitat enorme… Hi ha armes.. Hi ha armes… Hi ha gent enquadrada… decidida a tot… (*Insinuant*). Hi ha diners, molts diners…" ("Samsó, think about it for a while, ponder your enormous responsibility… There are weapons… There are weapons… There are people… determined to do anything… (*Insinuating*). There's money, lots of money…"; 70). There is a certain vagueness in the first part of this statement in the sense that Múller does not give specifics about the struggle that his enterprise promotes, which is strategic

to persuade Samsó. Thus, the rhetoric begins with explicitly stating his commitment to revolutionary politics, then it becomes more vague, even ambiguous, and concludes as opportunistic.

The distortion in Múller's revolutionary rhetoric is accompanied by an attempt at bribery. In an effort to convince Samsó to join his enterprise, Múller bribes him with what he thinks will persuade the visceral revolutionary: alleviating his hunger. However, this hunger, a visceral experience with which Samsó is familiar, has the opposite effect in that it reveals Múller's true intentions as his supposed revolutionary project begins to distort. Múller arranges to meet Samsó at a restaurant, where he bribes him with food and wine. Samsó's charismatic leadership is fundamental in the success of Múller's counterrevolutionary project, which is why the counterrevolutionary has set up the meeting in a space in which he can bribe Samsó. He knows the effect that food has on Samsó. The arrival of the food as soon as Múller's speech begins to distort is no mere coincidence. The viscerality that food generates reveals the true character of things. Its arrival also interrupts Samsó's refusal to join Múller's project. This interruption is then followed by Samsó's visceral activation as soon as he sees a rice dish: "Samsó es mira l'arròs amb cobejança salvatge. Els ulls li brillen; es remou a la cadira" ("Samsó looks at the rice with wild desire. His eyes light up; he wriggles in the chair"; 71). The stage directions reiterate the wildness that characterizes Samsó as soon as he activates his visceral state. His complete body reacts in an animalistic manner. The excitement of the dish before him is expressed through his eyes that light up. Samsó experiences a deep desire that stems from the stimulation of a dominant sense like sight in a complete physiological response to his ailment.

Before Múller lets Samsó eat, he asks him to agree to the terms of helping the enterprise that he and Toni, a French-speaking associate who is also at the meeting, are undertaking. Samsó never actually agrees to join their project. He circumvents around Múller's insistence of having Samsó agree to his terms. Múller interprets this circumvention as an affirmative answer from Samsó, so he allows Samsó to feast on what is before them while he orders a bottle of wine. Samsó's viscerality reaches its pinnacle in this episode as he indulges in the feast that Múller has arranged for him: "Samsó beu. I menja sense parar. Torna a beure… I beu una altra vegada" ("Samsó drinks. And he eats incessantly. He drinks again… and drinks once more"; 71). These stage directions describe Samsó's excessive ingestive activity, which Múller encourages with the intention that Samsó agree to serving as the representative of his counterrevolutionary efforts. This excess activates Samsó's visceral side, which includes his intuition that Samsó trusts. The overflowing or excessive viscerality exposes Múller given that he reveals his true intentions. As he sees Samsó eat, he tells Toni: "Veus aquest home? Abans d'una setmana serà l'amo del país…" ("You see this man? In less than a week he will control this country"; 71). His statement does not point to a social revolution that he claims to champion. Instead, it evidences the concentration of power in the hands of one individual. Instead of supporting the emancipation of the working class, what Múller enterprise advocates for is the crushing of the social revolution.

The "excess" that characterizes Samsó's eating and drinking influences how Múller comments on his own counterrevolutionary plans. As he witnesses Samsó in his element, Múller continues to stimulate his excess: "No afluixis! Apa!! (*Li aboca més vi, i ell i Toni també beuen*). El món és dels qui van tips. No hi creguis, en els famèlics. Són febles. I la seva ràbia és impotent i ridícula. Mira com sempre perden" ("Don't slow down! Come on! (*He pours him more wine, and he and Toni also drink*). The world belongs to those who overindulge. Don't believe in the famished. They're weak. And their rage is impotent and minute. See how they always lose"; 71). This statement summarizes Múller's conception of power structures. Those who are ambitious,

greedy are the ones who rule because they seek power. While those who indulge in their excesses, much like Samsó at this moment, seek power, those who starve are weak because they never strive for power. The analogy that Múller utilizes has the aim to convince Samsó to agree to lead the counterrevolutionary movement that will not only provide him power, but infinite riches, as Múller proposes in his continuing rambling. Nevertheless, Múller misreads Samsó's excess in the sense that Samsó indulges fully in it in order to satisfy a physiological need, which is the only thing that concerns him. Power, for example, does not interest him.

As Samsó continues to eat and drink excessively, Múller persists in feeding Samsó's pride with references to acts of power. In an appeal to individual satisfactions, Múller offers his help to return Samsó to the place where he was prior to his dismissal. If Samsó wants revenge for what the other comrades did to him, he shall have it. He can also have any woman he wants (72). Samsó speaks only after Múller offers him money: "Múller, sou més canalla que no em pensava.." ("Múller, you are more despicable than I thought"; 72). He continues his contempt as Múller accuses him of inebriation: "Per un podrit plat d'arròs m'havia de vendre l'ànima? Són els teus diners tacats de sang, el preu d'un home" ("Was I supposed to sell my soul for a spoiled meal? Is your blood-stained money the price of a man?"; 72)? In his refusal to participate in a covert operation, Samsó displays a unique integrity that characterizes him throughout the play. The basis of this integrity is a refusal to be confined, to be deprived of his own freedom in the sense that he wants to do things his own way — in short, to be the master of his own life as he expresses it in the first episode. Not only does this enterprise not benefit Samsó, but it also confirms his intuitive distrust of Múller. Therefore, his viscerality uncovers Múller's ploy while it also critiques the limitations that the revolutionary movement has with respect to its inability to recognize counterrevolutionary operations within itself.

A susceptible revolution

The three manifestations of viscerality that we examine reveal the limitations that thwart the success of the emancipation of the working class that the revolutionary movement seeks. Samsó, as the central figure of the critique of revolution, evinces through his visceral ways that the revolutionary project cannot achieve emancipation while taming the visceral side of its revolutionary agents. From the outset, the revolutionary movement presents a project that solely relies on reason while rejecting the visceral that characterizes a phenomenon like revolution. This intellectualizing of the revolution nearly causes a disintegration of the movement at the dawn of the armed struggle. Samsó's involvement in the first phase of revolution proves how necessary it is to engage with the visceral side for the success of revolutionary action. The visceral revolutionary's literal hunger also critiques the abstraction on which the revolution is founded and becomes an example of how past experiences can be stronger motivations than future imaginings for revolutionary action. As a result, his visceral leadership ensures the triumph of the revolution in the political realm. However, the other revolutionary leaders, still captivated by the superiority of reason, are incapable of understanding the limitations of their intellectualized project. Reason continues to guide their movement even after it almost frustrated the armed struggle. Ultimately, the visceral beings, who ensured the triumph of the armed revolution, are cast aside, allowing the counterrevolution to advance. While Samsó's viscerality in the form of gut feelings proves to be effective in identifying counterrevolutionary action, the intellectualized revolutionary project dismisses his viscerality, an act that jeopardizes the efforts to achieve the social justice they seek. In sum, what all three forms of viscerality evince is that a

revolutionary project that rejects the viscerality that permeates human and social interaction is prone to defeat.

Chapter II

Poeticizing War and Revolution: Embodied Solidarities and Resisting Bodies in Lucía Sánchez Saornil's *Romancero de Mujeres Libres* (1938)

"A los que cayeron / por la Libertad" ("To those who died in the name of Freedom";[22] Sánchez Saornil 7). This dedication with which the anarchist poet Lucía Sánchez Saornil opens her poetry collection, *Romancero de Mujeres Libres* (Ballads of Free Women) (1938), encompasses social revolution's *raison d'étre*: the struggle for freedom or liberation from oppressive systems of power. Sánchez Saornil's dedication to those who died in the name of freedom as well as the poems with unnamed protagonists are an homage to the anonymous revolutionaries whose names failed to transcend their deaths. Along with this homage, the poetic form that the anarchist poet utilizes — the *romance* (ballad in English) — is in and of itself a form that is apt to poeticize the collective endeavors of the working class who desires a complete transformation of both its current material conditions and the power structures in place. The *romance* is a hybrid literary form that includes elements from poetry, narrative, and drama, with its incorporation of dialogues (Pedraza Jiménez and Rodríguez Cáceres 90). This narrative poem of a popular nature and with an indefinite number of verses belongs to a long literary tradition in Iberia that dates back to the fourteenth century (91). The *romances* that comprise *Romancero de Mujeres Libres* (1938) are examples of *romances históricos*, which are narrative poems that respond to the events they narrate (94). Given the popular heritage of the *romance* as well as its tradition of narrating heroic deeds after the fragmentation of the epic genre, this form is apt to poeticize the feats of both the fallen anonymous and the well-known participants in the war and revolution.[23]

In this poetry collection, Sánchez Saornil poeticizes both individual figures as well as collective efforts during the revolutionary process of 1936 and the Spanish Civil War. *Romancero de Mujeres Libres* compiles *romances* that were first published in the journal *Mujeres Libres* (Free Women), a publication by the anarcho-feminist organization of the same name that was active between 1936 and 1939, and *Umbral* (Beginning or Dawn), a weekly anarchist magazine that was edited between 1937 and 1938. The poetry collection includes three poems about real-life individuals — María Silva Cruz, Encarnación Giménez, and Buenaventura Durruti. Another poem recounts the antifascist resistance and defense of Madrid in 1936. In addition, one of the *romances* narrates the arrival of the social revolution of 1936 to the countryside. Lastly, two poems that were published in the *Romancero* as well as in the weekly anarchist publication *Umbral,* focus on the revolutionary resistance in Asturias. All of these *romances* were contemporaneous to the Spanish Revolution and Civil War; that is, the poems were written and published during the conflicts. This collection of *romances* provides examples

[22] All translations of the poems are mine.

[23] In fact, Antonio Rodríguez Moñino recalls that the literature that was sent from the front for publication in *El Mono Azul* was primarily in the form of the *romance* (9-10). Mario Martín Gijón notes that in the early months of the war and revolution, the writers and intellectuals begin to adopt this form as well (183). The *romance*, then, is the literary form that matches the new times.

of both protagonists and processes of war and revolution in evoking images that evince a new understanding of such transformative and, at the same time, catastrophic events.

Romancero de Mujeres Libres presents different themes such as solidarity, joy, hope, and grief in times of revolution, as well as death, loss, and the atrocities and horrors of both war and revolution. Solidarity, which is fundamental in anarchist philosophy, a philosophy to which the poet adheres, is central in three poems that explore it through the concept of kinship. In other words, the creation of solidarity among the working class happens by conceiving it through the notion of kinship. Though with differences, "Romance de 'la libertaria'" (Ballad of the Anarchist Woman"), "Romance de la vida, pasión y muerte de la lavandera del Guadalmedina" (Ballad of the Life, Passion, and Death of the Laundress of Guadalmedina), and "El 19 de julio" (19th of July), propose an embodied solidarity in order to elucidate and cultivate it in times of war and revolution. What these poems suggest is that solidarity, much like an ideal relationship among kin, entails a strong bond — comparable to the ideal bond between mother and child — that is needed in the organization of the working class. There are relationships that the poems capture that strive for the intensity of the ideal bond between mother and child, which characterizes a solidarity that is vital in the triumph of the working class. We begin examining this understanding of solidarity in three poems, starting with the *romance* about the historical figure María Silva Cruz. "Romance de Durruti" (Ballad of Durruti) presents another conceptualization of solidarity that is also fundamental in working class struggle. The creation of this type of solidarity happens through a form of mutual and intimate embodiment. In the second part of the chapter, we discuss forms of embodiment that are central in the poeticizing of war and revolution in three *romances:* "¡Madrid, Madrid, mi Madrid!" (Madrid, Madrid, my Madrid!), "¡Ay, rinconcito de Asturias!" (Oh, Little Corner of Asturias!) and "Pasión de Asturias" (Passion of Asturias). From conceptualizations of solidarity through in bodily terms to portrayals of Madrid and Asturias as suffering and resisting bodies, *Romancero de Mujeres Libres* (1938) poeticizes war and revolution through the materiality of the body.

Embodied solidarities

Before we analyze "Romance de 'la libertaria'," we first contextualize the poem. "Romance de 'la libertaria'," which inaugurates the poetry collection, narrates the life and death of María Silva Cruz, an Andalusian anarchist, who was also the granddaughter of Francisco Cruz Gutiérrez, also known as Seisdedos, a member of the CNT (*Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* or National Confederation of Labor), an anarcho-syndicalist labor union. This poem was first published in the fifth issue of the journal *Mujeres Libres* on Day 65 of the Revolution[24] (21 September of 1936). It later appeared in *Romancero de Mujeres Libres* (1938). "Romance de 'la libertaria'" narrates a tragedy in recent memory of state repression of anarchists in Benalup-Casas Viejas in the Province of Cádiz during the first government of the Second Republic. María Silva Cruz was a survivor of the massacre that killed Seisdedos, her grandfather, as well as other anarchists. This romance recounts the tribulations that she endured after the attack by state forces, her time in a prison in Medina Sidonia in the Province of Cádiz, as well as the outbreak of the war in 1936.[25]

[24] Starting with the fourth issue, this publication dates seven of its issues with dates that correspond with the revolution that began in July of 1936.

[25] This poem is not the only account of this episode of state repression in Andalusia. Ramón J. Sender's journalist report Viaje a la aldea del crimen (1934) chronicles these events. Two decades later of the Casas Viejas massacre,

With respect to its structure, "Romancero de 'la libertaria'" is a poem that consists of eleven stanzas that shift both in enunciation and temporality. The poem oscillates between a third-person narration of the life and death of Silva Cruz and a direct address from the poetic voice to the protagonist via an apostrophe. Additionally, there is a brief intervention by the Iberian people in the form of a battle cry ("el grito de guerra del pueblo ibero") (Sánchez Saornil 89-90). The narration begins in the aftermath of the Casas Viejas massacre and ends with Silva Cruz's assassination in August of 1936, which the poetic voice presents as a catalyst for the Iberian people to join the class struggle in order to avenge her memory. The temporality shifts from past to present to a present-future. The constant use of the present tense in a *romance* about a recently assassinated figure revives her spirit and, with her spirit, the tribulations she endured, which become reasons for the *pueblo ibero* to fight. In the next paragraphs, we expound these ideas alongside the examination of the central image of the poem. For reference, we now reproduce the poem:

María Silva por nombre
ya era un romance certero.

María Silva traía
los grandes ojos ardiendo,
muda su lengua andaluza,
pálido el rostro moreno
y un espasmo de terror
por las entrañas adentro.

Estampa de noche trágica.
Benalup, en su recuerdo,
raía como una lima
la carne de su cerebro;
cerebro de niña pobre,
sin pan, sin libro y sin credo.

En una disputa trágica
gritan la llama y el viento;
rayan la noche fusiles
con resplandores siniestros
buscando al hombre en el monte
como el lobo carnicero.

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anarchist writer Federica Montseny, while in exile, wrote a biography of Silva Cruz titled María Silva, la libertaria (1951), which also recounts this tragedy.

Dieciséis años tenía
María Silva incompletos.
¡Ay, María Silva Cruz,
nieta del bravo "Seisdedos",…
tus piernas de corza joven
hacen competencia al viento!
¡Corre hacia los negros campos;
corre viva, corre presto;
salva tus dieciséis años,
tu vida en flor, que aún es tiempo!
Salta las tapias enanas,
busca refugio en los cerros;
chacales con voz humana
siguen tu rastro sangriento.
¡Corre, María Silva, corre!
Y el sol la alumbró corriendo
por caminos de Jerez,
duros de noche y de invierno.
¡A la zaga iba el destino
como una fiera al acecho!

En cárceles tenebrosas
—Cádiz, Sevilla— murieron
como dieciséis jazmines
dieciséis años parleros.
Alguaciles y escribanos
—jeta asquerosa de puercos—
olisqueaban tu carne
y tu pobreza, sabiendo
que el hambre es la celestina
mejor de sus trapicheos.
¡Pecado tus ojos grandes,
aún abrasados de incendio,
tu dulce lengua andaluza,
tu labio tímido y fresco!
¡Pecado con que soñaban
sus apetitos sin freno!

Un incentivo tu llanto,
mejor que un dique a su sueño.
Y la flor de tu inocencia,
aguijón de su deseo.
Fuera botín descontado
tu carne, carne del pueblo,
si en la sombra no velaran
como dos puntas de acero
—carne de tu misma carne—
un afán con ojos negros.
Quebró el destino su vara
y te miró con respeto.
¡Ay, María Silva Cruz
("Libertaria", por tu abuelo),
que poco dura la dicha!
¡Qué poco dura!, ¡ay! El tiempo
mide con varas distintas
una alegría y un duelo.

Apenas tuviste un dulce
collar de brazos morenos,
roncos cañones tronaron
sus tempestades de hierro;
Atila picó de espuelas
su raudo potro siniestro;
sobre los campos de España
la sal del odio vertieron,
porque no dieran más pan
que el pan de su privilegio.
Se desbordaron de sangre
el Guadalquivir y el Ebro;
torrentes rojos teñían
montes, collados y oteros;
y a la luna subió el grito
de guerra del pueblo ibero.

—¡A las armas!, camaradas,
¡a las armas!, que lo perros

han quebrado sus carlancas.
¡A las armas! ¡Rompan fuego!
Lucha cruel han trabado
la aristocracia y el pueblo,
y en revuelto amasijo
de carnes rotas y nervios,
rugen por tierras de España
cada uno por sus fueros.
¡Camaradas, a las armas!
¡El grito deshizo el cerco
adorable de los brazos
y quedó desnudo el cuello!

Sola, no, que ya reclinas
un sueño de oro en tu pecho;
Aún tienes una sonrisa
que devuelve su reflejo.
¡"Libertaria", has de ser fuerte!
María Silva, ¡de hierro!
Pedazos de tus entrañas
necesitan tus alientos.

Látigos hienden la noche.
—Corazón mío, es el viento…
Y María Silva canta:
—"Duerme…, nanita…, arrapiezo".
Puños de gigante baten
la puerta del aposento
y la noche entra de pronto,
negra de horror y misterio.
—Ráfagas de fuego arrancan
desgarrones de silencio—.
¡Ay, María Silva Cruz,
carne dolida del pueblo!
Rugió brutal el destino,
—¡Al fin, María Silva! ¡Fuego!

¡Ay!, María Silva Cruz
("Libertaria", por tu abuelo),
¡carne de tu misma carne,
Te vengará el pueblo ibero!

As the epithet in the title captures, Silva Cruz is not only an anarchist, she also represents the resistance of the Andalusian anarchist movement as a survivor of the Casas Viejas incident. Her figure is important in the history of Iberian anarchism and even more so in the present circumstances after her assassination at the start of the social revolution that began at the same time as the civil war. According to Luisa García-Manso, this poem " la presenta como una heroína revolucionaria, encarnación del pueblo con el que aparece identificada social y afectivamente" ("[The poem] presents her as a revolutionary heroine, the embodiment of the people with whom she is socially and emotionally identified"; 165). Silva Cruz's story thus contributes to the collective memory of the *pueblo* who need referents to continue and/or join the struggle. Given that the journal where Sánchez Saornil publishes this poem focuses on proletarian women's issues, this poem also serves as a reminder of the struggles of women in the past and the urgency of continuing the fight in the present. Similarly to the *Romancero de la Guerra Civil* (Ballads of the Civil War) (1936), a project of the *Revista El Mono Azul* (Blue Overalls Magazine), *Romancero de Mujeres Libres* is immediate and circumstantial to the war and revolution that began in 1936. In "Romance de 'la libertaria'," Sánchez Saornil employs the strong bond that kinship entails to demonstrate the type of solidarity that the working class needs in its organization in the struggle for liberation. More specifically, the anarchist poet utilizes the term *carne* — flesh — to propose that class solidarity is a form of kinship.

In order to examine how the poem proposes that solidarity is analogous to kinship, we must first consider the concept of solidarity in social and political theory. In social theory, Émile Durkheim discusses solidarity in terms of what holds a society together. He distinguishes between two types of solidarity that originate in societies that are either traditional or modern. A mechanical solidarity develops in a traditional society whereas an organic solidarity forms in a modern society. The formation of a mechanical solidarity in a traditional society occurs as a result of a low degree of difference between its members. That is, the members of a given traditional society resemble one another (102). There is also a dominant common consciousness as opposed to individual consciousness in this type of society (81). When this form of common consciousness is dominant, "we do not act with an eye to our own personal interest, but are pursuing collective ends" (81). Organic solidarity, on the other hand, depends on the increased division of labor and specialization that develop in a modern society. The consciousness that dominates in this type of society is an individual consciousness (101). Both types of solidarity appear to be open to all members of a given society. That is, there is no formation of solidarity of a specific group that is based on antagonisms with other groups within the society. Max Weber points to this type of antagonism in his theorization of concepts that allude to the concept of solidarity: social action and social relationship. In his conceptualizations, Weber is explicit about the type of action that constitutes a social action. What is central is that the action of an individual is social when they take into account the behavior of other parties, which orients said action (99). The *romances* that we analyze in this chapter represent acts of solidarity that are examples of social action in the sense that others influence these acts of solidarity. With respect to a social relationship, what defines it is a mutual understanding or taking into consideration the

other party's actions (103). Weber refers to this type of social relationship as communalization (*Vergemeinschaftung*), which exists "if and to the extent that the disposition of social action — rests in the individual instance, or on average, or as a pure type — on a subjectively felt (affectual or traditional) mutual sense of belonging among those involved" (120). Furthermore, Weber asserts that a social relationship is closed to outsiders if the "substantive meaning or its prevailing rules exclude them from participation" (123). In the formation of class solidarity or the communalization of the working class, the antagonistic members of the bourgeoisie are evidently excluded.

Given the political affiliation of Sánchez Saornil, we now turn to solidarity in anarchism. Two anarchist thinkers who theorized about the concept of solidarity are Mikhail Bakunin and Peter Kropotkin. Bakunin considers solidarity the basis of all morality (57). It is also the principle that governs the proletariat:

> All for one — one for all, and one by virtue of all. This is the motto, the fundamental principle of our great International [Working-Men's] Association which transcends the frontiers of States, thus destroying them, endeavoring to unite the workers of the entire world into a single human family on the basis of universally obligatory labor, in the name of the freedom of each and every individual. This Solidarity is collective labor and collective property in social economy; in politics, it is called the destruction of States and the freedom of every individual, which arises from the freedom of all individuals. (64)

The formation of solidarity as a union between the workers of the world utilizes the concept of kin, specifically, family, which we analyze in Sánchez Saornil's *romances*. Bakunin concludes that the workers of the world have the power to emancipate themselves. In order to do it, they must first establish "in their own groups and then among all groups, a true fraternal solidarity, not just in words but in action, not just for holidays but in their daily life. Every member of the International must be able to feel that all other members are his brothers and be convinced of this in practice" (65). Action, then, becomes fundamental in the creation of solidarity, which is in conversation with the mutual embodiment of solidarity that we also analyze in this chapter. Finally, at the turn of the twentieth century, Kropotkin wrote a foundational text in anarchism about mutual aid and the propensity in both human beings and animals to participate in this practice. For Kropotkin, the feeling of human solidarity is an instinct that developed in a long evolutionary process (xli). It is this instinct, a feeling even, of solidarity, not love and sympathy that compels human beings and animals to engage in mutual aid and support. In Spanish anarchist thought of the last third of the nineteenth century, solidarity is a revolutionary virtue that substitutes the Christian equivalent of charity (Álvarez Junco 120). Regarding this replacement, Catalan anarchist Joan Montseny writes about the differences between charity and solidarity in *La religión y la cuestión social* (Religion and the Social Question) (1896). In contrast to solidarity, charity promotes conformity to the current political, social, and economic structures. Moreover, while charity only justifies and legalizes poverty, Montseny asserts, solidarity demands the right to life (*el derecho a la vida*) (Álvarez Junco 120). In a seminal text that examines the political ideology of Spanish anarchism between 1868 and 1910, José Álvarez Junco synthesizes solidarity as a mechanism to confront the inequality in political, social, and economic structures (120). The tribulations that the *romances* narrate are examples of injustices these different structures reproduce. Solidarity, then, defies these structures in an effort to topple them.

While anarchist thought theoretically asserts that solidarity confronts the inequality that the current political, economic, and social structures replicate, the praxis in times of war and revolution comes down to direct action. In her newspaper articles regarding solidarity from 1936, Lucía Sánchez Saornil postulates the type of solidarity the Spanish revolutionaries need in order to triumph in the current struggle ("¡Trabajadores de todos los países, Solidaridad!" (Workers of the world, Solidarity!) 94). Though there are many forms of solidarity that workers from other countries have displayed, the solidarity that the revolutionaries actually need consists of actions that help in the defeat of the fascist rebels. The solidarity that Sánchez Saornil demands from the workers of the world, which echoes Bakunin's fraternal solidarity — "not just in words, but in action," is in the form of actions that frustrate the fascist enterprise: destroy any potential deals between the enemies of the revolutionary movement and arms suppliers and political entities elsewhere ("¡Trabajadores de todos los países, Solidaridad!" 94). However, there is also a precondition that needs to be a reality as a means to materialize the solidarity of the workers of the world. These workers need to *feel* that the fight of the Spanish proletariat is also their fight (my emphasis): "que con el nuestro os jugáis vuestro destino y que nuestro sacrificio bien vale la pena del vuestro. Grabad bien en vuestro cerebro que luchamos todos por una causa común" ("your destiny is at stake with ours and our sacrifice is well worth yours. Remember that we are all fighting for a common cause"; 94). Feeling the fight generates solidarity, a process that is reminiscent of Kropotkin's idea of human solidarity as an instinct or feeling that drives the practice of mutual aid. It is not a coincidence that Sánchez Saornil chooses the word *sentir* (to feel) to express how the proletariat of the world demonstrates a true solidarity with the Spanish proletariat. Several of the poems we analyze in this chapter address the proletariat of the world, and what better way to help their addressee *feel* the struggle of the Spanish proletariat than through the traditionally popular form of the *romance*? Sánchez Saornil's statement is an example of a conviction that a group of people, in this case, the proletariat must have — a conviction that originates from the acknowledgment that their interests coincide. Thus, with this perspective of solidarity, we examine how Sánchez Saornil poeticizes a strategy that is key to the triumph of the proletariat.

In the *romance* about María Silva Cruz, the anarchist poet utilizes the term *carne* (flesh) to construct a form of solidarity whose basis is the idea of kinship, which entails a strong bond that mirrors the type of bond the working class needs in the current struggle against fascism. A striking and recurring image in the narrative poem is the polysemic *carne*. This image first appears in the third stanza in which the poetic voice alludes to the trauma María Silva Cruz experiences after the Casas Viejas massacre: "Estampa de noche trágica. Benalup, en su recuerdo, / raía como una lima / la carne de su cerebro" (Picture of a tragic night. Benalup, in her memory, / rasped like a file / the flesh of her brain; Sánchez Saornil 9-12). The memory that Silva Cruz has of the massacre in Benalup-Casas Viejas is so distressing that it feels like an unbearable physical pain equivalent to the pain that rasping one's brain flesh would produce. The simile conveys the horrifying recollection that Silva Cruz has of the tragic events. The gruesome image is an approximation of what Silva Cruz feels as she reacts to the process of recollection. There is a limitation in capturing Silva Cruz's trauma, so an approximation is a ghastly simile. Despite this limitation, the gruesome image generates a response that may be in the form of sympathy (intersubjective affect) or direct action (praxis).

The verses that follow the simile cement sympathy towards the protagonist of the *romance* which is necessary for the creation of solidarity: "cerebro de niña pobre, / sin pan, sin libro y sin credo" (Poor girl's brain, / without bread, without a book and without a creed; 13-14).

Silva Cruz is an example of the working-class woman who has to free herself from what the 1930s anarcho-feminists regard as a triple form of slavery that she endures: capitalism, the patriarchy, and the state/society that hinder her education (Nash 15). In other words, these verses underscore Silva Cruz's vulnerable position. As a result, the verses depict a figure whose circumstances yield sympathy, which is fundamental for solidarity. The creation of solidarity first begins at the body in the sense that the gruesome simile captures a devastating suffering that produces sympathy in others who identify with her tribulations through the imagining of an excruciating physical pain. That is, the recollection of the traumatic events that Silva Cruz has endured is the foundation of the type of solidarity that the poetic voice seeks to generate while the reference to her vulnerable social position strengthens said solidarity. As the poem progresses, the term *carne* becomes more figurative as it gradually engenders solidarity. In the other iterations of *carne*, class solidarity becomes a form of kinship, similar to Bakunin's notion of solidarity, that demands defense and revenge from the *pueblo*.

While the first image of *carne* has a literal sense since it refers to the matter of Silva Cruz's brain, the second image in the sixth stanza represents *la libertaria's* whole body: "Alguaciles y escribanos / — jeta asquerosa de puercos — / olisqueaban tu carne / y tu pobreza" (Prison guards and officials / — filthy pigs' mouths — / sniffed your flesh / and your poverty; 45-48). The poetic voice alludes to the harassment Silva Cruz endures by the prison guards and officials, who, is implied, exploit her material circumstances. This synecdoche preambles the parallel that the poetic voice makes between Silva Cruz and the people. It is through this parallel that the creation of solidarity continues. In the same stanza that recounts Silva Cruz's time in prison, her body as flesh transforms into a collective body — that of the people: "Fuera botín descontado / tu carne, carne del pueblo / si en la sombra no velaran / como dos puntas de acero / —carne de tu misma carne — / un afán con ojos negros" (It would have been booty / your flesh, flesh of the people / if in the shadows it did not guard / like two steel sharp points / —flesh of your flesh — / a desire with black eyes; 61-66). There is a shift in the possessive form that supplements *carne*. It is a shift from a possessive pronoun to a genitive form with the preposition *de* (of), which also indicates possession, in this case, the flesh of the people. This grammatical shift establishes an analogous relationship between Silva Cruz and the people. While Silva Cruz is the target of the prison guards, the people are also the target of the aristocracy that exploits them. More specifically, the guards see Silva Cruz as a target for sexual violence because "el hambre es la celestina /mejor de sus trapicheos" (hunger is the best matchmaker / of their tricks; 49-50). Analogously, the exploitation of the proletariat is like the violation of the body. Though the title of the poem specifies a focus on an individual whose epithet is *la libertaria*, her struggles represent the struggles of the people. The term *libertaria* in the sense of anarchist also refers to the anarchist struggle (*lucha libertaria*). Therefore, the transformation of an individual body into a collective body forms solidarity given that Silva Cruz shares the same struggles with the people, becoming a symbol of the oppressed. Her tribulations are not individual, but encompass the tribulations of the people. By making her tribulations collective, the poem strives to foster solidarity among the people, which is fundamental in class struggle.

Additionally, the third iteration of *carne* in the sixth stanza — "carne de tu misma carne" (flesh of your own flesh) — epitomizes the union between comrades, namely, Juan Miguel Pérez Cordón, whom Silva Cruz meets in prison and who would later become her romantic partner. The verse that confirms this union expresses that Pérez Cordón is flesh of her own flesh, which points to a sort of kinship between them. That is, the strong bond that kinship may develop is present, and, in this case, this bond is the bond of class solidarity. A second interpretation of this

verse alludes to the union of man and woman, both of whom become one flesh. Yet, while this Biblical reference promotes the subordination of women to men, in this instance, the relationship becomes more horizontal in the sense that both comrades share one common cause. In other words, the union between Silva Cruz and Pérez Cordón is made possible because they share the same material struggles. It is important to note that the union disregards that the struggles of gender are different. In fact, these struggles seem to disappear once she becomes Pérez Cordón's partner.

The merging of Silva Cruz and the pueblo returns in the tenth stanza, in which the poem narrates Silva Cruz's violent death: "¡Ay, María Silva Cruz, / carne dolida del pueblo" (Oh, María Silva Cruz, / the people's suffering flesh) 123-124)! Silva Cruz has become a symbol of the people, so the attack to which she is subjected is also an attack on the *pueblo*. At the same time, her suffering becomes a reason to defend the cause of the oppressed, which consolidates the continuation of the struggle after her death. The poem concludes with a reiteration of solidarity as a form of kinship: "carne de tu misma carne, / te vengará el pueblo ibero" (flesh of your own flesh, / the Iberian people will avenge you; 129-130)! Silva Cruz as a figure of the cause engenders class solidarity, which promotes action in the fight for the liberation of the *pueblo.* The poetic voice expresses a certainty that the Iberian *pueblo* shall avenge *la libertaria's* death. In the naming of the *pueblo,* the poetic voice does not employ the adjective that describes the nation-state — *español* or Spanish — but instead utilizes the term *ibero*, which refers to a borderless peninsula and to the groups of people that inhabited the territory before the Roman conquest. The modifier Iberian is significant because it rejects the political organization of the nation-state. In addition, it promotes an internationalism and cooperation that anarchism champions. By calling the Iberian people to avenge the death of Silva Cruz, the poetic voice reimagines the struggle for liberation that the nation-state with the term Spanish or *español* cannot guarantee. Moreover, the use of the term *ibero* in this *romance* reproduces the argument that anarchism in the peninsula has its roots in ancient Iberian history, which the anarchist propaganda of the time presented in opposition to the intervention of the Soviet Union in the war (Núñez Seixas 53). According to Xosé-Manoel Núñez Seixas, with this argument, "the whole history of Spain could be reinterpreted as a continuous battle of native Iberians who fought for freedom from foreign invaders. Both the pre-Roman resistance leader, Viriato, and the anarchist commander, Buenaventura Durruti, were included in the same 'racial lineage'" (53). During the civil war, the discourse of the defense of the territory against a foreign invader is present in both sides of the struggle. With respect to the lineage between anarchists and the leader Viriato, who resisted against the Roman invasion of the territory, it becomes clear that the current struggle is between the new generations of Iberian people and its enemies. By calling the defenders of María Silva Cruz Iberians, the poem traces her lineage back to the Iberians of eastern and southern Iberia, who fought against an invader. We must note that Silva Cruz was from Casas Viejas (Cádiz) in southern Iberia, so the connection with the historical Iberians is territorially realized[26].

Similarly to the romance about María Silva Cruz, "Romance de la vida, pasión y muerte de la lavandera del Guadalmedina" is a poem that manifests class solidarity as kinship that engenders action from the international working class. This *romance* tells the story of

[26] Lucía Sánchez Saornil composed the anthem "Himno de Mujeres Libres" (Anthem of Mujeres Libres) for the organization she cofounded. In this anthem, she addresses the women of Iberia to defy tradition and to build a new world that originates from pain (Plaza-Agudo).

Encarnación Giménez, a laundress who is accused of a crime and is tried in a military court during the Spanish Civil War. It is based on the true story of a laundress of the same name (different spelling of the surname) who was tried in a military court for the crime of aiding the local *rojos*[27] by washing their clothes ("Una nueva Mariana Pineda" 6). This incident was reported in the newspaper *Ahora* from Madrid on Sunday, March 7, 1937, which was likely Sánchez Saornil's main source for her *romance,* in which she immortalizes the new "Mariana Pineda," as the newspaper headline dubs Encarnación Giménez[28]. The poem was first published in the ninth issue of *Mujeres Libres*, in the eleventh month of the Revolution (June of 1937), three months after the publication of the article that reported her murder. In this *romance*, the poet addresses the subject of people who were caught in the middle of the war and whose actions, despite being everyday actions and distant from war, were now linked to one side or the other. Inmaculada Plaza-Agudo notes how Sánchez Saornil foregrounds the role women play in the *retaguardia* that diverges from its traditional role in the private sphere (48). War, according to this poem, penetrates every aspect of existence. In this *romance*, we see war through the eyes of a woman who is not actively political. Yet, the politics of her labor become overt once war begins. Thus, the murder of Encarnación Giménez comes to exemplify the injustices and the repression that everyday folks suffer in times of war. "Romance de la vida, pasión y muerte de la lavandera del Guadalmedina" is divided into three sections, two of which include Gimenez's emotive farewell to the river where she worked as well as her testimony of her life and current circumstances before a military court. While the protagonist narrates the first two sections, another voice relates the third and last section of the poem. What the third section recounts is Gimenez's murder, followed by a call to arms for the working class of the world to unite and join the class struggle that is underway. Below is the *romance* in its entirety:

I

¡Adiós las aguas del río
camino de la mar brava!
adiós las aguas crueles,
cuchillos que se afilaban
en la piedra del invierno!
¡Manos mías traspasadas!

¡Adiós las duras orillas
que me miraron esclava,
la rodilla hincada en tierra,
arco agobiado la espalda,

[27] *Rojo* literally means red. The pejorative term describes a left-wing person, particularly a communist. During the Spanish Civil War, *rojo* was synonymous with *republicano* (Republican), an individual who supported the 1936 democratically elected government from the Second Republic ("rojo"). The latter meaning applies to this newspaper article.

[28] Félix Paredes also composed a *romance* about Giménez titled "Encarnación Jiménez," which was published in *Romancero general de la guerra de España* in 1937 (Linhard 129). Paredes makes a parallel between the laundress and Myriam of Nazareth, or Mary, the mother of Jesus.

arrojar a la corriente
con ignorancia heredada,
hora por hora, una vida
sin florecer, agostada!
¡Ay, río Guadalmedina,
cauce de penas amargas!
¿Tuviste como otros ríos
nocturnos de lunas claras,
pájaros de amanecer,
chopos vestidos de plata,
cielo cuajado en remansos,
flechas de sol en el agua?

Ay, río Guadalmedina,
¿para quién eran tus galas?
¿Dónde esas vegas floridas
y esas veredas románticas
que andan siempre con los ríos
disputándose distancias?
¡Ni espejo quisiste ser,
ni espejo para mi cara
si nacía una sonrisa
robando sal a mis lágrimas!
¡Siempre estuvo el agua turbia
debajo de mis miradas!

¡Ay, río Guadalmedina,
cauce de penas amargas!
¡Quién ha dicho que los ríos
tienen flautas encantadas
que tañen en los crepúsculos
con lenguas de viento y agua?
¡Ay, dolor! dolor del río
sobre mi cuerpo y mi alma
—frío, dureza, fatiga,
hambre, sudor, ignorancia—.
¡Ay, río Guadalmedina,
cauce de penas amargas!

II

—Cambié ropas de “señores”,
batistas finas y claras
por ropas de miliciano
obscuras y ensangrentadas.
¿Qué pecado han cometido
mis pobres manos esclavas?
Cambié de ropa, buen juez,
que también los tiempos cambian.

Sangre y sudor como Cristo
los hijos del pueblo daban.
¡Si yo supiera por qué!...
¡Maldición de mi ignorancia!,
tan sólo sé que eran carne
de mi carne atormentada.
Esto es lo que sé tan sólo,
de lo demás no sé nada.
El río era el mismo río,
turbia como siempre el agua,
las mismas duras orillas
y la misma hambre insaciada.

Yo no sé nada, buen juez.
Estoy loca de palabras
y nadie acierta a decirme
por qué los hombres se matan.
Eran de mi misma carne…
¿Es esto una cosa mala?
Ayer lavé ropas finas,
hoy ropas ensangrentadas.
Si me sacan de ahí, buen juez,
no comprendo una palabra.

El juez se encogió de hombros;
huyó mirarla a la cara.

Para escarmiento de pobres
ha mandado fusilarla.

III

Caliente de sangre está
la hora más fría del alba,
de estupor cuajado el aire,
la conciencia desvelada
y el sueño, rotas las venas,
vigilante en las ventanas.
Siegan cuchillos de miedo
las voces en las gargantas.
¿A dónde va Encarnación
Giménez, altiva y pálida,
una pregunta en los labios
que nadie ha de contestarla
y una escolta de fusiles
con bayoneta calada?
Sólo la luna la sigue
desde los cielos del alba
y el río Guadalmedina.
crecido de sangre y lágrimas.

Ya está la tapia alevosa
traicionándole a la espalda.
La van a matar por pobre
—cosa ruin de la "canalla"—.
Justicia que manda hacer
código de aristocracia.
Pobres del mundo ¡acorredla!
Asuene clarín de batalla!
¡Abajo todos los códigos,
corran veloces las llamas!
cayó Encarnación Giménez
bajo un huracán de balas!
Si hundir el mundo precisa,
derrúmbese noramala!

¡En pie los pobres del mundo
en torrente desbordada!

In the second section of the *romance*, Giménez confesses that, prior to the war, she had washed the clothes of the *señores* (members of the aristocracy) and that the only recent change was that she was now washing *milicianos'* (militia members) clothes (47-50). In her testimony, Giménez also acknowledges she is not aware of the motivations that led to the current violence nor does she understand the accusations that were made against her. Her statement, however, is useless in preventing her from being sentenced to death. As part of her testimony, Giménez expresses her solidarity with the *milicianos* or *hijos del pueblo* (children of the people), as she states that "eran carne de [su] misma carne atormentada" ("[the milicianos] were flesh of [her] own tormented flesh"; 59-60). The term *pueblo* is rich in nuances. *Pueblo* can refer to a town or village. It also references the group of people that comprise the place, region, or country in which the group of people resides. A third definition denotes a socioeconomic group: the working class. Based on these definitions, the referents of the phrase would be as such: children of the town or village in a more general sense, children of Málaga or Spain, which is more specific, children of the people, and children of the working class. The use of children alongside the term *pueblo* communicates the importance that birthplace has in rural society as is the case of the use in the Mexican countryside[29] (Kanter 1). It also establishes a relationship between family and community. In this sense, Giménez sees the *milicianos* as flesh of her own flesh since they all belong to the same community. Two of the three possibilities share the idea that these *milicianos* belong to a particular group, which implies an exclusion of other groups or a contrast between a particular group and other groups. With respect to the second possibility, an indication that this story takes place in Málaga is the recurring reference to the Guadalmedina river, which runs through and divides the Andalusian city in two. Since the poem situates the action in Málaga, the children of the *pueblo* refer to the local *milicianos*, whom Encarnación knows as she expresses her solidarity when she declares that they are flesh of her own tormented flesh.

Aside from belonging to the same geographical location, the affinity between Giménez and the *milicianos* also originates from belonging to the same social class. The stark contrast between the *señores* and the *milicianos* in Giménez's labor signals that the latter defend the interests of the majority or the *pueblo* as opposed to the interests of the aristocracy. This implication then confirms the affinity between the *milicianos* and the laundress, who is clearly a member of the *pueblo* or working class. Even though her class consciousness is not overtly expressed in the text, Giménez sees an affinity with the *milicianos* because of the suffering they both endure for belonging to the "opposing" side of power, which both the *señores* and the military who apprehend her represent. The military forces prosecute her as if she were a *miliciano*. While the news article on which this poem was based states that she was accused of

[29] Though a different context, we find that the use of this phrase in the Mexican countryside would also apply to Andalusia, known for being an agrarian region. Still, the phrase *hijos del pueblo* that Giménez uses to refer to the *milicianos* is widely found in Iberian anarchist culture. For example, in the 1930s, there was an anarchist bulletin by the same name (Iñíguez 835). It is also the name of a prominent anarchist anthem (Baxmeyer 66). In this anthem, the use of the phrase *hijos del pueblo* undoubtedly refers to the working class.

aiding the *rojos* or the *milicianos*, the poetic voice asserts that Giménez is criminalized for her material conditions: "La van a matar por pobre" ("They are going to kill her for being poor" 101). The conflation of her labor with a criminal action confirms that class struggle is at the center of men killing each other. With respect to her labor, washing the clothes of the *milicianos* is a form of solidarity in praxis. Prior to this action, her labor was adhering and maintaining the status quo. Her labor is criminalized as soon as there is a defiance to the structures in power. So, being of the same flesh as the *milicianos* signifies belonging to the same social class. Lastly, in her solidarity statement, Giménez utilizes a modifier for the word flesh — tormented — which equates her suffering with the suffering of the *milicianos.* The unjust suffering Giménez and the *micilianos* experience originates from belonging to the working class, which makes them kin and, in turn, generates a mutual solidarity between them.

In order to represent the suffering that both the *milicianos* and Encarnación Giménez endure, Sánchez Saornil configures their image akin to a prominent religious figure who also experienced an unjust persecution — Jesus of Nazareth. As stated above, Encarnación Giménez provides a testimony before the military court, in which she utilizes religious imagery. In the second section of the poem, Giménez expresses her solidarity with the *milicianos* during her trial:

> Sangre y sudor como Cristo / los hijos del pueblo daban. / ¡Si yo supiera por qué!… / ¡Maldición de mi ignorancia!, / tan solo sé que eran carne / de mi misma carne atormentada. / Esto es lo que sé tan sólo, / de lo demás no sé nada. / El río era el mismo río, / turbia como siempre el agua, / las mismas duras orillas / y la misma hambre insaciada (Blood and sweat like Christ / the children of the people gave. / If I knew why!… / Curse of my ignorance! / I only know that they were flesh / of my own tormented flesh. / This is all I know, / of the rest I know nothing. / The river was the same river / the water turbid as ever, / the same harsh banks / and the same unsatiated hunger; 55-66).

This stanza presents Giménez's understanding of the events that are transpiring by the Guadalmedina river in Málaga. She may not understand the causes or even the reasons for the violence, but she knows that the fate the *milicianos* face is unjust, which is reminiscent of the passion of the Messiah. This implies that just as Christ sacrifices himself for the salvation of humanity, the *milicianos,* as children of the *pueblo,* are also sacrificing themselves for the salvation of their own kin, namely, the working class. Given the unjust nature of the war, Giménez expresses her solidarity with the *milicianos* who are meeting their fate. In the same stanza, Giménez also recounts that life continues to be uncertain, perilous, and rough in the way she describes her surroundings. The absence of a salient change comprises the injustices the *pueblo* suffers, including the inability to fulfill the hunger that is ever present (63-66). This particular injustice would resonate with the working class to which the voice in the third and final section speaks, whose objective is to create solidarity that leads to action. Therefore, solidarity is at the core of the mobilization to join the revolutionary struggle. Lastly, Giménez's murder also serves as a detonating force that mobilizes the working class. This suffering or "passion" of a representative of the working class strengthens the solidarity the poem aims to generate. That is, solidarity is built on suffering, on moments of injustice that both Giménez and the *milicianos* experience.

Another poem that features the motif of class solidarity as kinship as well as in bodily terms is the *romance* "El 19 de julio," which narrates the struggle that ensues after the military coup d'état on July 18, 1936. This poem appears in the eleventh issue of *Mujeres Libres,* which was published either in November or December of 1937[30] (Vicente Villanueva 59). Since its publication comes a year after the events on which the *romance* is based, it seems to commemorate the popular resistance to the military coup d'état. The poem recounts the end of an era and the beginning of a new period — a turning point marked by war and revolution. "La vida se paró en seco" (Life came to a screeching halt) proclaims the opening verse of the first three stanzas that comprise the *romance* (Sánchez Saornil 1, 7, 15). Not only does the verse announce that the life as it was known prior to the 19th of July has come to an end, but it also implies the arrival of a new life that features the joy of the enslaved (*júbilo de los esclavos*) (37). Thus, the title of the poem references the emergence of a new era. "El 19 de julio" consists of six stanzas, a shorter *romance* in comparison to the poems we have analyzed above. The use of asterisks separate the stanzas as follows: stanzas one and two, stanza three, stanzas four and five, and stanza six. The first two stanzas narrate the changes that have occurred in the labor of the countryside. The third stanza, which stands alone, relates the uprising of the working class in the countryside. The fourth and fifth stanzas narrate the war as well as the cultivation of solidarity. Finally, the sixth stanza recounts how the solidarity that is sown in times of war and revolution plays a part in the emergence of a new world. Below is the complete poem:

La vida se paró en seco
—fue en el tiempo de la siega—;
la canción del labio mozo
se trocó en dura blasfemia
y la hoz dejó en el surco
una interrogante abierta.

La vida se paró en seco
en la ciudad y en la aldea;
se enfrió el horno del pan
y sobre el trigo la muela
se inmovilizó de pronto
sin acabar la tarea.
¡Descansó el macho en el yunque
con un apagón de estrellas!

***

[30] Laura Vicente Villanueva situates the publication of this issue in November of 1937 while Fontanillas and Martínez place it in December of the same year (214).

¡La vida se paró en seco
cuajada en gritos de alerta!
Aulló el hambre; despertó
la legión de la miseria,
husmeó el aire cargado
de electrizadas centellas
y un puño gigante en alto
contó minutos de espera.
De Este a Oeste y desde el Norte
al Mediodía de Iberia
corrió el "alerta" del paria
al acecho de sorpresas.
¡Cuidad los hombres del llano!
Los de la montaña, ¡alerta!,
los que en la huerta se afanan,
los que junto al agua sueñan.
¡Aquí los descamisados
firme el puo en la herramienta,
que herrumbre de viejos hierros
nos amaga las muñecas!
¡La vida, toda, tembló
de temerosa impaciencia!

***

¡Júbilo de los esclavos!
Las noches eran espléndidas;
iluminadas de rojo,
sonoras de voces. Eran
como esa canción sin nombre
que el viento arranca a la selva
sacudiendo hasta la entraña
del árbol bajo la tierra.
Eran crepitar de llamas
despeño de torrenteras,
silbidos entre relámpagos,
muerte y vida en recia mezcla.

Y en medio del torbellino
—boca pegada a la tierra—
Va un suspiro... —Hermano, oye... —
(Están en sombra y se aprietan
las manos tímidamente
sin que ayer se conocieran).
—Mi madre quedó llorando,
cuando me marché, de pena,
creída en el desamparo
si mi muerte acaeciera.
(¡Júbilo de los esclavos,
júbilo! La boca negra
del fusil crea en la noche
una ráfaga de estrellas).
Y la voz... —lleva a mi madre,
si yo caigo, esta certeza:
que aquí dejo mil hermanos
valientes que la defiendan,
hijos de su misma entraña
aun cuando no los pariera.

***

¡Júbilo de los esclavos!
En julio rojo la tierra
como un vientre estremecido
recibió la siembra nueva.

The new epoch becomes apparent in the changes to daily labor in the countryside. More specifically, the oven, the millstone, and the anvil have ceased their activity. The implication is that the social revolution has impacted the activities that these instruments represent. As part of the revolution is the cultivation of solidarity, which we analyze below. The central image that we examine depicts the relationship between a mother and a son who serves as a *miliciano* in the revolution. "El 19 de julio" features a strong bond between mother and son, whose foundation is the duty of protection of a loved one. In other words, the importance both mother and son give to the protection of one another consolidates the strong bond between them. The perspective from which we learn about the aspiration to protect a loved one, particularly in times of war, is the son's perspective. Now that he has gone off to war, the son wants to ensure that his mother continue to have the protection that he cannot provide in these new and violent times. To do so, the son assigns a comrade and, by extension, the rest of his comrades, the duty of protection of his mother and also asks him and them to inform his mother of this assignment were he fall in

the struggle. Their participation in the struggle as *milicianos* engenders a sort of bond between them. The *miliciano,* whose mother needs protection, reinforces the bond with his request to his fellow *milicianos.* Surrounding this request for protection are disparate images such as a sigh, collective affect in the form of joy, a rifle, and the land, all of which accompany the act of solidarity, which in Weber's terms, would be an example of a social action.

Firstly, the imagery of the sigh is striking since this long exhalation has a life of its own given that it is in movement. This sigh originates from a voice, the *miliciano's* voice, that emerges in the middle of a storm that epitomizes war and revolution: "Y en medio del torbellino / — boca pegada a la tierra — / Va un suspiro… — Hermano, oye… — / (Están en sombra y se aprietan / las manos tímidamente / sin que ayer se conocieran)" (And in the middle of the storm / — mouth pressed to the earth — / a sigh goes… — Brother, listen… — / (They are in the dark and hold / hands timidly / without having known each other yesterday; 49-54). The sigh that a mouth in close proximity to the earth emits suggests that, while the sigh is in movement, it sows solidarity. That is, the movement of the sigh in proximity to the material on which something grows is indicative of the act of cultivating solidarity. The fact that it is a sigh that sows solidarity gives it a sense of urgency since a sigh generally expresses an instinctive response to a situation. In addition, the apostrophe that the sigh utters — brother — acknowledges the newly-formed bond between *milicianos*. In other words, the term used to make the connection between the sigh (*miliciano*) and the addressee (another *miliciano*; the rest of the *milicianos*) references a type of kinship that the request consolidates.[31] Consequently, the protection of the mother becomes a form of solidarity that is fundamental in the nascent epoch of revolution. Finally, in parentheses, the poetic voice presents the consolidation of solidarity in its bodily manifestation: *milicianos* who hold hands in darkness. This gesture seems to indicate that there is a sense of security that both hand holders seek or give to one another in the middle of the war. This rewriting of the image of lovers who hold hands in the dark conveys the idea that a sense of security is an act of solidarity.

In the middle of darkness, the *miliciano's* voice exhorts the addressee to reassure his suffering mother that his son's fellow fighters will defend her if anything were to happen to him (28). The voice of the *miliciano* is interspersed with another voice in parentheses that most likely belongs to the poetic voice who narrates the high spirits of the working class: "¡Júbilo de los esclavos, / júbilo" ("Joy of the enslaved, / joy"; 59-60)! The possibility of a new world generates joy — the joy of the enslaved. This new collective affect first emerges in the fourth stanza and is recurrent in subsequent stanzas. As it opens the fourth stanza, this verse creates a contrast with the last verse of the third stanza with regard to the emotions that a liberatory struggle evokes. The poetic voice concludes the third stanza in which they narrate the uprising of the working class in the countryside with an update of how life is: "¡La vida, toda, tembló / de temerosa impaciencia" ("¡Life, all of it, trembled / with fearful impatience"; 35-36)! The personification of everyday life emphasizes the overall fear, the absence of certainty in times of war and revolution. Yet, the dread that the collective feels also coexists with the collective's joy. As a result, the repetition of the verse about joy of the enslaved in the fifth stanza, though in the background of

[31] In political terms, the word brother alludes to the political concept of fraternity that developed during the French Revolution and which is a precursor to the political concept of solidarity (Sternø 26). Fraternity, as a "feeling of political community," was a means to promote and achieve revolutionary goals, including equality (27). Though this concept attempts to create a sense of community, it also erases social class as a category that promotes belonging (27). Solidarity, in contrast, makes the category of social class central.

the *miliciano's* request, completes a montage of the current struggle. Yes, the new world that revolution brings is dreadful, but it also produces joy in the working class. The repetition of the verse — joy of the enslaved — in the fifth stanza appears in a descriptive parentheses and precedes the *miliciano's* request to protect his mother. Joy precedes and follows this other act of solidarity as the final stanza also features the verse. The act of solidarity in the protection of the *miliciano's* mother strengthens the joy of the enslaved given that it goes from appearing in parentheses to opening the final stanza of the poem. In the same parentheses that narrates a backdrop of the struggle, the poetic voice draws attention to a rifle whose black muzzle produces a burst of stars (60-62). The metaphor of the gunshots as stars intensifies the contrast between darkness and light that characterize the revolution. The instantaneous burst of light that an instrument of the struggle emits in a dark night represents the hope that the arrival of the revolution creates.

What follows the backdrop of joy and hope is the *miliciano's* request; his voice emerges in the middle of a storm to communicate the certainty that he would like his mother to hear from his new brother: "—lleva a mi madre, / si yo caigo, esta certeza: / que aquí dejo mil hermanos / valientes que la defiendan, / hijos de su misma entraña / aun cuando no los pariera" (— tell my mother, / if I fall, this certainty: / I leave here a thousand brave brothers / to defend her, / children of her own womb / even if she did not give birth to them; 63-68). The key term is *entraña,* which in its literal sense is entrails or guts, usually in its plural form, but it also another word for womb. However, there is a more poetic meaning of *entraña* to refer to a close relationship, for example between a mother and a child. In this poem, there is an actual example of kinship, that of the *miliciano* and his mother. The implication is that the poetic voice broadens the definition of kin beyond a blood relationship by introducing a new aspect that connects the rest of the *milicianos* and the *miliciano's* mother, a new form of kinship: solidarity. What links these *milicianos* and the *miliciano's* mother is what Sánchez Saornil regards as the foundations of solidarity: "la comunidad de dolor y la ausencia de libertad" instead of blood ("the community of pain and the absence of freedom"; "La representación que aceptamos" (The representation we accept) 33). The *miliciano's* request for protection is a form of solidarity that involves the body in the sense that the *milicianos* risk their bodies in order to protect the mother of the *miliciano.* Consequently, by protecting their comrade's mother, the *milicianos* strengthen their working-class solidarity. The present struggle unites all *milicianos* as well as the duty of protection of all their loved ones who are not actively fighting and whom the mother represents. Solidarity, then, becomes legible as the poem characterizes it as a deep connection, in a similar manner as a deep bond between kin.

In the last stanza, we return to the image of the land or *tierra* that we briefly discussed above. In the previous stanza, the *miliciano,* whose mother is in need of protection, begins a process of solidarity formation that the care for one another represents. The poetic voice reiterates this act of sowing solidarity in the final stanza by announcing that the land is now sown land: "¡Júbilo de los esclavos! / En julio rojo la tierra / como un vientre estremecido / recibió la siembra nueva" (Joy of the enslaved! / In red July the land / like a shaken womb / received the new sowing; 69-72). The use of *tierra* here has two functions; one, it alludes to the location of the poem — the countryside — since it is a place one associates with the cultivation of land, and two, it refers to the material on which the oppressed of the countryside work that provides their livelihood. As previously stated, "El 19 de julio" narrates the arrival of revolution to the countryside. The bodily simile of the land as a shaken womb suggests the force with which revolution arrives to the countryside. This image of revolution as an agent that vigorously sows

the land manifests its impact on that which it encounters. In a symbolic act of insemination of a shaken womb, revolution arrives to the countryside, where the cultivation of solidarity is fundamental to the realization of the new world the revolution promises.

In a similar manner, solidarity in "Romance de Durruti" is pivotal in the continuation of the struggle after a major blow to the revolutionary movement. This *romance* is featured in the seventh issue of *Mujeres Libres*, which was published during the eighth month of the Revolution (March of 1937). There is an early version of this *romance* titled "Testamento de Durruti" (Durruti's Testament) that appeared in the *CNT* magazine in February of 1937 (Salaün 275). The final version that we examine has two additional verses and two modifications to a couple of verses. This poem presents the setting of Buenaventura Durruti's death, lionizes his revolutionary action, narrates the effect his death has on the *milicianos* who fought as members of Durruti's Column,[32] and ends with a call to arms by furthering his work (*obra*). Durruti was killed in November of 1936 in the northwest of Madrid, where he had just arrived from the Aragon Front to participate in the defense of the city, which was crucial to the antifascist resistance in the Spanish capital. Durruti, an anarchist revolutionary, is the ideal subject for the poetic form Sánchez Saornil chooses to compose in times of war and revolution. In fact, her poem adds to a list of *romances* about Durruti, including Luis Pérez Infante's four-part *romance* "La muerte de Durruti" (The Death of Durruti) and an untitled *romance* published in the *CNT* newspaper of Madrid and in *El mono Azul,* signed by Antonio Agraz (Monleón 154). In contrast to these *romances* that exalt the individual and in a similar way that the *romance* about María Silva Cruz focuses on the collective, on the *pueblo*, Durruti's poem goes beyond a mere immortalization of whom Miguel Íñiguez considers the most mythified figure of Spanish anarchism (523). While the romance lionizes the figure — Durruti, it also provides solace to the members of the Column. The poem presents solidarity as a fundamental principle in the continuation of the struggle after the death of a leader. After Durruti's death, there is grief that has taken over the *milicianos*, Durruti's *gente* (people), who are like his "shadow," as the poetic voice characterizes them (Sánchez Saornil 34). There is an acknowledgment and even an homage to the grief Durruti's Column experiences. Additionally, there is a reminder that Durruti's work must continue, and the undertaking of this work is tied to Durruti's honor. The role of solidarity in the "rebuilding" of the Column and the images that the poetic voice evokes to demonstrate this solidarity is what we examine. For reference, we reproduce the poem below:

¿Qué bala te cortó el paso
—¡Maldición de aquella hora! —
Atardecer de noviembre
camino de la victoria?
Las sierras del Guadarrama
cortaban de luz y sombra

[32] Durruti's Column or Columna de Durruti is the name of a group of militias from Barcelona that fought in the Aragon Front in 1936. Buenaventura Durruti was the leader of this Column. Its members were in Aragon until November of 1936, when the fascist forces arrived in Madrid. It was in the Battle for Madrid where Durruti was killed (Íñiguez 522-523).

un horizonte mojado
de agua turbia y sangre heroica.
Y a tus espaldas Madrid,
el ojo atento a tu bota,
mordido por los incendios,
con jadeos de leona,
tus pasos iba midiendo
prietos el puño y la boca.
¡Atardecer de noviembre,
borrón negro de la Historia!
Buenaventura Durruti,
¿quién conoció otra congoja
más amarga que tu muerte
sobre la tierra española?
Acaso estabas soñando
las calles de Zaragoza
y el agua espesa del Ebro
caminos de laurel rosa
cuando el grito de Madrid
cortó tu sueño en mal hora...
Gigante de las montañas
donde tallabas tu gloria,
hasta Castilla desnuda
bajaste como una tromba
para raer de las tierras
pardas la negra carroña,
y detrás de ti, en alud,
tu gente, como tu sombra.
Hasta los cielos de Iberia
te dispararon las bocas.
El aire agitó tu nombre
entre banderas de gloria
—canto sonoro de guerra
y dura canción de forja—.
Y una tarde de noviembre
mojada de sangre heroica,
en cenizas de crepúsculo
caía tu vida rota.

Sólo hablaste estas palabras
al filo ya de tu hora:
Unidad y firmeza, amigos;
¡para vencer hais de sobra!
Durruti hermano Durruti
jamás se vio otra congoja
más amarga que tu muerte
sobre la tierra española.
Rostros curtidos de cierzo
quiebran su durez de roca
como tallos quebradizos
hasta la tierra se doblan
hércules del mismo acero
¡Hombres de hierro sollozan!
Fúnebres tambores baten
apisonando la fosa.
¡Durruti, es muerto, soldados,
que nadie mengüe su obra!
Se buscan manos tendidas,
los odios se desmoronan,
y en las trincheras profundas
cuajan realidades hondas
porque a la faz de la muerte
los imposibles se agotan.
—Aquí está mi diestra, hermano.
calma tu sed en mi boca,
mezcla tu sangre a la mía
y tu aliento a mi voz ronca.
Parte conmigo tu pan
y tus lágrimas si lloras.
Durruti bajo la tierra
en esto espera su honra.
Rugen los pechos hermanos.
Las armas al aire chocan.
Sobre las rudas cabezas
sólo una enseña tremola.
Durruti es muerto. ¡Malhaya
aquel que mengüe su obra!

As mentioned above, “Romance de Durruti” covers the last hours of the anarchist leader upon his arrival to Madrid, and the aftermath of his death. The poetic voice addresses Durruti in the first half of the poem, which is a recurrent poetic device in other *romances* by Sánchez Saornil. In this poem, the poetic voice praises Durruti as a formidable revolutionary — a giant of the mountains (27). The poem also recreates Durruti’s last words: “Unidad y firmeza, amigos; / ¡para vencer hais de sobra” (Unity and strength, friends; / you have more than enough to win; 47-48)! What follows immediately is the reaction to his death by the men who fought alongside him. An anguish invades them, which the poetic voice encapsulates in a series of verses. Then, a demand from the poetic voice that Durruti’s work must continue. In order to continue his work, solidarity is what shall build them up after such a blow to their morale. Durruti is dead, but his honor lives on through the revolutionary work he started and that the *soldados* (soldiers) who knew him and fought alongside him shall continue (61). The work he started symbolizes the man and the struggle he led. Thus, the struggle does not end with Durruti’s death as long as the work continue. In order to pursue the work the revolutionary started, the *milicianos* must engender solidarity within the Column as a way to maintain unity and strength.

The solidarity for which the poetic voice advocates is a solidarity that is built upon sharing tribulations between the *milicianos* who constitute Durruti’s Column. This manifestation of solidarity appears in the seventh stanza, in which the poetic voice describes the aftermath of Durruti’s death within the Column. Following the call not to abandon Durruti’s work, the poetic voice describes how the members of the Column are building up. First, the poetic voice states these men seek to hold one another’s hands, a physical manifestation of solidarity that is also present in the *romance* “El 19 de julio” (63). Then, a *miliciano’s* voice emerges to express how Durruti’s revolutionary work shall resume through acts of solidarity. The continuation of this work centers on assisting one another in times of need. The *miliciano* thus offers a helping hand to a fellow *miliciano* whom he calls brother: “— Aquí está mi diestra, hermano / calma tu sed en mi boca, / mezcla tu sangre a la mía / y tu aliento a mi voz ronca. /Parte conmigo tu pan / y tus lágrimas si lloras. / Durruti bajo la tierra / en esto espera su honra” (— Here is my right hand, brother / quench your thirst in my mouth, / mix your blood with mine / and your breath with my hoarse voice. / Share your bread with me / and your tears if you cry. / Durruti under the earth / in this trusts his honor; 69-76). There is a mutual embodiment in the type of solidarity the *miliciano* promotes. That is, acts of solidarity are understood in corporeal terms. An act of solidarity involves helping a fellow *miliciano* with a vital need such as thirst. In this case, the act of solidarity would be to quench the fellow *miliciano’s* thirst. This example is striking given the homosocial bonding it conveys in the *miliciano’s* offer of quenching his fellow *miliciano’s* thirst with his own mouth. This type of homosocial bonding is what Nils Hammarén and Thomas Johansson have theorized as a type of horizontal homosociality in which relationships “are based on emotional closeness, intimacy and a non-profitable form of friendship” rather than a mechanism that maintains the hegemonic masculinity, which is a vertical homosocial relationship (343). The image of this physical bodily union or intimacy strengthens the bond between them. The *miliciano* adds to the strengthening of this bond the desire to combine each other’s blood and breath. Then a reciprocity occurs. Now the *miliciano* asks the fellow *miliciano* to aid him by providing an essential remedy to his ailment. Aside from the physical, the material is also present. The *miliciano* asks his addressee to share his bread with him. Yet, he is not an opportunist because, though he may ask him to share his bread, he also asks him to share his misfortunes. The sharing of bread echoes the sacrament of communion, in which the body and

blood of Christ the savior is shared among a congregation. Bread-sharing within Durruti's column also configures Durruti as a Christ-like figure whose "sacrifice" his comrades remember through this act of solidarity. With respect to sharing misfortunes, it means sharing pain, which is what defines the type of solidarity the *romancero* promotes. Ultimately, all of these acts of solidarity are acts of selflessness because, while the *miliciano* assists his fellow *miliciano*, the fellow *miliciano* also assists him with something he needs. These acts of selflessness build the members of the Column up in order to advance Durruti's work.

In addition, these acts of solidarity reinvigorate Durruti's Column to continue the fight for liberation: "Rugen los pechos hermanos. / Las armas al aire chocan" (Brotherly chests roar. / Weapons clash in the air; 77-78). The drive to fight returns. Once again, they are ready to engage in battle. There is a contrast between this new mood and the *milicianos'* energy in the fifth stanza in which they express their anguish for the death of Durruti: "Rostros curtidos de cierzo /quiebran su dureza de roca / como tallos quebradizos / hasta la tierra se doblan / hércules del mismo acero / ¡Hombres de hierro sollozan" (Faces hardened by the north wind / break their rocky hardness / like broken stems / they bend to the ground / Hercules of the same steel / Men of iron sob; 53-58)! The simile of broken stems captures the effect the death of their leader has on them. Solidarity rebuilds the members of Durruti's Column who experience a loss that exposes their vulnerability. Though the portrayal of the *milicianos* is somewhat stereotypical in these verses — manly and strong — the simile that compares them to damaged plants underscores the state in which they find themselves as they learn about Durruti's death. The verb *doblarse* (to bend and to cede) indicates that the men both fall to the ground (bend their stems) and cede emotionally and in battle. Before these emotionally defeated men dwell on the grief that the death of their leader has generated, a voice demands them to continue Durruti's work as she also acknowledges his death: ¡Durruti, es muerto, soldados, / que nadie mengüe su obra" (Durruti, is dead, soldiers, / let no one diminish his work; 61-62). The step that precedes the continuation of his work is the creation of solidarity between the members of the Column. The acts of solidarity will strengthen the Column so that it continues Durruti's work after his death.

Suffering and resisting bodies: Madrid, Asturias, and the *pueblo* in times of war and revolution

Three poems in the *Romancero de Mujeres Libres* (1938) narrate the effects of war and revolution on Madrid and Asturias as well as their residents. The geography that this *romancero* depicts focuses on spaces of resistance against oppressive forces. In two of the poems above, the geographic location is Andalusia, where two women become symbols of the oppressed *pueblo*. With respect to Madrid and Asturias, both are places of past and present resistance. In the present, Madrid, as the seat of political power, becomes a target of the fascist rebels. The defense of Madrid thus becomes paramount in the struggle against fascism. Asturias, a place of past resistance with the miners' strike in 1934, also known as the Asturian Revolution of 1934, that was crushed by the military, is once again fighting against oppressive forces in the Northern Front. Hence, the central image in the three poems is the image of Madrid and Asturias as suffering and resisting bodies. A difference between the poem about Madrid and the poems about Asturias is that they narrate different stages of war and revolution in 1930s Spain. The poem on the antifascist resistance in Madrid is from December of 1936 while the poems on war and revolution in Asturias date from October 1937 and January 1938 respectively. Our analysis, thus, moves both chronologically and poetically in the sense that the language goes from more literal to more figurative. "¡Madrid, Madrid, mi Madrid!" appears in the sixth issue of *Mujeres Libres*, which was published during Week 21 of the Revolution (December of 1936). A singularity of

"¡Madrid, Madrid, mi Madrid!" is that the poem is featured on the cover of the publication as opposed to the other poems from the *Romancero* that were also published in *Mujeres Libres*. Additionally, a monochrome drawing of Madrid complements this *romance* on the issue cover. The illustration features the Gate of Toledo (*Puerta de Toledo*) and the Segovia bridge, both of which the *romance* references. "¡Madrid, Madrid, mi Madrid!" consists of five stanzas, each with a different number of verses. In addition to its publication in *Mujeres Libres*, Sánchez Saornil read the poem on the radio station *Radio Madrid* on one of the nights of the siege of Madrid in November of 1936 (Martín Casamitjana 21). This *romance* that has Madrid as a protagonist narrates the popular resistance to the arrival of the fascist forces to the capital, to which "Romance de Durruti" also alludes. What interests us from this poem is the depictions of both Madrid and the popular resistance, which includes the appearance of multiple voices as well as an active role of women in the struggle, a representation that differs from the traditional portrayal of women as victims in other well-known *romances* of the Spanish Civil War (21). In the poems we have analyzed in the previous section, the depiction of women goes beyond the role of victim. They are symbols of the *pueblo.* In this poem about the civil defense of Madrid, women are protagonists of the antifascist resistance in the capital. We now provide the complete poem for reference:

¡Madrid, corazón del mundo!
—no ya corazón de España—
como túnica de Cristo
malhechores te desangran.
¡Ay, rondas de mi Madrid,
ríos de sangre y de lágrimas!
Tus noches no son tus noches
llenas de luz hasta el alba;
son pavorosos abismos
en cuyas negras entrañas
revientan frutos de fuego
maduros de vieja saña.

¡Madrid, de los arrabales,
río de sangre y de lágrimas,
abre la tumba a tus muertos!
—¡A nosotras, Malasaña!—
Van las mujeres rugiendo,
trémulas de fiebre y ansia,
galopando en potro de ira.
con las manos desplegadas
a la busca en campos de odio

de amapolas de venganza.
¡Madrid, corazón del mundo,
corazón que se desangra!...
Por la Puente de Segovia
sube de cara al Alcázar
entre roncos alaridos
el pueblo pidiendo armas,
—¡Madre, madre, me han matado
al hijo de mis entrañas!
—Anoche dejé a mi padre
quieto el corazón, sin habla,
boca arriba en el arroyo
buscando un cielo sin alba.
—¡A dónde vas, compañero?
—Deja, mujer, que me vaya;
no tengas celo de nadie,
que es la muerte quien me aguarda
para jugarse conmigo,
firme el pulso y cara a cara,
la vida de mi Madrid
que tiene preso en sus garras.
—Voy contigo, compañero,
los dientes tengo y me bastan.

—¡A mí los del Avapiés,
Curtidores y la Caba;
los mozos de pelo en pecho
dispuestos a lo que salga.
Por las puertas de Toledo
va en aluvión la "canalla"
en busca del enemigo
ciegos los ojos de lágrimas,
prietos los dientes de ira
chocando al aire las armas.
¡Madrid, Madrid, mi Madrid,
haremos una muralla
de carne humana y de fuego,
y a ver qué guapo la salta!

Todas las horas del día
están cortadas de alarma.
Cruzan veloces las calles
campanas precipitadas,
sirenas agudas gritan
en la noche ciudadana
y contra un terror obscuro
los sueños rompen sus alas.
Debajo de las estrellas
los negros aviones cantan,
serpientes de traición silban
que hasta a la muerte acobardan.
La cuna que acuna al niño
no por ser cuna se salva;
y crujiendo en sus raíces,
muda de terror, la casa
alarga sus escaleras
y hace más honda su entraña.
¡Contra el cielo ennegrecido,
pegan su lengua las llamas!

¡Muchachos, al parapeto!
donde Madrid os reclama.
¡Adelante las mujeres!
¡adelante!, ¿quién se tarda?
Una hora vale un año,
un minuto, una semana.
¡Hagamos muros de carne,
y a ver qué guapo los salta!

As mentioned above, Sánchez Saornil recited "¡Madrid, Madrid, mi Madrid!" on a radio station on one of the nights of the siege of the Spanish capital. The *romance* narrates the effects of the siege on Madrid as a physical space, its impact on the population, and how the civil population of Madrid, namely, the *pueblo* respond to the attack. The first stanza depicts Madrid as the center of the world (Sánchez Saornil 1). Previously, Madrid had been the nucleus — the

heart, more accurately — of Spain[33] (2). The struggle now transcends the role of Madrid. That is, the defense of Madrid becomes the defense of the world. This metaphor of Madrid as the heart of the world is evocative of the international dimension that other poems give to the war and revolution in Spain. That is, the struggle is no longer a local or national struggle, but an international struggle. Besides being the heart of the world, the poetic voice compares Madrid to Christ's robe (*túnica de Cristo)* as a result of malefactors bleeding it dry (3-4). The religious simile bolsters Madrid's importance since Christ's robe is a symbol of unity; thus, the attack of Madrid threatens the unity of Madrid and, by extension, of the world. With this simile, the poetic voice also presents the attack by the fascist rebels as a desecration of Madrid. This desecration has turned Madrid's nights into a terrifying hell filled with cruelty (9-12). Thus, Madrid, as a place, has become horrifying, a place whose *rondas* (beltways) that encircle its center are now rivers of blood and tears (5-6). These bodily fluids are evidence of the suffering that the siege of Madrid generates. The image of Madrid's famous beltways as rivers of blood and tears is striking given that suffering surrounds its nucleus, making it difficult to escape it. Additionally, in the peripheral neighborhoods of the city — the *arrabales* — there is also a river of blood and tears (14). In the second stanza, with all of the horrors that affect the city, Madrid, as the heart of the world, is now a bleeding heart (23-24). The attacks of the siege have left Madrid wounded, which ignites the response of the civil population to defend its Madrid where, given the international dimension of the struggle, the future of the world is at stake.

As the defense of Madrid, the poem features different voices from the *pueblo* who seeks arms to defend the city. These voices include women, who assign themselves the role of defending Malasaña, as well as other agents such as a mother, a child, and a couple whose lives the war has upended (16). The mother has a reason to fight — the death of her son (29-30). There is also a child whose father lies dead near a creek (31-34). The couple discusses its duty to defend Madrid. All of these voices indicate how war alters relationships. The defenders of Madrid make these statements as they march alongside the rest of the *pueblo* to an unnamed fortress near the Segovia bridge to retrieve fire arms that assist them in the defense of the city (24-28). The conversation between an unnamed couple, identified as *compañero* (comrade, partner) and *mujer* (woman), showcases the urgency of the defense of Madrid. *Compañero* tells *mujer* that he must leave after she asks where he is going. *Compañero* must leave because he must face death itself as he fights for the life of *his* Madrid, who is in death's clutches (35-42). In these verses, *compañero* personifies death as the ultimate enemy who has imprisoned Madrid. *Compañero* knows the fight entails risking his life to save Madrid from death. This statement does not deter his partner, however. It actually encourages her to join him in his endeavor to rescue Madrid from death: "—Voy contigo, compañero, / los dientes tengo y me bastan" (—I'll go with you, comrade, / I have teeth and they more than enough; 43-44). This image is suggestive of the undivided allegiance of the residents of Madrid to their territory in the form of embodied resistance. Though the poetic voice narrates that the *pueblo* is in search of arms, this woman only needs her bravery and her own body (teeth) to defend Madrid. Moreover, this statement complements her partner's commitment to the defense of Madrid in the sense that they are both willing to sacrifice their own lives in the defense of their territory.

[33] Luis Pérez Infante's *romance* about Durruti, "La muerte de Durruti," also refers to Madrid as the heart of Spain (5).

Another portrayal of embodied resistance is the civil population of Madrid, which the poetic voice dubs the riffraff or *canalla,* albeit in quotation marks. The poetic voice reappropriates the pejorative word the enemy of the *pueblo* typically uses to emphasize the dangers of the masses. This reappropriating of the word accentuates the power the working class has as one force in the struggle against fascism. In the description of the *pueblo* in the streets, the poetic voice characterizes the popular resistance as a wall of human flesh: "haremos una muralla / de carne humana y de fuego, / a ver qué guapo la salta" (we shall do a wall / of human flesh and fire, / let's see if the tough guy climbs it"; 56-58). The metaphor of the *pueblo* as a wall made of human flesh conveys the transformation of individuals into one mass in which they all share one flesh; that is, they are all one flesh, one group, whose aim is to defend Madrid from the tough guy who, in this instance, represents fascism. This evoking image reappears in a 1938 CNT-FAI poster that asserts that the invader will crash into the human wall made by the Spanish people (Seixas Núñez 52). While in these verses, the poetic voice describes this defense plan in the future tense, in the concluding verses, the poetic voice shifts from a plan to an order with the use of the imperative mood: "¡Hagamos muros de carne, / y a ver qué guapo los salta!" (Let's make walls of flesh, / let's see if the tough guy climbs them!; Sánchez Saornil 85-86). The bodies of all men and women are called upon to defend Madrid against their enemy. In this defense, a body alone loses its vulnerable nature as soon as other bodies or, more specifically, flesh, join together to become one firm structure that aims to stop the advance of the enemy.

"¡Madrid, Madrid, mi Madrid!" is an example of a circumstantial and immediate poem that collects the impressions of a poet who experienced firsthand the siege of the capital. Sánchez Saornil lionizes the bravery with which the civil population of Madrid defended its city in the autumn of 1936. Madrid with its bleeding heart and bodily fluids (tears, blood) that create rivers convey how devastating a military siege can be. At the same time, the flesh (bodies) of the popular resistance underscores the centrality of the residents of Madrid in the defense of its city.

In a letter that the editors of *El Mono Azul* received from New York and that was published in the fifteenth issue (11 February 1937) of the publication, its author considers civil war *romances* a more authentic portrayal of those who fight in the struggle than what the newspapers report: "El 'Romancero de la guerra civil' tiene el sello de la autenticidad. Mucho mejor se ve a la verdadera España que sabe luchar, triunfar y morir, a través de los romances, que por la noticias que se publican en los periódicos" ("The 'Romancero de la guerra civil' bears the seal of authenticity. One sees the true Spain, who knows how to fight, triumph, and die, much better through these *romances* than through the news that appear in the newspapers"; "Éxito del romancero de la guerra civil" 4). What this reader who is contemporaneous with the *romances* suggests is that the narrative poetry that emerges from the war captures the struggle beyond the surface which is what the news seem to do. The adjective that modifies Spain — true — points to a sense of verisimilitude in writing, in this case, narrative poetry. With this contrast between *romances* and news in matters of portrayal of the war that is underway in the Iberian Peninsula, we begin our analysis of Sánchez Saornil's poem ¡Ay, rinconcito de Asturias!" whose subject concerns the limits of representation in a medium that, like the newspaper, also serves an informative function. The poem in question glorifies a formidable Asturias that a map that is before the poetic voice is unable to portray beyond the surface.

In contrast to the poems we have examined above, "¡Ay, rinconcito de Asturias!" was not published in the journal *Mujeres Libres*. However, it was compiled in both the 1938 *Romancero de Mujeres Libres* and in its 2020 reissue. The poem was also published in the fourteenth issue of the anarchist weekly magazine *Umbral* on October 16, 1937 (Martín Casamitjana 175). This

romance extols Asturias the land and the fighters who defend her freedom. In this poem, there is a problematization of representation that the poetic voice addresses as she talks to a map of Asturias that only depicts lines and illegible signs. The poetic voice reproaches the map she observes for its inability to depict the battles that are underway in a little corner of the Iberian Peninsula. She contends that an object that represents a specific area, its geographic location specifically, is incapable of a deeper or beyond-the-surface depiction. Thus, we examine the lyrical reflection of the limitations of war depiction in an affixed object such as a map. To do so, we rely on concepts of staticity and dinamicity to discuss this poem about the armed struggle in Asturias. Before our analysis, we reproduce the *romance* it its entirety:

¡Ay, rinconcito de Asturias,
cuna de la España madre!
—cada hombre vale por cien,
cada "mauser", por cien "mauseres"—
Con el mapa ante los ojos,
busco tus rutas de sangre,
aun sin conocer tus cielos,
ni tus vegas, ni tus valles…
sólo esa cosa tan fría
—manos de delineante—
que he de encender con la lumbre
de mis ojos para hallarte.

Por aquí van los mastines...
—quieto, corazón, no estalles,
nada importan sus colmillos,
si está el minero aguardándoles—.
Por aquí vuela la muerte
ceñida de estrellas… —¡madre,
qué hombres, los hombres de Asturias!—
A los pájaros más grandes,
porque les roban más cielo
y más ensueños lunares,
y más miradas de novia
son a los que han más coraje;
y con una bala chica
como un meñique, mi madre,
—corazón de su fusil—
les basta para matarles.

Mapa que me desesperas,
laberinto inextricable
de líneas rojas y azules
y nombres indescifrables,
quisiera ver tu papel
retorcerse, chamuscarse…
¡Mi mano está sobre ti
y no te quema? ¡ay, arde!
¡Arde, que yo quiero verlo,
mapa de Asturias, cobarde!
Tú no retratas la Asturias
donde mis hombres se baten
en cuatro palmos de tierra
hechos corazón gigante.
…¡Ay, rinconcito de Asturias,
cuna de la España madre!
¡Mientras en ti aliente un hombre
nadie podrá esclavizarte!
Tengo puesta en ti tal fe,
tal firmeza inquebrantable,
que va mi vida en apuesta,
si alguno tiene coraje.

As mentioned above, "¡Ay, rinconcito de Asturias!" praises a little corner of Asturias, located in the north of the Iberian Peninsula, where formidable men fight. The poem begins with a direct address of the poetic voice to a *rinconcito* or little corner. The diminutive form of the word *rincón* (corner) points to the size of Asturias and, more importantly, to an endearing relationship between the poetic voice and the addressee, in this case, Asturias. In other words, the diminutive form in Spanish expresses affection that suggests a sense of intimacy between the poetic voice and Asturias. In the opening verses, the poetic voice gives Asturias historical importance as she calls it the cradle of mother Spain (Sánchez Saornil 2). Both cradle and mother signify origins, which construct the importance that the poetic voice grants this little corner of Spain. This verse also contains an allusion to the dominant historiography of Spain — a Christian Spain. That is, the historical allusion is a key battle in Asturias — the battle of Covadonga — that the dominant historiography designated as the beginning of the *Reconquista* (reconquest) of Al-Andalus, a Muslim kingdom in the Iberian Peninsula that reigned for more than seven centuries. Given that the fascist uprising began in Morocco with the assistance of the Army of Africa, the historical allusion draws parallels with the present time of the poem. This military group also participated in the suppression of the 1934 Revolution in Asturias (Núñez Seixas 54). In the political discourse from the different antifascist groups, the current struggle

was a war of independence and even a new *Reconquista* (Martín Corrales 154). After granting Asturias the importance in Spanish history, the poetic voice spends most of the *romance* discussing the limits of a representation of Asturias that, from her perspective, is unintelligible. It is unclear who the poetic voice is, but she has a way of knowing or, at the very least, sensing what is happening in Asturias. Because the poetic voice seems to know what is actually happening in Asturias, the reproach is about the lack of accuracy in the map's portrayal of this little corner. In other words, the poetic voice appears to know what is happening in Asturias, but she wants to see a more complete representation in the map that is in front of her. In a similar way that the New York letter claims that the newspapers are insufficiently depicting *la verdadera España*, the poetic voice criticizes the map and demands that it portray the true Asturias. Due to its lack of accuracy, the poetic voice suggests that the map physically transform in an effort to represent the struggle that is taking place in Asturias.

Therefore, "¡Ay, rinconcito de Asturias!" grapples with the limitations of representations of war in a medium that characteristically affixes that which it portrays. The medium in question is a map of Asturias with which the poetic voice interacts since it fails to portray the war that is occurring there. The interaction is an embodied engagement through the senses of sight and touch that transform the static and abstract map. This *romance* contains three stanzas, each with a different number of verses. In the first stanza, the poetic voice addresses the Asturias she senses and seeks in a map while in the third stanza, her address shifts to the map that fails to capture Asturias. Another shift of addressee from the map to Asturias concludes the *romance*. This shift underscores the deep connection the poetic voice has with Asturias, despite its physical absence, whereas the map, which is present, is incapable of connection with the poetic voice. The first and three stanzas capture the poetic voice's reproach of a map that fails to represent what the poetic voice seeks. The second stanza narrates that which the poetic voice senses is happening in Asturias. Before we examine this stanza, we first analyze the characterization that the poetic voice presents of the map in the first stanza. A map is a medium that is generally a geographic representation of a place and includes details that pertain to a particular subject ("Mapa"). For example, linguistic maps indicate the different languages that are spoken in a given territory. Maps serve different purposes, but a fundamental function is to convey information about the spatiality of a particular area. In the case of war maps, they provide knowledge of the territories that are in control, in dispute, etc. This knowledge is key to war planning and strategizing. The few details about the map in the poem suggest that it is a war map. What interests us is not in proving that such is the case, but rather what the poetic voice tells us about representations of war by reflecting on a device that aids warfare. In the first stanza, the poetic voice describes the map as a thing so cold that it must be lit up or ignited in order for the poetic voice to find Asturias in it (Sánchez Saornil 9-12). Cold is an unusual adjective to describe a map. It emphasizes its inanimacy, a given, and, by extension, its insensitivity to what it represents, in this case, a little corner of Asturias, where men are fighting for the liberation of the territory and its people.

The inanimacy of the map is tied to its static nature. This attribute conveys that a typical map cannot encapsulate the struggle the poetic voice senses and *knows* is occurring in the north. Thus, the poetic voice must actively interact with it in order to find Asturias: "sólo esa cosa tan fría / — manos de delineante — / que he de encender con la lumbre / de mis ojos para hallarte" (only that cold thing / — drafter's hands — / that I must ignite with the light / of my eyes to find you; 9-12). There is ambiguity in the function of the verse that features em dashes. Two possibilities emerge. One is that the verse emphasizes the creator of the map: a drafter who draws

the map and whose "objectivity" represents a form of indifference to the struggle. It adds to the cold nature of the map that is uninterested in portraying the actual struggle for liberation in Asturias. The second possibility is that this verse — "— manos de delineante —" — has a grammatical function, namely, it serves as a direct object upon which the verb *encender* (to light and to ignite) acts (10). So it adds to the indifference of the map and it also serves as the object upon which the poetic voice acts. The process by which the poetic voice interacts with the map happens through the senses, specifically, the sense of sight and the sense of touch, both of which tend to be the dominant senses of the act of observing a map. With the sense of sight, the poetic voice ignites the cold map, in an act of animacy. Prior to this act, the map is static, fixed, cold. Once the poetic voice ignites it, the map comes to life. How does the poetic voice ignite it? That is, what does the poetic voice utilize to ignite it? She uses "la lumbre de [sus] ojos," which in Spanish is a phrase that refers to one's pupils. It is also commonly used with the verb *ser* (to be) to refer to someone who is cherished, similar to the English phrase "apple of my eye." In this case, the referent seems to be the poetic voice's pupils, that is, her sight; so by means of her gaze, the poetic voice transforms the map. The implication of the phrase "lumbre de mis ojos" is that the poetic voice has the ability to transform the map because she cherishes what the map represents. The poetic voice's love for Asturias physically and temporarily transforms the representation of Asturias. That is, the poetic voice sees beyond the abstractions the cold map depicts. In the immediate verses that follow this act, the poetic voice describes a representation that is interactive, a representation that features movement. We get a glimpse of the Asturias that the poetic voice senses and seeks.

The second stanza is the result of the act of transformation of the map of Asturias that the poetic voice observes. This stanza serves as a sort of counter-narrative to what the static and cold map portrays. The way the poetic voice narrates what transpires in Asturias is as if she were pointing at different locations: "Por aquí van los mastines… / […] / Por aquí vuela la muerte" (Through here the mastiffs go… / […] / Through here flies death; 13,17). The use of prepositional phrases with a demonstrative adjective of location — *por aquí* (through here) — as well as verbs of movement (*ir* and *volar*) make the representation come to life. It is a representation with movement that the map appears to display, almost as if there were a camera on the roads and areas in which mastiffs, death, and birds of prey chase the men of Asturias. In this counter-narrative, we learn about the enemies of the Asturian men. For example, there are mastiffs that chase a miner, a figure that is representative of the working class in this area of the Iberian Peninsula (13-16). The miner is also a revolutionary figure whose appearance alludes to the revolutionary days in October of 1934 in Asturias. Another enemy is death that the poem personifies as an entity that flies particularly at night (17-18). The brave men of Asturias face death directly. Lastly, there are birds of prey that the poetic voice describes as enemies of the Asturian men because "les roban más cielo / y más ensueños lunares, / y más miradas de novia" (They steal more sky / and more lunar dreams, / and more bridal glances; 21-23). The men of Asturias kill the birds easily. The bravery the men of this little corner is not what the map shows, however. The poetic voice wants the map of Asturias to show how formidable the men of this little corner are. This glimpse of the men of Asturias is a counter-narrative to the representation that the cold map features.

Yet this glimpse of the struggle in Asturias is only a glimpse. In the third stanza, the representation of Asturias returns to its static nature, so once again the poetic voice reproaches the map for its limited representation: "Mapa que me desesperas, / laberinto inextricable / de líneas rojas y azules / y nombres indescifrables" (Map you exasperate me, / inextricable labyrinth

/ of red and blue lines / and indecipherable names; 29-32). The red and blue lines that characterize the map allude to the representation of the northern front, along the Cantabrian Sea, where the Republic resisted the advance of the fascist troops in 1937. The map that is before the poetic voice is an example of a war map that delineates the two sides of the struggle with lines in different colors, but, from the perspective of the poetic voice, it fails to completely capture the struggle itself. With respect to the unintelligible signs — the indecipherable names, they are irrelevant to the type of representation the poetic voice seeks. Along with the reproach of the unintelligibility of the map and the lack of a deeper representation of Asturias, comes a wish that the poetic voice has of a more definitive transformation of this medium: "quisiera ver tu papel / retorcerse, chamuscarse…" (I would like to see your paper / twist, scorch…; 33-34). The poetic voice's wish is for the map to undergo two transformative processes: *retorcerse* (distort or twist) and *chamuscarse* (scorch, singe). Twisting and scorching a paper or other material from which a map is made alters its materiality and, to a certain extent, the legibility of its contents. It does not cease to exist. What the poetic voice asks is for the map to transform, to become something else both materially and in terms of content. As discussed above, two senses have the ability to transform the map. In this third and final stanza, the poetic voice attempts to transform the map with the sense of touch: "¿Mi mano está sobre ti / y no te quema? ¡Ay, arde! / ¡Arde, que yo quiero verlo, mapa de Asturias, cobarde" (My hand is on you / and it does not burn you? Oh, burn! / Burn, I want to see it, map of Asturias, you coward; 35-38)! The direct touch — an actual intervention is what has the potential to see it change. The implication is that the poetic voice has fire within her, a fire that represents the desire for liberation. Fire, as an opposite of cold, transforms and regenerates the map. While the first stanza characterizes the map as cold, the third stanza describes it as coward. The cowardice of the map relates to its staticity, the fact that it does not portray the true and formidable Asturias "donde [sus] hombres se baten" (where [her] men fight; 40). This animate trait the poetic voice uses to characterize the representation of Asturias is critical of the forms of representation that disregard human involvement in war. The representation in question is not portraying the human beings that participate in the struggle.

In the poetic voice's depiction of the formidable Asturias, she utilizes a possessive pronoun before men — *mis* (my) — which reiterates an intimacy between the poetic voice and the men of Asturias. This close relationship suggests that the poetic voice has an affinity with the men of Asturias in the sense that they belong to the same group: the working class. This implication then illuminates the concluding verses in which the poetic voice wagers her own life that every last man of Asturias will defend the territory against any attempt of subjugation of their land (45-50). The poetic voice represents the working class elsewhere whose hopes for the triumph in the northern front have not yet extinguished. After all, this poem was first published on October 16, 1937, during the offensive and days before the fascist takeover of Asturias on October 21, 1937, so it poetizes a lingering hope despite a major defeat that is nigh.

This hope remains in the last poem of the *Romancero de Mujeres Libres* which also has Asturias as its protagonist. "Pasión de Asturias" was published in issue 23 of *Umbral*, an anarchist weekly magazine, on 22 January 1938 (Martín Casamitjana 176). A date follows the verses of this version — 18 January 1938 — which may have been the date the *romance* was finished. The poem also appears in the 1938 *Romancero* and in its 2020 reedition without the aforementioned date. "Pasión de Asturias" recounts a suffering yet resisting body of Asturias after a major defeat. Based on the date that accompanies the poem, these verses are a lyrical reflection after the defeat of the antifascist resistance to the fascist offensive in Asturias in the autumn of 1937. "Pasión de Asturias" alludes to a revolutionary episode in recent history that is

still alive just like Asturias after a major defeat. Both Asturias and the revolution oscillate between victory and defeat, between life and death. This oscillation is what we examine in the personification of Asturias, which sculpts Asturias as a suffering entity whom the poetic voice addresses in the second half of the poem. Our focus, then, is in the body of Asturias in a critical moment in which its fate navigates a liminal space between victory and defeat, between life and death. Below is the complete *romance*:

Vive Asturias ¡vive!, hermano.
Asturias es, ¡todavía!
Laten sus montes de noche,
la fiebre abrasa sus días
y escupe el cielo una ronca
tempestad de dinamita.

¡Ay, Asturias, quién te viera
morderte tu lengua viva
y afilar en tus pestañas
miradas como cuchillas!

Nutrido de sangre el odio
sube a las estrellas mismas
y el puño rompe las nubes
buscando a Dios.
Está aún viva
la entraña que parió a octubre;
viva está, caliente y viva
gestando esperanzas nuevas
dentro de amargas sonrisas.
Asturias, ¡ay!, que no quiebre
Tu alma de duras aristas.

Ya no te grita mi lengua,
Asturias, ya no te grita;
tus ocho letras me abrasan
la garganta y me lastiman
como ocho lenguas de fuego
en la carne de una herida.

Asturias toda milagro
de pasión, Asturias mía,
a tu propia muerte arrancas
gérmenes para la vida.
La entraña que parió a octubre
viva está, caliente y viva,
gestando esperanzas nuevas
dentro de amargas sonrisas.

¡Ay, que yo pudiera hallarme
dentro de tu entraña misma!

The title of the poem — "Pasión de Asturias" — succinctly reflects an oscillation between victory and defeat, life and death, which encompasses the state of the revolution the *romance* relates. There is a double interpretation in the title given that the term *pasión* refers to the suffering (and, at times, death) of an entity, in this case, Asturias, as well as a strong desire for something, in this instance, revolutionary victory and, by extension, life. Thus, the passion of Asturias describes both its strong desire for the triumph of the social revolution and also the suffering that achieving this victory presupposes. Though there is anguish, there is also hope that the triumph will materialize. This poem, then, reflects the collective affect in the winter of 1938, months after the defeat of the Republican forces in the northern front, given that there is anguish, but also hope for a fascist defeat, this time in the form of revolution. In a similar way that the *romance* about the life, passion, and death of Encarnación Giménez parallels the life, passion, and death of Jesus of Nazareth, the passion of Asturias is analogous not only to the passion of the Messiah, but also to his resurrection. The anguish of the suffering body of Asturias represents the passion while the hope of continuation of the revolutionary struggle is the resurrection. With these meanings of passion in mind, we now focus on what Asturias represents. Asturias as a suffering entity represents its people, its community, which the poem achieves through personification. Accordingly, the poem portrays the suffering and desire of a group of people that inhabit a particular location through the personification of Asturias's geographical features.

The poetic voice opens the poem with a reassuring statement about the animacy of Asturias: "Vive Asturias ¡vive!, hermano. / Asturias es, ¡Todavía" ("Asturias is alive alive!, brother. / Asturias is, still!"; 1-2)! These verses confirm that Asturias is currently navigating a liminal space between life and death, yet the word *still* points to a hope towards life. In addition, both the verb *ser* and the temporal adverb *todavía* imply a sort of resistance in her existence. The verb *ser,* for example, is not followed by a modifier such as an adjective that would characterize the subject of the verse, in this case, Asturias. Nevertheless, the verb itself characterizes it in the sense that Asturias continues to be — to exist. With respect to *todavía*, the adverb denotes a continuation of an action that began in the past, and it is ongoing. In this sense, Asturias and everything that she represents remains, persists, resists. Therefore, from the start, the poem establishes the resistance of Asturias, which we connect to the suffering or passion that Asturias undergoes and that the title of the *romance* references. It is Asturias's existence as well as the personification that we examine as a form of resistance to a fascist enemy. In addition to the suffering body of Asturias, there is hope in the animate quality of Asturias's geographic elements. For example, the mountains of Asturias beat at night (3). Like a body that has a

heartbeat, Asturias's body, which the mountains represent, also beats, confirming its animacy. While this verse is a form of personification, it also alludes to the *guerrilla* resistance in the hills of Asturias after the fascist takeover in the northern front in the autumn of 1937. After the fascist forces seized control of Asturias, some of the Republican fighters retreated to the mountains, where they continued the resistance. Therefore, the first stanza alludes to these *guerrilleros* who, like their activity, are invisible from the actions that they, nonetheless, directly influence. In other words, the stanza expresses how the body of Asturias reacts to their actions. The activity in the mountains represents the heart of the resistance. In the mountains, one finds the heart that beats and that ensures that Asturias remain alive. The revolutionary and the antifascist struggles, which are one in this poem, are still alive in the same way that Asturias is alive. Along with the revolutionary struggle comes the revolutionary fervor that permeates Asturias's days: "la fiebre abrasa sus días" (fever burns her days; 4). While at night the heartbeat is more prominent, a fever burns her days, which means that Asturias is in danger because her pulse and breathing are more frequent, both symptoms that characterize a fever. Alternatively, fever signifies a passion in a more figurative sense. It is a fever that represents the revolutionary cause. This cause is still alive, just like Asturias, and continues to be present. So, the body of Asturias experiences a fever or frenzy, a passion that consumes her days. This is another sign of its animacy as well as the vitality of the revolutionary fervor. The animacy of Asturias is also the animacy of the revolution, so it sets the ground for the continuation of the struggle.

The personification of Asturias as bold in times of defeat is palpable in the second stanza: "¡Ay, Asturias, quién te viera / morderte tu lengua viva / y afilar en tus pestañas / miradas como cuchillas" (Oh, Asturias, who could see you / bite your clever tongue / and sharpen on your eyelashes / your gaze like blades; 7-10)! Asturias bites her clever tongue, not as a sign of silence, but rather to express that the struggle requires action rather than words. With her own eyelashes, she sharpens her gaze, which the poetic voice compares to blades, in a sign of her readiness to fight. The poetic voice admits surprise in witnessing Asturias's bodily resistance. The personification of Asturias continues in the third stanza. Asturias has witnessed the spilling of blood during the armed struggle, and that spilling of blood has fed a hatred that has reached the stars (11-12). There is also a striking image of a fist that breaks the clouds in search for God (13-14). These verses complete the characterization of a combative Asturias that relentlessly defends its own creation — revolution. The hatred that Asturias feels aids the resistance that remains. The direction to which the fist is moving is reminiscent of a raised fist which represents a commitment to the struggle. In this case, it recommits to the struggle while it also expresses the level of commitment Asturias is willing to give. In other words, it is not simply a raised fist, but a fist that has the ability to reach the heavens in search for God. What this image represents is that Asturias is fully committing to continuing the struggle and to exceeding what this type of commitment requires. In the parallel with Jesus of Nazareth, Asturias's fist that reaches the heavens in search for God is also reminiscent of Jesus's plea to God during the apogee of his passion as he is dying on the cross. Similarly to the Messiah, Asturias finds herself in a moment of abandonment, after which she makes a gesture of a recommitment to the struggle.

Once Asturias recommits to the struggle, the poetic voice reaffirms the role of Asturias in the revolutionary struggle in the fourth stanza. Asturias is not only an agent of the revolution. Asturias engendered the revolution. In this stanza, the poetic voice announces that the foundation of the revolution is still alive: "Está aún viva / la entraña que parió a octubre; / viva está, caliente y viva / gestando esperanzas nuevas /dentro de amargas sonrisas" (It's still alive / the womb that gave birth to October; / is still alive, warm and alive / gestating new hopes/ within bitter smiles;

15-19). Asturias's *entraña* (core) is central to her personification. As discussed in the poems about Silva Cruz and Giménez, in its plural form, *entraña* literally refers to the internal organs of the body. This term also refers specifically to the womb. In its figurative sense, however, *entraña* means something that is deep, profound, something's core or essence. In this example, its literal and figurative meanings inform our understanding since the literal points to body organs — uterus — while the figurative refers to a core or essence of the revolution. The word *entraña* appears three times in the poem. The first two are featured in a repetition of a verse and the third is part of a different verse. In the first two instances, the poetic voice characterizes *entraña* as still alive (much like its bearer), impassioned and alive (17). This particular *entraña* has also given birth to October. Presently, it is brewing new hopes. October alludes to the 1934 revolutionary days in Asturias[34]. So, what *entraña* means here is the core or essence of the October revolution. That is, the people of Asturias has given birth to revolution. The foundation of the revolution is still alive. It is this foundation, this essence that nurtures new hopes among the working class, whose characterization ("amargas sonrisas") manifests the defeat they have recently experienced. The working class is aggrieved, but a new hope brings smiles to their faces — the hope that their time has come to transform an unjust world.

The structure of the poem separates the descriptive verses about the current state of Asturias and the verses in which the poetic voice directly addresses Asturias in an apostrophe. While the poetic voice reassures Asturias's resilience in the first half of the poem, she also notes that the act of naming Asturias hurts her. In an act of solidarity, the poetic voice suffers as she sees the suffering that Asturias has experienced. This type of mutual suffering is reminiscent of the suffering that Encarnación Giménez experiences as she witnesses the fate of the *milicianos*. Yet Asturias's suffering, this passion, which is in a liminal space between life and death, reinvigorates Asturias: "Asturias toda milagro / de pasión, Asturias mía, / a tu propia muerte arrancas / gérmenes para la vida" (Asturias miracle / of passion, my Asturias, / from your own death you pull out / seeds for life / 28-31). Passion, both as suffering and as a desire for something, feeds Asturias's resilience. Her suffering helps her continue. So does the desire for social transformation. These verses also echo Christ's resurrection. That is, Asturias seems to have defeated death, which is why her existence is a "miracle of suffering." Asturias has triumphed over death. Following these verses, the poetic voice reiterates that the foundation, the core of the revolutionary fervor that was born in October is still alive, despite the hard blows it has received. It is this core, this foundation, and this resurrection that engenders hope in the working class. After the reiteration of Asturias's animate core, the poetic voices laments being unable to be inside Asturias's *entraña* (36-37). The use of the subjunctive expresses the improbability of this wish, which is why we understand it as a lamentation. It seems that the poetic voice watches Asturias's passion from a distance. The poetic voice does not appear to be part of Asturias. Yet, as mentioned above, the poetic voice expresses her solidarity with the suffering of the people of Asturias, which the body of Asturias represents. Seeing the suffering of Asturias from afar, stimulates the desire of the poetic voice to participate in the revolution. Solidarity is, once again, crucial to revolutionary action.

[34] The Revolution of 1934 is the name of a general strike that occurred in October as a result of the incorporation of the Catholic right-wing party CEDA (Confederation Española de Derechas Autónomas) into the Republican government. The miners' insurrection in Asturias lasted about two weeks before it was crushed by the military (Preston 61-62).

Suffering Engenders Solidarity

Romancero de Mujeres Libres (1938) narrates the first year and a half of the war and revolution that shook a country, "[d]e Este a Oeste y desde el Norte / al Mediodía de Iberia" ("from East to West and from North / to South of Iberia"), as "El 19 de julio" recounts (23-24). In her poems, Sánchez Saornil poeticizes the process of liberation in which the *pueblo* fights. Central to this process is the concept of solidarity that she conceives in bodily terms in four of the seven poems that comprise the *romancero*. In our analysis of this concept, we conclude that Sánchez Saornil presents a form of solidarity whose foundation is shared pain. That is, solidarity is physical, which is why she conceptualizes it through the image of flesh as well as through the risking of life (the physical body) in order to protect loved ones. Physical suffering is also central in the other three poems of the *romancero* we analyze in this chapter. Madrid, Asturias, and the *pueblo* are suffering and resisting bodies in this war and revolution against an enemy that sees their existence as a threat it must vanquish. In these poems, the suffering of bodies becomes a form of resistance, particularly a transformation or an emphasis on the flesh that comprises the body. This emphasis on the flesh removes the body's vulnerable nature as the people of Madrid viscerally become a wall of human flesh that will defend its city against the enemy. The concern with an accurate representation of the suffering that Asturias and its people are enduring finds a solution in the body. Through embodied engagement of the senses of sight and touch, the poetic voice transforms a static map that is unable to capture the struggle in Asturias. The last poem of the *romancero* reiterates what the other poems of the first section present: suffering makes us solidary.

Chapter III

Bodily Practices in the *Retaguardia:* Action, Commitment, and Collective Affect in Mary Low and Juan Breá's *Red Spanish Notebook* (1937)

In the summer days of August 1936, British surrealist poet and journalist Mary Low arrived in the newly established revolutionary city of Barcelona to join her partner, Cuban surrealist poet Juan Ramón Breá Landestoy, who had traveled there a week before. They had heard the news that the social revolution had begun in Spain, so they paused their artistic life in Belgium to experience first-hand the social phenomenon. Upon their arrival to the Catalan city, Low and Breá noticed the visible changes to a metropolis they had visited during its bourgeois days. They immediately joined the POUM (*Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista* or The Workers' Party of Marxist Unification), a dissident communist party whose influence was on the rise in Catalonia since its formation in 1935.[35] While Low began to work as the editor of the POUM's English-language newspaper *Spanish Revolution* and in the propaganda section of the party (she would later work in the Ministry of Propaganda of the *Generalitat*, the Catalan government), Breá became a correspondent of the POUM's newspaper *La Batalla* and joined the International Lenin Column, a militia that fought at the Aragón Front (Bayó Belenguer 313). Both Low and Breá witnessed the enthusiasm of the early months of revolution and the subsequent disillusion with the postponement of the social revolution in favor of the defense of democracy, which was the drive of the war. Together, Low and Breá wrote *Red Spanish Notebook* (1937), a collection of seventeen chronicles and an essay on the Spanish Revolution and the Civil War during the early months of the conflict (August 1936-January 1937). Written and published before George Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia* (1938), *Red Spanish Notebook* (1937) provides a fascinating account of bodily practices that exemplify revolutionary action and behavior in the *retaguardia* (as opposed to the front lines), which signal a commitment to workers' struggle and the fight against fascism and produce a collective affect that influences the commitment to the struggle in the early months of the Spanish Revolution of 1936. In this chapter, we examine these bodily practices that promote revolutionary projects, remind its participants of the magnitude of the struggle, and their duty to continue the work of the fallen comrades. Before analyzing the episodes Low and Breá narrate, we first contextualize the authors and their text *Red Spanish Notebook* (1937).

Juan Breá was born in Santiago de Cuba in 1905 (Guillamón 9). Before departing for Europe, Breá had been active in the local literary scene. In 1928, he led the short-lived avant-garde group, *Grupo H* (H-Group), founded in Santiago de Cuba (Ramirez-Castellanos 35). With their poetry, the members of this literary group sought a reevaluation and renovation of Cuban literature (Fernández Pequeño 66). The poetry from *Grupo H* "challenged an entrenched academic complacency and scandalized a conservative public" (Rosemont and Kelley 25). In addition to their literary endeavors, the members of *Grupo H* were also known for their political radicalism and direct action in the form of "vandalism," which had them under the surveillance of the police (25). In the case of Breá, he was involved in the politics of Cuba. For instance, he

[35] In September of 1935, the political parties *Bloque Obrero y Campesino* (Workers and Peasants' Bloc) and the *Izquierda Comunista* (Communist Left of Spain) came together to form a party that would unite all of the Marxist revolutionaries in opposition to Stalinism (Solano 23).

participated in the 1933 overthrow of dictator Gerardo Machado y Morales as a member of the *Ala Izquierda Estudiantil* (Left Student Wing) (Guillamón 9). Breá also cofounded the Cuban Trotkyist movement (Rosemont and Kelley 26). Mary Low was born in England and completed her studies there, in Switzerland, and France. She met Breá in 1933 in Paris. (Rosemont 93). Both Breá and Low joined the Paris Surrealist Group and were also acquainted with the surrealist circles in Bucharest, Brussels, and Prague (93). Breá and Low spent nearly six months, from August of 1936 to January of 1937, in Spain, from where they had to flee due to death threats they received (Guillamón 8). After their stint in Spain, they returned to Paris where they would write *Red Spanish Notebook*, which was published in London in 1937. It was the first book-length account of the civil war and revolution to appear that year (Rosemont 93). In 1938, Low and Breá published a collection of poems titled *La Saison des flutes* (The Season of Flutes). They left Europe at the outbreak of World War II and settled in Cuba. Breá died there in 1941 at the age of thirty-five (94). After Breá's death, Low remained in Cuba. In 1943, a collection of essays that had been written prior to Breá's death, *La verdad contemporánea,* was published (94). Low continued to be politically active in Cuba, where she participated in the 1959 Cuban Revolution. She left Cuba in 1964, after the ruling party began to restrict intellectual life (94). In the United States, she resumed her artistic and intellectual life as a writer and Classics scholar.

Red Spanish Notebook (1937) has been predominantly used as a primary source in the field of history. As E. Allison Peers writes in his 1938 review of Low's and Breá's chronicles, "the real contribution to our knowledge lies in the picture which [the authors] give us of the proletarian revolution and the various revolutionary parties" (67). Hence, the informative character of the text has been valuable to scholarly work on the revolutionary process of 1936 Spain. The first edition of *Red Spanish Notebook* (1937) includes an introduction by C.L.R. James in which he underscores the importance of the text's publication: "Every line they have written is a record of experience lived for the sake of the revolution and written down afterwards because such rare and vital experience needs to be communicated" (471). In other words, the experiences both revolutionaries lived provide insight for other revolutionaries. George Orwell also wrote a review of the text in the political and literary magazine *Time and Tide* in 1937. Although he admits the text is a partisan book, he also recognizes its value:

> By a series of intimate day-to-day pictures (generally small things: a bootblack refusing a tip, a notice in the brothels saying, 'Please treat the women as comrades') it shows you what human beings are like when they are trying to behave like human beings not as cogs in the capitalist machine. No one who was in Spain during the months when people still believed in the revolution will ever forget that strange and moving experience. It has left something behind that no dictatorship, not even Franco's, will be able to efface. (287)

Red Spanish Notebook has had a revival of sorts since the transition to democracy in Spain. It has been translated in several languages: a French translation from 1997, a Spanish translation that only includes Low's chronicles under the name *Cuaderno rojo de Barcelona* (Red Notebook of Barcelona) from 2001, a German translation from 2002, and, most recently, a Spanish translation of all of the chronicles in 2019 (Bayó Belenguer 312). The text was also adapted into the 2009 short documentary *No s'accepten propines* (Tips are not Accepted) that contrasts the revolutionary Barcelona of 1936 with contemporary Barcelona of the overtourism and commodification of the urban space (Saval). Similar to *Romancero de Mujeres Libres* (1938)*, Red Spanish Notebook* is immediate and circumstantial. With respect to its language, Susana Bayó Belenguer observes an influence of surrealism in the writing of Low:

> Its language well suited to the surrealist *collage* technique with which she brings together descriptions and reflections, close-ups of places and people, snippets of conversations and political propaganda, views of public events and of individual POUM leaders, interspersed with memories of the friends she made and of the disquiet and anxieties she felt. (312)

This text as *collage* provides diverse ways to chronicle the war and revolution The multiplicity of approaches seems to have a comprehensive effect, though it is important to acknowledge that the account comes from one writer, in the case, of Low's chronicles. Still, the surrealist *collage* technique makes Low's writing a captivating account of the first few months of the revolution and the civil war.

Before we begin our discussion of the different bodily practices that Low and Breá document in their chronicles, we provide a brief historical overview of the revolutionary movements in Barcelona and their process of disintegration as the war progressed. While the military coup d'état against the Second Republic in July of 1936 was partially successful in parts of the peninsula, it was a detonating factor in the revolutionary action that began alongside the defense of Barcelona, which the civil population belonging to workers' parties and trade unions led (Anderson 46). As a result of the partial success of the military coup, a civil war would ensue, which ravaged Spain for nearly three years. Though the civil war is the conflict that has garnered the most attention in literary studies, we are interested in the revolutionary action that emerged alongside a war against fascism and for the defense of a democratically-elected government. Therefore, the revolutionary movements we discuss in depth in this chapter include the revolutionary movement of the POUM, which is the party Low and Breá joined upon their arrival to Barcelona, as well as the anarchist movement of the anarcho-syndicalist trade union CNT (*Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* or National Confederation of Labor) and the organization FAI (*Federación Anarquista Ibérica* or Iberian Anarchist Federation), which was a powerful movement in the Catalan city. In fact, the anarchist movement was the leading movement in Barcelona with its initial collectivization of industries soon after the defeat of the military uprising in July of 1936 (68). The POUM, in contrast, was not as economically powerful nor did it have the number of members that the CNT had. Additionally, given that it was a dissident communist party, it was in an ideological dispute with the Stalinist communist party, the PSUC (*Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya* or Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia). After the defense of Barcelona against the military coup d´état in the summer of 1936, these revolutionary movements tried to carry out a social revolution. These attempts, however, would not succeed since there were many factors, including the PSUC's lack of interest in carrying out a revolution, that played a part in the counterrevolution. With the support of the Soviet Union, the PSUC became a political force in autumn of 1936, despite its low number of supporters in comparison to the revolutionary factions. Despite their ideological opposition to the state, in September of 1936, the anarchists agreed to participate in the Catalan government, alongside the POUM as well as Republican parties (Ealham 29). With the strengthening of the state, the revolutionary process weakened. Low and Breá left Spain in January of 1937, months before the May Days, in which the clashes between antifascist factions decided the fate of the revolution. Nearly a year before, however, the social revolution had seemed possible. With the hope of "a new society that is so desperately to be born," Low's and Breá's chronicles begin (James 472).

The arrival of Low to the Mediterranean city in mid-August coincides with the first few weeks of the proletarian revolution. The salient changes that Low notices upon her arrival are

both economic and educational. As she walks around the city, she sees signs that announce the collectivization of different establishments (20). The trams have also been collectivized (25). Low discusses how schools are no longer under the tutelage of the Church (45). These changes characterize the new life that Low finds across the Pyrenees. Along with these major socioeconomic changes also come changes to everyday life. In the new revolutionary life, a novel way of greeting a person is a sign of revolutionary times: "We saluted with the clenched fist as readily as shaking hands" (14). Low first experiences this greeting in Portbou, a Catalan town near the French border, as she travels to Barcelona; she will experience it one last time in the same town on her departure six months later. The clenched or raised fist substitutes bourgeois greetings in the new revolutionary era. In addition to the new salute, people refer to one another as comrades. In *Homage to Catalonia*, Orwell reports these everyday life changes as well: "Nobody said 'Señor' or 'Don' or even 'Usted'; everyone called everyone else 'Comrade' and 'Thou,' and said 'Salud!' instead of 'Buenos días'" (5). Changes in dress also characterize the revolutionary times. The blue overalls that the militias wear are seen everywhere (Low 31). Additionally, the *espardenyes* (*alpargatas* in Spanish, espadrilles in English), which the internationals refer to as Catalan slippers, are also distinctive of the revolutionary times. Wearing these articles of clothing as well as greeting with a raised fist are everyday bodily practices we examine in this chapter as examples of political action in the *retaguardia*. That is, the raised fist, the *mono azul*, and the *espardenyes* support specific political movements in the symbolic language they convey through the bodily practices of wearing blue overalls and footwear characteristic of the urban proletariat and the peasantry respectively. Though these practices are not forms of armed struggle that is seen at the front lines, they are fundamental to the realization of the social revolution. We begin our analysis with the origins of the raised fist as a political gesture and its meanings during the Spanish Revolution and Civil War.

In an article about hand gestures in politics, Gottfried Korff discusses the raised fist, whose political origins date back to the labor strikes of the 1880s in Germany. The clenched fist, according to Korff, "became a spontaneous gesture of protest, discontent, and readiness to fight" in the last quarter of the nineteenth century" (77). These ascribed meanings relate to the workers' revolutionary struggle. Korff also details that, in 1917, the adoption of this gesture by the Industrial Workers of the World associated the raised fist to the idea of an international solidarity among workers (77). In the 1920s and 1930s, the clenched fist symbolically and ideologically clashed with another hand gesture — the Roman or Hitler salute (81). The raised fist as an antifascist gesture would, of course, have a place in the Spanish Civil War, which, according to Korff, would be the conflict in which the fist "became an international left-wing symbol" (81). In *Red Spanish Notebook* (1937), Low and Breá document clenched fists at rallies, processions, the front, as well as in the countryside, the city, and the border between Spain and France. As mentioned above, a clenched fist is indicative of the new life that Low witnesses upon her arrival to Portbou. In her chronicle "The Journey There," the rank-and-file militias greet her with a raised fist as she walks the streets of Portbou. This gesture manifests a new political behavior in the sense that it has substituted bourgeois greetings with the coming of the revolutionary era. Greetings generally acknowledge the parties involved. In this case, a raised fist acknowledges one another in political terms, that is, it conveys a readiness to fight in the current struggle. It also expresses a common link between the parties that utilize it, namely, a political solidarity between greeters, and, since the conflict is also a fight against fascism, it recognizes the antifascist cause. Low chronicles what making revolution in the *retaguardia* entails in her account of a bodily practice of raising a fist as a greeting that manifests a new politically-charged

behavior. She notes, for example, the naturalness with which the Catalan *milicianos* (militia members) engage in this new bodily practice, which signals a political consciousness. Breá also encounters this greeting in other parts of the Iberian Peninsula. While Breá travels to the front, he reports that every time he and his comrades see militia members the raised fist is the greeting of choice as a result of its antifascist meaning. Breá also details that the peasants are still learning this new gesture: "We saluted the peasants, too, whom we saw from time to time standing on the edge of the fields. They looked at us with their deep, placid stare, standing immobile, and then remembered suddenly and raised a hasty fist like a stage monkey who has almost forgotten his part" (79). The greeting that characterizes the current struggle is not yet natural among the peasants in the surrounding area of Huesca, their destination in the chronicle he writes. The simile of the peasant "like a stage monkey" implies the raised fist is a conscious behavior one must rehearse. Moreover, the characterization Breá makes of the peasants points to a political consciousness that is in a gestating phase. The fact that they suddenly remember to raise a fist suggests the newness of this bodily practice in the countryside. In another chronicle in which Breá gives an account of his trip from Barcelona to Madrid, he comments on the state of the political consciousness in the countryside in an observation he makes about the gesture that characterizes the current struggle: "As everywhere else, the peasants had not grown used to the sight of a passing train, and they stood about to watch us go by, and remembered just in time to put up their clenched fists" (138). Despite the unnaturalness of the clenched fist in the countryside, this gesture points to the development of a form of political consciousness in the sense that it acknowledges the readiness to fight in the struggle and expresses a solidarity between greeters who recognize the fight for the liberation of the working class and against fascism.

The second example of political action we examine is fashion, which distinguishes the new revolutionary life from the old bourgeois life. Fashion during the Spanish Revolution and Civil War is a form of political action in the sense that certain items of clothing become symbols of particular political projects. One of the items of clothing that characterizes the conflict are the blue overalls or *mono azul*, which the *milicianos* adopt in the early months of the war and revolution[36] (Villalba Álvarez 189). Before becoming the uniform of the militias in the early months of the struggle, the blue overalls were typically worn in proletarian jobs (Gómez Escarda 88). As a result, the blue overalls confirm the symbolic presence of the working class in the conflict. These blue overalls also represent the antifascist cause; even the intellectuals who supported the Republic adopted the blue overalls at the beginning of the war (Zambrano 49). In her chronicles of the early days in revolutionary Barcelona, Low notes how prevalent the blue overalls are (31). It is a piece of clothing that identifies the supporters of the revolution in the Catalan city. In the words of Breá, "Barcelona was a town with all its inhabitants in militia uniform and shirt sleeves, and Catalonia a trades-union population who, from the Ramblas to the heights of Monte Aragon, spoke and thought nothing but the Socialist revolution, and when referring to the 'bourgeois epoch' talked as though it were as far away as the Roman era" (148). In his assessment of Barcelona, Breá associates the blue overalls with the revolutionary cause. Low also regards the overalls as the clothing that dresses the revolutionaries. By the third day of arriving in Barcelona, Low acquires hers (37). Dressing in blue overalls is a form of political

[36] Low notes that a khaki uniform later replaces the blue overalls at the front given that the color of the latter was too noticeable that it became a target for the enemy (49).

action given that those who wear them display a commitment to the revolutionary and antifascist causes.

The association of the blue overalls to the revolutionary cause becomes more pronounced as the months progress. In a personal letter to family member Mary De Vries, Lois Orr, an American socialist who witnessed first-hand the revolution in Barcelona and who knew and worked with Low given her affiliation to the POUM party, describes the revolutionary life in the Catalan city: "At the POUM, being as it was the revolution and we were all revolutionaries, we wore overalls, were improper in talking and not conventional in where we put our feet or how we stand or what we called people. Everybody was comrade; but, alas, them good old days is gone" (93). The letter was written in November of 1936, a time that sees the return to the old bourgeois life where the blue overalls, no longer associated with the cause of the Republic since the militias were wearing a different uniform as members of the People's Army of the Republic (*Ejército Popular de la República*), but still connected to the revolutionaries, are seen with disdain in bureaucratic spaces of the *Generalitat* (Catalan government). Still, Low reports she continues to wear overalls along with rope-soled shoes or *espardenyes* even when she begins working at the *Generalitat*, where both she and Orr worked in the Ministry of Propaganda (206). At this time of the struggle, the wearing of the *mono azul* and the *espardenyes* singles out the revolutionaries from the non-revolutionaries and defenders of the Republic.

Overalls are also worn at funerals of comrades, including the funeral of Margaret Zimbal, better known as Putz, a German nurse who participated in the front and died in Huesca (175). Given her affiliation to the POUM party, Putz was taken back to Barcelona for a funeral:

> They laid her in state in a theatre which belonged to the party, all the walls hung with glowing red, and the sickle and hammer starting out huge and white and triumphant from floor to ceiling. There were wreaths of red flowers on the floor, and hour after hour people shuffled by with their militia caps dangling from their hands. We, in our best stuff blue uniforms for town parade, formed a woman's guard of honour, standing rigid in relays for twenty-four hours. She had a veil flung over her, pink in the red glow. She looked very well, her head a little oddly held, but not changed at all. Everyone sent delegations to the funeral, and used it as a political platform for women's manifestos. (179)

The space where the party holds the public viewing is repurposed from a space of spectacle to the spectacle of death as a political act. Her funeral becomes a political platform where her comrades participate in political action in the *retaguardia* through the symbolic language of the overalls they wear as well as the other practices in which they engage. The display of revolutionary commitment includes dressing in uniforms, holding militia caps, and decorating the surroundings with symbols of the ideas that forge the revolutionary movement. Putz's funeral is also an event in which to discuss women's issues by disseminating manifestos, another political action given that what leads to the writing of said manifestos is the exclusion of women's issues from political debates in anarchist and other leftist circles that are dominated by men. Women have to create their own political spaces; examples include the women's secretariat from the POUM party in which Low participates as well as the anarchist organization *Mujeres Libres* (Free Women), which Low references in this chronicle, and whose cofounder, Lucía Sánchez, Saornil, wrote *Romancero de Mujeres Libres*, a text we study in chapter two (184-185). In the chronicle that documents Putz's funeral, Low reports she and her comrades pay their

respects as members of the woman's guard of honor. They wear their best clothing, which is also what they wear for "town parade" or processions (179). The wearing of these overalls, then, adorns their body and configures it as revolutionary, making this practice a form of political action in the *retaguardia*.

In a chronicle in which Low discusses women's issues and their participation in the revolution, the blue uniform is an expression of the revolutionary commitment of the person who wears it. In this example, Low explains that after the formation of a women's regiment with the creation of the POUM's women's secretariat, an organization that integrates women in the revolutionary project, their male comrades mock their desire to train and do not take them seriously. She states women have to demonstrate their revolutionary commitment by singing the socialist anthem "L'Internationale" while taking public transportation to the barracks where they train: "We sang the 'Internationale' very loudly and tried to convince them that our uniform was as serious as their own" (187). In this example, gender determines the revolutionary commitment that the *mono azul* apparently conveys. That is, the questioning of the degree of commitment to the revolutionary cause has a basis on gender, regardless of engaging in the same bodily practices of singing the socialist anthem and raising a fist. This questioning of the commitment to the revolutionary cause from the male militias towards the POUM women reveals the sexism that limits a revolutionary movement, which Low critiques. This working-class garment now associated with women was immortalized during the conflict in posters, including a famous poster created by the artist Arteche in which a woman, wearing blue overalls and carrying a rifle, was recruiting folks to join the militias (Nash 152). According to Mary Nash, images of the *miliciana* (militia woman), wearing overalls and carrying a rifle, were subversive given that the representation of women as militia members with "manly" behaviors broke with tradition (153). Although Nash highlights that few women actually wore the blue overalls, as even working-class women rejected it, she also notes the sociopolitical significance of wearing the *mono azul*:

> Si para los hombres cambiar a la ropa azul de trabajo representaba un símbolo de identificación política, para las mujeres vestir pantalones o monos adquirió un significado aún más hondo, ya que nunca antes había adoptado ese atuendo masculino. De modo que para ellas ponerse el uniforme miliciano/revolucionario no solo significó una identificación externa con el proceso de cambio social, sino también un desafío a la apariencia y la indumentaria femenina tradicional. La adopción de la ropa masculina minimizó sin duda las diferencias sexuales y puede interpretarse a favor de la igualdad de condición (If for men changing into blue work clothes represented a symbol of political identification, for women, wearing trousers or overalls took on an even deeper meaning, as they had never before adopted such masculine attire. Thus, for them, donning the militia/revolutionary uniform not only signified an external identification with the process of social change, but also a challenge to traditional feminine appearance and attire. The adoption of masculine clothing undoubtedly minimized sexual differences and can be interpreted as favoring equality of status.). (155)

With this episode, Low shows us what the blue overalls meant to the women who saw in this piece of clothing a way into the world that had been denied to them and that they could now contribute to its transformation.

The *espardenyes* is another fashion item from the new revolutionary era the militias and the internationals adopt. Low first notices this type of footwear on militiamen she meets on the

train to Barcelona. She describes it as "canvas shoes with rope soles" that they wore on their "bare feet" (10). Before the new revolutionary era, these shoes were typically worn by the peasantry. The "Catalan slippers" are now the shoes that characterize the revolutionary life since all of the revolutionaries wear them along with the blue overalls. This footwear expresses a revolutionary commitment of those who wear them since these shoes break with the old bourgeois life. In other words, wearing *espardenyes* is a revolutionary act not only in terms of the new fashion trend it sets, but also because it is the type of footwear that only peasants would wear. The adoption of the peasant footwear, just like the *mono azul* with respect to the urban proletariat, gives the peasantry a symbolic role in the conflict. The wearing of these shoes is another revolutionary action in the *retaguardia* the authors chronicle. Shoes also identify revolutionaries in times of counterrevolution. As mentioned above, while working at the Generalitat, Low and Orr report that the liberal members of the Catalan government coalition look down on anyone who wears the workers' uniform and the peasants' shoes; in other words, they look down on the revolutionaries:

> Working in the Ministry of Propaganda was more formal than anything I had done, and I chafed over it. I remember arriving the first day. I came as I was, with my rope-soled shoes and everything, only with my papers in a leather satchel. The cashier, who was a Liberal with a face like a block of ice, looked at me oddly. I wondered what was the matter. That evening one of the officials took me apart and politely, a little deprecatingly, clearing his throat: "You—ah—you can't work here like that, I'm afraid." "Like what?" "In militia overalls. And those shoes. You see, we're receiving foreigners here all the time." "And so we have to look like them? Although we're better? Although they've never found anything half as practical and neat and comfortable as us? Very well." (Low 206-7)

The resistance to the fashion of the new revolutionary life is not only indicative of a counterrevolutionary attitude, but it also reiterates that the priority is the defense of democracy at the expense of revolution. The latter is not in the plans of other antifascist factions in Barcelona. In her letter to DeVries, Orr also notes the nonexistent support for the revolution in the antifascist coalition:

> Here I have been seriously advised not to wear my Catalan slippers, to try to look as nice as possible (which is difficult seeing how I have only my brown divided skirt and three blouses in various stages of disrepute), also we never say comrade, only *señor*, and besides this ain't a revolution anyhow, it's a civil war in defence of democracy. (93)

Orr recounts a return to the bourgeois days where greetings are no longer between comrades, but hierarchical. The defense of democracy in the autumn of 1936 is incompatible with the revolution of the *espardenyes*. Therefore, the wearing of these canvas shoes becomes revolutionary, and the efforts to change the fashion of the new revolutionary life are counterrevolutionary.

Political adornment: the case of flags

In the chronicles about the revolution and civil war, we find other adornments or complements that politically define those who carry them. Flags, which symbolically represent political parties and organizations, associate particular revolutionary projects with the individuals

and groups who display them publicly. In their multiple appearances in *Red Spanish Notebook* (1937), flags signal the public support the different parties and political organizations have in various places. For instance, there are red flags, which belong to the POUM party, that decorate the Rambles and other neighborhoods of the Catalan city. Conversely, in Madrid, Breá notices fewer POUM flags in its streets than in Barcelona (147). Flags and banners serve as complements of those who display them. Some of the examples Low and Breá provide include the flags children carry during a POUM procession, flags that militias carry on their way to the front, the banners of a FAI procession, and the flag of the Fourth International draped on the coffin of Robert, a fallen international militia member and comrade of Low and Breá. Low also reports moments in which a flag that does not represent a revolutionary project stands out in spaces tied to the revolution: the Catalan flag that appears alongside the POUM and the FAI flags in a procession the social democratic party ERC (*Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya* or the Republican Left of Catalonia) organizes, as well as the Catalan flags under gloomy skies at the cemetery where Durruti is laid to rest. We begin our discussion with flags that associate those who carry them with revolutionary projects and then continue with the distinctive Catalan flag that defies those projects.

The public display of commitment to the revolutionary and antifascist struggles is characteristically performative. As a result, one way to showcase this commitment is to include "props" that complement or adorn the body. One distinct example appears in "A Meeting at the Grand Price Theatre," which documents children who march in the POUM procession: "The children went first, in little militia-caps striped with red, and carrying short square flags" (52). The new generation leads the procession that displays different members of the POUM's revolutionary project. This group showcases its revolutionary commitment by donning militia caps and carrying flags. The size of the flags, proportionate to their carriers, is indicative of the initial stages of a political consciousness. Children, who are new to political ideas, begin their training in revolutionary politics by familiarizing themselves with the symbolic language of revolution, which the flag represents. In this case, the new generation carries a representation of the revolutionary movement in a way that manifests an appropriate form of apprehension of the movement.

Flags as representatives of revolutionary projects are also reminders of the revolutionary struggle that is underway. These symbols decorate the streets of Barcelona, complement the composition of processions, and indicate the victories of the movements they represent as they adorn churches and fortresses. Low narrates that what motivates her comrade Putz to rejoin the armed struggle one last time before her death at the front is seeing a militia marching on the street. According to Low, Putz was seeing a man who would not allow her to return to the militia of which she had been a member in the past. Yet Putz's commitment to the cause is more powerful than the orders of a man:

> One day we were there in the café with her, when her old company, "Bandera Puig" had been called back to the front. We could hear the trumpets blowing. Putz was swinging on her chair, sucking a straw, and her quiet face was inscrutable. We saw them come marching down the street, the dust rising and the red flag fluttering. They passed us. Suddenly Putz jumped up and threw away her chair and ran after them all down the street crying, "Wait for me, wait for me, I'm coming too! I'm coming." (178)

As the militia marches down the street to the front, the red flag becomes the central element of the ritual. First, it identifies the political affiliation of the militia with the POUM party. Though Putz at first reacts indifferently to the march of the militia to which she belonged, seeing the movement of the flag reactivates her revolutionary commitment to the extent that she joins the militia one last time.

A particular symbolic representation of a political project is the flag with the words "IVth International" on it that is draped on the coffin of Low's and Breá's comrade Robert during the funeral procession that traverses the city (114). In her chronicle, Low stresses how the placing of the flag would probably annoy the POUM party as a result of the party refusing to align with the in-the-making International, but she justifies the action: "Robert had been one of us so we didn't mind if they [POUM members] were [annoyed] or not" (115). The placement of the flag speaks for Robert's revolutionary ideology. That is, it identifies him with the revolutionary project that the Fourth International promotes, which first and foremost breaks from the Third International (Comintern) that Stalinists had monopolized (Getty 24). Thus, the draping of this particular flag signals Robert's revolutionary commitment, which continues to define him even after his death. Given that the draping on the flag takes place publicly, it also sets his body and that of his funeral procession apart from the counterrevolutionary communists of the PSUC.

While flags associate those who carry them with particular political projects, the chronicles include examples of flags that defy revolutionary projects and are premonitory of the times to come:

> I well remember seeing the first Catalan flag hung out from a house and carried in procession. It was striped, and burned like a Bengal tiger in the midst of our plain red and the black banners of the F.A.I. We stood silent, showing our faces of disdain and surprise, until somebody said: — "The appearance of that is symptomatic." (Low 120)

This fragment comes from the chronicle "Flood Tide," which opens with a discussion of the subtle changes Low begins to see in the once revolutionary city. She writes that a small detail such as seeing a Catalan flag hung on a balcony may seem inconsequential, but it is clearly a sign that a counterrevolution is underway. The characterization of the flag as a Bengal tiger is twofold. First, it makes it seem like the flag is out of place because it stands out in comparison to other flags and banners such as the POUM flag and the FAI banner that characterize the new revolutionary era. Thus, the effect is that it warns of something dubious that is happening in the new era. Second, the comparison of the Catalan flag to an apex predator like a Bengal tiger due to its stripes intends to warn readers of the danger that the political project of the ERC poses to the revolution. The appearance of the flag in the center of the revolution as if adorning the body of the city, then, defies the revolutionary projects other flags represent.

Whereas in past processions of the revolutionary era the featuring emblems are the red flag of the POUM and the black banners of the FAI, combining these revolutionary symbols with ERC's Catalan flag in their procession is noteworthy. In the new revolutionary era, there is a certain antagonism the Catalan flag evokes since it represents nationalist ideals in opposition to the internationalism that characterizes both the POUM and the FAI.[37] This new procession Low

[37] Despite their internationalism, the CNT-FAI also relied on nationalist discourses in their framing of the struggle against fascism. A 1938 CNT-FAI poster that commemorates the defense against the military rebellion on July 19 refers to the enemy as the invader that will crash into a human wall made by the Spanish people (Núñez Seixas 52).

describes is a procession that the ERC party organizes soon after the consolidation of a new alliance of the antifascist factions in the Catalan government:

> The Catalan Left Republicans (E.R.C.) who were supposedly our allies now in the new coalition government of all parties, gave us a demonstration up and down the Ramblas, under a thin revolutionary disguise, when they drove along in wagons and cars, their barred flag plentifully mixed with our red, and stood up with their clenched fists raised. (120)

This ERC procession includes POUM flags, revolutionary symbols, as part of the revolutionary ruse according to Low. The mixing of flags corresponds to the combining of incompatible ideologies. The attempt to make these ideologies work by becoming political allies is indicative of problems to come. Low also denounces the feigned commitment to the revolution of the participants in the ERC procession. This assessment by Low questions the idea of whether emblems or symbols such as flags actually display the revolutionary commitment of a person or a group. That is, how does one distinguish a deceptive commitment to the revolutionary struggle?

The Catalan flag reappears in another chronicle in which Low reports drastic changes or a return to the old bourgeois life — a counterrevolution of sorts. In the same chronicle, she also documents Catalan flags at an anarchist's funeral. With respect to the regression, Low remarks:

> The Catalan flag was carried automatically with the red banners and the black, there were less women mingled among the men going to the front, there were no longer dogs and cats following on the end of a string, or perched on kit-bags. It was all as it should be, and we stood more chance of winning the war perhaps, but meanwhile the chance of winning the revolution was growing gradually fainter. (214)

The appearance of the Catalan flag signals a postponement of the revolution. As Low affirms, it may be possible to win the war against fascism, but the revolution that began alongside the war has stalled. The resurgence of the Catalan flag in the revolutionary city confirms the times to come, in which the revolution loses its edge. In Low's account of Durruti's funeral, she mentions that representatives of political parties such as the POUM and ERC attend the funeral of the anarchist revolutionary. With the other POUM representatives, Low discusses the participation of the ERC party in Durruti's funeral. The social democrats attend his funeral and pay their respects; they "carried huge wreaths of gold and tawny flowers, and their striped flags licked sadly out on the grey sky" (216). Once again, Low notes how these flags are out of place, particularly, in this occasion, in which they appear at the funeral of an anarchist revolutionary. Low's description presents a stark contrast between the colorful Catalan flags and the gloomy sky that characterizes the atmosphere of the farewell to the renowned anarchist leader. Though Low describes the flag movement as below par, the clear distinction between this political symbol and a sky that mourns the death of a formidable figure in the Spanish Revolution defies the revolutionary character of the Catalan city.

With respect to the nationalist discourses within the anarchist movement, Xosé-Manoel Núñez Seixas writes: "In spite of their internationalism, the anarchists had a sense of national dignity and commitment. They could not allow Spain to be divided, so 'reconquering Spain' | constituted the most urgent task for the organized proletariat" (52-53).

Processions: From political demonstrations to funerals

Other forms of political action in the *retaguardia* include attending political meetings and participating in political processions on Sundays, the latter replacing the religious ritual of mass that is now reserved for the fascists, according to a man with whom Breá speaks (Low 23). These forms of political action that strategically occupy the public space in support of political projects date back to the Second Republic. According to Eduardo González Calleja, "staging of mass political rituals (marches, rallies, processions, funerals) as mechanisms with which to generate social meaning became a common phenomenon in all political groups" in the 1930s (36). Hence, occupying the public space is fundamental to the political action in the *retaguardia*. The city space in *Red Spanish Notebook* (1937) is the stage for rallies and processions in which participants play and sing socialist and anarchist anthems; party flags adorn the streets of Barcelona, including the *Rambles*, located in the center of the city; and processions march with a specific composition. All of these practices suggest a political consciousness of their participants in the new revolutionary era. The heart of Barcelona — the *Rambles* — is the center of the social revolution (20). In her chronicles, Low details the sights and sounds of the early months of revolution, which showcase forms of political action in the *retaguardia*. Low chronicles the composition of processions, responses from the crowd to the public display of revolutionary projects, and the different marching styles that distinguish political parties and organizations from one another. Additionally, Low also documents funeral processions that serve a political function. In this section of the chapter we examine different aspects of processions, including funeral processions, as a means to understand how these bodily practices advance the making of revolution in the *retaguardia*.

After a political meeting that the POUM party organizes at the Gran Price Theatre in Barcelona, Low describes a procession that begins in the neighborhood of Sant Antoni and ends at the bottom of the *Rambles*, the center of the revolution. The procession has a particular organization, which transmits how the POUM revolutionaries conceive the new revolutionary era:

> The children went first, in little militia-caps striped with red, and carrying short square flags. Then came the band, busily playing the P.O.U.M. anthem, which was like a hurdy-gurdy tune, and a picket of cavalry behind them, the horses shifting uneasily sideways when they were made to walk so slowly, switching their tails over shining round flanks and pressing anxious noses into the hands and shoulders of the people who lined both sides of the street. Militias came afterwards, and more cavalry, and so on, until the Executive Committee appeared, strolling with their hands behind their backs or in both pockets, and chatting together under the shade of a huge flag. (52-53)

As discussed above, the new generation leads the procession, which grants it importance in the new revolutionary era. With this procession, the POUM sees revolution as the struggle that new generations inspire. That is, the children motivate the fight for social transformation. Additionally, the donning of militia caps represents the awakening of class consciousness in the new generation given that the mind enables the development of an awareness with respect to class interests. Thus, wearing a militia cap is a bodily practice that conveys the development of class consciousness of the new generation. Following the new generation are the creators of the

ambiance: the band playing the POUM anthem.[38] The sounds of the music transmit revolutionary sentiment among the participants of the procession and the passersby. The anthem promotes enthusiasm for the new era that has begun. After this form of collective affect, the passersby see the current revolutionaries as members of the militias, who are participating in the struggle against fascism. These revolutionaries are the members of the cavalry as well as the rank-and file *milicianos*. Having the participants of the armed struggle follow the children attenuates a violent character to the procession as a whole given their role in the war. By being in a sort of rearguard, these revolutionaries protect the new generation the children represent. In other words, the fight in which they participate safeguards the world of the new generation. The last members of the procession are the intellectual revolutionaries, that is, the Executive Committee of the POUM. These men of ideas are the rearguard of the procession. Their position in the procession signifies the role they have of supporting the entire movement the procession promotes. Given each group's position in this political march, the procession as a whole constitutes how the POUM members envision revolution. It is a revolution that has its architects in the rearguard, the workers in the middle or center of the action, and the new generation in the vanguard, as the heirs of the new world.

In addition to the composition of the procession, Low also chronicles the crowd's bodily response to it: "People cheered as we went along, they climbed on to lamp-posts and waved their fists at us, and we raised ours too, in return" (53). The audience reacts to the procession by emitting encouraging sounds as well as climbing structures such as lampposts in order to show their support by waving a fist. These reactions to the procession suggest that the display of the revolutionary movement the public witnesses produces strong emotions in the crowd that configure a political behavior this group displays physically. In this episode, there is also reciprocity in the interactions between POUM members and the people who have gathered on the route from the theater to the end of the *Rambles*. The response in the form of a raised fist, in this instance, expresses political solidarity, which also acts as a form of endorsement of the movement the procession represents. The members of the procession respond to this expression of solidarity and support with the same gesture. It is a mutual recognition between party members who are part of a performance of commitment to the revolutionary project they support and the public who witnesses the performance.

Processions as political action in the *retaguardia* also express each party's political projects. The streets of Barcelona are the stage of not only the POUM party's procession, but also of other political parties' processions. In "A Meeting at the Grand Price Theatre," Low details that once the POUM procession reaches *Plaça de Catalunya*, a square located right before entering the *Rambles*, it encounters two other processions, one of the anarchist organization FAI and another one of the official communist or Stalinist party, the PSUC. As mentioned above, these political demonstrations are examples of the transformation of the social and public life in the city in the sense that they replace the religious acts of the old bourgeois life. Moreover, they are bodily practices that display a commitment to a particular political project. Low does not

[38] It is unclear if Low refers to "L'Internationale" as the anthem of the POUM here or to another anthem the POUM played in processions. In our research, we have not found an anthem that belonged exclusively to the POUM party. Low mentions she and others sang "L'Internationale" at a POUM rally that precedes this procession, so we can conclude it is the socialist anthem the POUM band plays here.

simply mention the appearance of these other processions; she makes a distinction between them in the way the members of each procession march:

> The Socialists marched much better than we did, their feet off the ground and every man the right distance from his neighbour; the Anarchists were much worse. This was before they had begun to bring out their famous posters saying, "Unite discipline to your will-power." I preferred our slap-dash way, we looked so friendly, and there was no stink of militarism for its own sake as there was later when I was leaving Catalonia. In those early days everything seemed to be on a rising tide. (53)

Low refers to the members of the PSUC as the socialists who march better than the POUM members. The order and precision with which the PSUC members march manifest the militarism that Low rejects. In contrast, the anarchists march worse than the POUM members. As part of the commentary Low provides of the way the anarchists march, she references a CNT-FAI poster that features three figures — a peasant with a sickle, a worker with a hammer, and a militiaman with what seems to be a knife. Complementing the figures are the following words: "camarada en el trabajo en la lucha une a tu voluntad la disciplina" ("comrade at work in the struggle unite discipline to your willpower"; Hinsberger). Low underscores how this procession precedes the appearance of the famous anarchist poster that promotes discipline among comrades both at work and during the struggle. This shift towards discipline seems to be significant in how Low regards the anarchist movement and its role in the social revolution. As expected, Low expresses her preference for her political party's own way of marching which she describes as careless and hurried. She and her comrades pride themselves on the lack of militarism in the way they move around the streets of Barcelona. In this description, however, she also notes the POUM will be more sympathetic to militarism in the following months. Though these are brief characterizations of the marching of the different antifascist parties through the streets of the Catalan city, Low's descriptions define each party's project through a bodily practice such as marching in a procession. The defining factor is the degree of militarism that the type of marching conveys. While the PSUC party appears to embrace militarism in the way they display it through their orderly and precise marching, the POUM and the anarchists demonstrate their rejection of it in the way they march carelessly and poorly respectively. By contrasting marching styles, Low suggests an incompatibility between militarism and social revolution. Certainly, there is an incompatibility given that the adversary of the revolution and the Republic — fascism represented by the Spanish military — is the group, par excellence, associated with militarism.

In addition to the degree of militarism of the different political projects the processions represent, the marching style also indicates the revolutionary commitment or lack thereof of the participants in the Sunday processions. According to Low, the PSUC members, for example, are "tagging along at the back" (54). In the display of commitment to the revolutionary struggle, they stand out because they are uninvited to the commemoration of the new revolutionary era, and their characterization is that of followers of the other political groups. As mentioned above, the PSUC is the party of the official communists or Stalinists and, according to the chronicles and the historiography of the war and revolution, its members defend the Republic and undermine the revolution. In the new revolutionary era, the PSUC members march up and down the *Rambles*, yet their marching style gives away the militarism, which, according to Low, is anti-revolutionary. The disorderly way of marching of the POUM is more revolutionary since it disrupts the concept of marching or walking in processions. The marching of the FAI members surpasses that of the POUM members in inadequacy. Low concludes the marching both the

POUM and the FAI do is worse in comparison to the standard way of marching the PSUC showcases. The fact that she rates the FAI marching worse than her own is indicative of a higher degree of revolutionary commitment in the way the marching of the FAI deviates from a standard way of marching, which is orderly and precise.

While marching styles in processions indicate the degree of commitment each party has to the revolution, funeral processions are practices that fulfill a political function of the parties or organizations they represent. More specifically, as funeral processions occupy the public space, they simultaneously promote political projects previously linked with the fallen whose funeral becomes a political event. The processions Low chronicles honor the fallen. Honoring the fallen is a reminder of their participation in the struggle — that is, the fact their lives ended as a consequence of their participation in it, which becomes a sacrifice they make to redeem the working class. The struggle has not ended with their death; therefore, the struggle must continue to honor their work in the name of revolution. Low narrates three funerals in which the participants honor the fallen. Two of the funerals are of members of the POUM party: Robert and Putz. The third funeral is of the anarchist celebrity Buenaventura Durruti. Low characterizes all three ceremonies as political acts. What distinguishes these funerals is that they belong to different stages of the revolution. Robert's funeral is the first funeral of a member of the POUM's International Column while Putz and Durruti's funerals take place months later when injuries and deaths, according to Low, "ceased to seem strange or shocking" (174). Attending funerals is another political practice during the war and revolution. More specifically, honoring the fallen becomes a political act that supports the current struggle. Seeing the body of a late comrade is a reminder of the struggle because, in life, their body and their being commit to the struggle. Prior to death, there is life. While alive, militia members fight and give their lives for the cause. What they can do with their body for the armed struggle changes when death arrives. Thus, funerals honor their lives, their participation in the struggle, the beliefs they had. The fallen comrades become symbols of the cause. They lie there, existing in a different state. This practice, then, honors their prior state, while it also acknowledges their current state. The fallen comrades cannot fight anymore, so their sacrifice becomes a reason to continue the fight for them. The struggle is still in progress; those who remain have the duty to complete it. Comrades have fallen in the armed struggle, so one way to honor them is to continue the fight they started.

In her chronicles about funerals, Low focuses on different aspects of the ceremony: the recognition of the body at the morgue right before the funeral procession, the public viewing of the fallen, the procession, and the burial. In our analysis, we examine the body of the fallen as well as the processions, which involve the bodies of all the funeral attendees. "The Clinic Hospital" is a chronicle Low writes in which she narrates the death and funeral of Robert, a comrade who dies at the front. Robert is a member of the International Column in which Breá also participates (109). The title of the chronicle references the location of the morgue in Barcelona. Their comrade Robert was taken there after the members of the Column, including Breá, brought him back to Catalonia from the front. Low chronicles the arrival of Robert's body to the headquarters of the party and then his transfer to the morgue. The next day, there is a funeral procession, which Low narrates in detail. In her chronicle, Low admits she does not recognize her friend Robert upon seeing him. However, as she closely examines Robert's body, she begins to recognize him. "Robert's face was turned away over his shoulder, with an expression of surprised pain round the mouth, and his two fists were clenched and lifted tightly towards his heart. I began to be able to identify him" (110). The description of the two clenched fists precede her statement of recognition, which has the implication that that particular gesture

helps her to identify him. Low recognizes her comrade in the final gesture his body makes. We must note this particular gesture is an example of *rigor mortis*, a postmortem stiffening of the joints and muscles of a body. Low does not comment on this typical sign of death, which makes for a powerful image that conveys support for revolutionary and antifascist struggle even after death. In other words, Robert's body manifests the idea that even after death the struggle continues. Robert becomes an example of a fallen militia member who displays his support for the struggle even after death. Other well-known revolutionaries whose fists appear clenched after their passing are Vladimir Lenin and Ernesto Guevara (Seravalle). The physical transformation of the deceased revolutionaries is poetic, and it serves as a powerful image of a continuous support of the struggle even after death.

As part of Robert's funeral, there is a procession through the city. It is a carefully crafted procession where a collective affect emerges among revolutionaries who participate in it. In her account of the procession, Low notes that large numbers of POUM members join the funeral procession of Robert (65). In the chronicle, Low distinguishes between hers, Breá's, and Robert's ideological beliefs and those of the POUM party. Though all three were affiliated to the POUM, their political beliefs were not categorically aligned with the beliefs of the party. Low makes this distinction in the description of Robert's funeral procession:

> I went down into the yard again, and by this time they had got the coffin aboard a hearse with black horses, and we put a big red flag, with "IVth International" sewn on it in white, over the top, and set off in procession. We felt the P.O.U.M. would be annoyed over the flag, but Robert had been one of us so we didn't mind if they were or not. The P.O.U.M. is still talking about a "new" and the "next" and "another" International, but they haven't decided on the number yet, and a mention of the IVth makes them fidget. Funerals were often used as a jumping-off ground for political declarations. The procession would march slowly through the town, the music ahead playing a solemn lament, and ourselves following in uniform afterwards, walking so slow that our ankles trembled, and then the car, and people carrying wreaths, and then the crowd. (114-115)

In the chronicles that comprise *Red Spanish Notebook* (1937), Low and Breá never disclose they are Trotskyists, but the act of placing a red flag with the words "IVth International" on it is indicative of their political affiliation. What Low underscores, however, is the hesitancy of the POUM party with respect to the current formation of the Fourth International. This gesture of the flag placement preambles the revelation of the political function of funerals in the revolutionary era. In this account of Robert's funeral procession, Low describes it as a slow action; that is, the funeral attendees march slowly. The pace seems strategic since it becomes a time to ponder over the death of a comrade. Funeral processions are processions of death, in this case, the death of those who have fallen in the struggle. Thus, the speed with which they march is deliberate for the collective affect that these events produce. In addition to the speed of the procession, there is music — "a solemn lament"— that configures the collective affect that surrounds the procession. Both the band and the members of the party precede the car in which Robert traverses the city. While the music establishes the type of procession it is — a funeral procession — the members of the party indicate Robert's political affiliation. The last component of the procession is the crowd, which funeral processions usually attract. The use of a general term such as crowd has the implication that these people are not necessarily members of the POUM given that Low distinguishes the party members from the crowd in that the former are wearing their uniform. This implication explains why funerals become political acts in the revolutionary era.

That is, funerals are opportunities to promote revolutionary projects through symbols and speeches that accompany the farewell ceremony of the departed, where collective affect runs high.

Another noteworthy episode in which collective affect is central features an anonymous *miliciano* whose body produces an affective atmosphere. The fallen *miliciano* who returns from the front is a powerful image that configures an affective atmosphere that fosters a fighting spirit among those who see his coffin. By affective atmosphere, we refer to Ben Anderson's concept, in which bodies produce affective atmospheres as they influence one another (80). In these affective atmospheres, there is the possibility of intensification by "creating patterns of affective imitation" (80). In "Madrid Before the Bombardment," Breá provides an account of a fallen *miliciano* who returns from the front. While waiting for a Madrid train at the Valencia train station, Breá narrates the response of the crowd to the arrival of a fallen *miliciano* in a train coming from Madrid. In this chronicle, Breá captures the effect the death of the *miliciano* has both on those who await him and those who just happen to be at the train station at the time of his arrival:

> The train which had come from Madrid was emptying by degrees, but a concentrated group of people was waiting near the van, and I strolled up to see. Some men were lifting down a coffin with a red and black flag thrown over it. When they raised it on their shoulders to carry it down the platform, in spite of the agitation reigning throughout the station a sudden moment of dead silence struck from platform to platform. The long moment seemed to have no end, till a voice broke out from one of the trains: "Down with Fascism!" Everyone echoed the cry, and in a second the whole station was roaring, and the voices sounded thick and rough with indignation and pain. The coffin was moving slowly towards the exit. Even the people following it with flowers and tears had joined in the cry. (137)

The red and black flag that accompanies the coffin identifies the deceased as an anarchist who is returning home from the front. The sight of the coffin produces silence first and a subsequent fostering of the fighting spirit among the crowd at the train station. The silence it produces honors the fallen militia member. Breá underscores the categorical support the recently departed has in how a silence fills up a busy place such as a train station. To complement the anonymous deceased, an anonymous voice guides the crowd into the fostering of their fighting spirit as it reminds them of the struggle against fascism and inspires them to continue the fight that is underway. It is not simply the cry the voice emits and the crowd repeats that cultivates a fighting spirit, however. There is also indignation and grief among the crowd as well as tears in those who await the fallen anarchist. Seeing the coffin of a fallen militia member becomes a reminder of the struggle, which configures an affective atmosphere that surrounds the bodies that are congregated at the train station. It acts upon the passersby in a way that produces a response to continue the struggle that the fallen anarchist was pursuing before meeting his end.

In the six months Low and Breá were in Spain, they witnessed pivotal moments of the revolution and war. They witnessed, for example, the slow disintegration of the POUM party or, as Low describes it, "the opportunism that it sometimes showed" (48). Given that both surrealists spent most of their time in Barcelona, they also attended the funeral of Buenaventura Durruti, the anarchist leader who died in the autumn of 1936 upon his arrival to Madrid to participate in its defense. His funeral is considered one of the most highly attended public ceremonies in the

Catalan city during the three-year conflict. Low gives an account of Durruti's funeral procession and burial on a rainy day of November 1936 in the chronicle "The Changing Aspect," in which the author also discusses the changes she begins to see in the once revolutionary city. In the chronicle, Low provides an outsider's and critical perspective of how the anarchists regard their fallen leader: "it was like seeing a god or a statue killed, for already he unconsciously lived folded up in his legend. The Anarchists did everything they could to refuse this mortality. They embalmed the body, and put it on show, and even now one can look through an opening into the tombs and see their leader sleeping under glass" (215). Aside from the fact that embalming Durruti's body facilitated his transportation from Madrid to Barcelona, the preservation of his body, reminiscent of the leader of the Bolsheviks, manifests the anarchists' denial of Durruti's mortality. Low is critical of the anarchists' idealistic view of their leader even after his death. The display of Durruti's body not only reinforces the anarchists' view of their leader as a larger-than-life figure, but it also serves as a reminder that the struggle must continue while Durruti rests. Low describes the public viewing of Durruti's body very differently than she does her comrade Putz's. In the description of Putz's public viewing, Low recounts her comrade's farewell as a ceremony whose intention is to honor her and her revolutionary work. In contrast, Low chronicles the public viewing of Durruti's body on show as if it were a statue in exhibition, a figure far removed from its time. Despite the stark difference Low makes between the funerals each group organizes, both funerals reveal the importance of honoring the death of comrades in the continuity of the struggle.

During Durruti's funeral procession, Low notices remnants of the old life: "I couldn't help thinking, when we paraded at the funeral, that there was something very Spanish in the way the vestiges of religion clung to the revolution" (215). Low does not elaborate on the religious elements she recognizes in the funeral procession she witnesses. Nonetheless, her observation is worth discussing since this religious element to which she refers is actually the playing of the official marching song of Seville's Holy Week since 1919, "Amarguras" (Sorrows) at the funeral of the anticlerical and anarchist revolutionary Durruti (Díaz Pérez and Rondón 17). This marching song, characteristic of a multitudinous religious ritual, follows the playing of the anthems "A las barricadas" (To the Barricades) and "Hijos del pueblo" (Children of the People), both of which are anarchist anthems (19). The farewell to the anarchist revolutionary with a religious marching song encompasses the collective sorrow his departure evokes. Low's comments on the procession are indicative of a certain bias she has against the anarchist movement, which she expresses with her word choice. Whereas she utilizes the word procession to describe Robert's funeral, for Durruti's procession, she describes it as parading, which has the connotation of marching in an attention-seeking way. The verb to parade also gives the practice of the funeral procession a celebratory quality, which is not characteristic of Western funeral practices, much less of a beloved figure such as Durruti. Perhaps the funeral procession of an anarchist figure is a way to garner support in the city. In any respect, it is evident Durruti's funeral procession is an event that seeks to attract the attention of the Barcelona residents. And it gets their attention for Low reports that "the procession took eight hours getting through the town to the cemetery, there were so many people" (216). Once again, Low highlights the speed with which they march. This time, however, the number of people who attend the event set the pace of the funeral procession. This type of multitudinous event is an example of an event that enables the creation of an affective atmosphere as a result of the loss of a renowned leader of the war and revolution. More specifically, the farewell that features both religious and political songs has an impact on the participants as they congregate to collectively experience a loss of a leader.

In this chronicle, the anarchist anthems honor Durruti's contributions to the struggle and bid him farewell while the religious march expresses the collective sorrow of his unexpected departure. This episode is one of many instances in which anthems are pivotal in the political action and the collective affect they produce.

Anthems: On Battle Cries that Influence, Foster, Unite, and Divide

Anthems, like flags and other political symbols, paint a picture of political projects, and those who sing these political songs adhere to these projects while they engage in this bodily practice. *Red Spanish Notebook* (1937) features anthems that promote different ideologies that drive the war and revolution in the late 1930s Iberian Peninsula. These anthems are at times played and other times sung in the new revolutionary era. They are heard in the streets of Barcelona (barrel organ, speakers), as well as at rallies, processions, train stations, and, as discussed above, funerals. In a general sense, political anthems transmit sentiments that are patriotic and, in some cases, revolutionary. The playing and singing of anthems are corporeal experiences in the sense that they are practices that engage the body, so its players and singers embody the political projects these anthems delineate. Anthems also express particular beliefs, and since anthems tend to refer to a group, one could attribute the beliefs they express to their players and singers, at least, during the acts of playing and singing. Anthems, then, associate their respective players and singers with the individuals and collectives the anthems imagine as well as their political projects.

From all the different anthems that appear in the chronicles, "L'Internationale" is the leading anthem in terms of number of appearances. "L'Internationale" is the anthem that POUM members play and sing. The anthem the chronicles associate with the FAI is "Hijos del pueblo" (Children of the People), which is one of the anthems that was played during Durruti's funeral. Another anthem that Low discusses is "Els Segadors" (The Reapers), which, like the *senyera* (Catalan flag), is premonitory of the times to come (120). This is the anthem the social democratic party ERC plays in one of the processions Low recounts. Lastly, one of Breá's chronicles features the anthem "Himno de Riego" (Riego's Hymn), which is an anthem associated with the Second Republic and the short-lived *Trienio Liberal* (Three Liberal Years) from 1820 to 1823, a period from which it originates. Both Low and Breá chronicle different instances of playing and singing anthems that influence political discussions, foster through collective affect a commitment to the struggle they promote, and unite a collective in the name of the project each anthem configures.

Low's chronicle "Round the Town" describes her first impressions of the Catalan city after her arrival there in the summer of 1936. As she strolls around Barcelona, she notices the transformation of a city she had visited before and that had changed since the start of the proletarian revolution a month before. She describes different parts of town, including the thoroughfare in the center of the city: the *Rambles*. This promenade is where the revolution is in full display with sights and sounds that characterize the new revolutionary life in the Catalan city:

> We went back again into the Ramblas and stood looking up and down. Everything seemed to be centred here. Housefronts were alive with waving flags in a long avenue of dazzling red. Splashes of black or white cut through the color from place to place. The air was filled with an intense din of loud-speakers and people were gathered in groups here and there under the trees, their faces raised towards the round disk from which the words

> were coming. We went from one group to the other and listened, too. It was nearly always people speaking of the revolution and the war, sometimes a woman's voice, but mostly men's. Between the pauses, snatches of the "Internationale" burst out over the crowd. (20)

Low chronicles a politically engaged crowd that gathers in the heart of the city to discuss war and revolution. She also underscores the gender disparity regarding the participation in these discussions. Still, this chronicle documents women's interest in the politics of the time. The sounds of people's discussions alternate with the sounds of fragments of a proletarian anthem: "L'Internationale." The socialist anthem that promotes the participation of the working class in the struggle for liberation against oppressive forces in an internationalist dimension recurrently appears in the chronicles of both authors. In revolutionary Barcelona, Low observes and listens to political discussions in the streets with "L'Internationale" as the soundtrack that alternates with the popular discussions. The dynamic of alternating the anthem with the political discussions is striking because it portrays a city where its population is politically conscious though under the guidance of an ideologically charged anthem that reminds them of the need of a revolutionary struggle every time it interrupts the sounds of the popular discussions. Hearing is the central sense in the scene Low captures of the popular participation in contemporary politics. She recounts she walks from group to group to listen to people's discussions. Thus, the sounds she hears are of people's voices — "a woman's voice, but mostly men's" — and "snatches of the 'Internationale" that "burst out" (20). Aside from capturing the ambiance of the new revolutionary era in Barcelona, the sounds of "L'Internationale" guide the political discussions with each unannounced intervention of the anthem. That is, the established ideology's interruptions in the form of "L'Internationale" ensure the popular debates follow the revolutionary line. These discussions of war and revolution are an example of political action in the *retaguardia.*

From guiding political discussions to setting the mood in a POUM meeting, "L'Internationale" is one of the songs that soundtracks the new revolutionary era in Barcelona. In Low's chronicle about a POUM rally at the Gran Price Theatre, the song follows a series of speeches that the members of the Executive Committee of the party pronounce (52). Low recounts that "a band got gravely to its feet and broke into the 'Internationale'. [She and others] stood with [their] fists raised and sang and sang, the little light voices of the children cheeping in on the booming made by the men and mingling with the strange, raucous cry emitted by the women, who all have voices like peacocks" (52). The description of singing the anthem reveals the dissonance of the different groups that come together to participate in the new revolutionary era. Although all groups express the same words, the voice in their body emits the revolutionary sentiment in a different manner. More specifically, Low compares each group's pitch to birds cheeping, a loud and deep sound similar to an explosion, and peacocks' cries to evince contrasting sounds that produce a form of dissonance. In a way, Low's description highlights the differences between the groups while the lack of unison shows the revolutionary movement has multiple voices, but it has yet to achieve harmony. Still, the bodily practice of singing the socialist anthem displays unity among the different groups that engage in revolutionary action in the *retaguardia.*

The singing of anthems is also a bodily practice that produces a collective affect. In a similar way that national anthems promote individuals' civic formation and help them imagine the community crafted for them, the anthems from the chronicles cultivate a revolutionary

sentiment in those who sing them. There are two moments both authors capture that exemplify how the singing of anthems generate affective atmospheres. The first moment occurs during the processions that Low chronicles on a hot sunny Sunday in September of 1936. While her report mostly focuses on the POUM procession, she also mentions other processions the POUM encounters in the streets of Barcelona, including the FAI procession: "the F.A.I. ahead of us, with their black flag flapping like crows' wings, singing 'Sons of the People' for all they were worth" (54). In the same manner to the POUM procession, the FAI procession invests in a public display of their revolutionary project. Low details the members of the FAI sing the anarchist anthem "Hijos del pueblo." This display of revolutionary commitment cultivates affective responses in those who participate in the procession. In this experience of singing the anarchist anthem, the singers produce an affective atmosphere and also configure their revolutionary and anarchist subjectivity (Anderson 78). The lyrics of "Hijos del pueblo" foster a revolutionary sentiment by addressing the working class and assigning it the main role in the social revolution. Low describes that the members of the FAI sing their anthem with full force. It is an intensity that manifests the commitment they have to the social revolution, which they transmit to one another, and, perhaps, even the passersby in the affective atmosphere they create. This public display of revolutionary commitment to the struggle also aids the Catalan anarchists in displaying the current power they have in the city. In other words, in this moment the text chronicles, the anarchists are a powerful economic force in Barcelona, which they display in weekly processions.

In the new revolutionary era, the socialist anthem "L'Internationale" also functions as a medium that uplifts the spirits or mood of the *milicianos* who are on their way to the front. The act of uplifting spirits corresponds to the strengthening of the commitment to the struggle. Breá recounts the interpretation of "L'Internationale" in one of his chronicles. After having waited hours to depart to the front, Breá describes a militia procession whose destination is a Barcelona train station, where the militia members will take a train to the front. In this example, it is not the militias who sing the anthem, but the people who encourage them by singing the socialist song: "People sang the 'Internationale' and great flares of red, like spears of blood, smeared the sky, and the windows in the Via Layetana seemed all on fire" (Breá 72). Aside from the ambiance Breá describes, which we later discuss, the singing of the anthem raises the spirits of the members of the militia, that is, strengthens their revolutionary commitment. The reminder of the current struggle that this bodily practice produces intends to motivate militia members who will soon fight at the front. There is a striking dynamic between singers and listeners when we consider this moment as an opportunity to generate a form of collective affect among the rank and file. In contrast to the POUM procession Low describes in which its own participants sing and raise their fists, in this procession, the public is the one who sing as they bid farewell to the militia members. The corporeal experience of singing has an effect on the mood of the militia members, who listen to the performance. The people's voices act upon the spirits of the *milicianos* to transmit a collective affect that influences their revolutionary commitment. The singing of the anthem also is combined with a raised fist, which also lifts the spirits of the *milicianos*: "We moved between a hedge of clenched fists, our own tired fists raised intermittently" (72). The characterization of the crowd's raised fists as a hedge, makes the group of clenched fists appear like a firm structure. That is, the support of the crowd seems, from the perspective of Breá, unwavering. In his account, Breá contrasts the crowd's fists to the bodily practice of the militias, who raise their fists intermittently, due to the exhaustion of having waited a long time to depart for the front. The intermittence of the fists conveys a lack of vitality in the

militias' bodily practice. This uneven exchange between fists evinces a form of symbolic solidarity. In other words, the crowd displays support to the physically and emotionally drained militias as they depart for the front. Lastly, in this same episode, Breá provides a somewhat surrealistic description of the surroundings that seem to also react to the practice of singing by the people. The images Breá conjures up in his description of the city are blood and fire, which coincide with the imaginary the anarchist version of "L'Internationale" also evokes: "Color de sangre tiene el fuego" ("Fire has the color of blood"; "La Internacional (Versión Anarquista)"). The verse this line completes reflects on the colors of the anarchist flag: red and black respectively. The association of red with blood is deliberate in the sense that blood, which represents the fallen or the sacrifices made in battle, is common in revolutionary struggle. What the line does is that it presents an image that evokes transformation and rebirth while it makes a connection with the casualties of revolutionary struggle. In other words, the role of the fallen and the sacrifices made in battle are crucial in the type of affect that motivates action. Hence, Breá's description captures the revolutionary affect of 1936 Barcelona. This description of revolutionary Barcelona is reminiscent of Anderson's explication of a revolutionary atmosphere based on a speech Karl Marx gave in London in 1856: "a revolutionary atmosphere must come charged with a sense of danger and promise, threat and hope" (78). The images that the singing of "L'Internationale" produce in the atmosphere that surrounds Breá and the other *milicianos* are menacing, but blood, which also signifies life, and fire, which signifies rebirth, also suggest a sense of promise.

In a conflict known for its many anthems and political songs, clashes between the ideologies they promote are inevitable. Low and Breá chronicle these ideological struggles in their writings. We analyze three interactions that reveal how the social revolution fares in a middle of a civil war. The first one is a procession up and down the *Rambles* that the ERC party organizes. The second example is a sort of singing competition at the Valencia train station between *milicianos* who belong to different factions. The third interaction between anthems occurs in a figurative level in the sense that Breá uses it as a figure of speech to explain the place of the revolution in the Madrid he experiences. In our analysis, we examine the lyrics of the different anthems at play in order to illuminate the place of revolutionary projects in these different interactions.

As discussed above, the processions in revolutionary Barcelona feature the playing and singing of anthems. Low reports that "L'Internationale" plays at the rallies and processions of the POUM whereas "Hijos del pueblo" plays in the processions of the FAI. The chronicles underscore the association between party and anthem that when an anthem appear in processions of other parties it becomes suspicious. Such is the case of "L'Internationale" and "Hijos del pueblo," two songs that ERC party plays during a procession up and down the *Rambles*, the center of the revolution. It is unusual to see these two anthems in a procession of a political party that is left wing (social democrat), but not revolutionary. In the chronicle "Flood Tide," Low questions the revolutionary character of the ERC procession:

> The Catalan Left Republicans (E.R.C.) who were supposedly our allies now in the new coalition government of all parties, gave us a demonstration up and down the Ramblas, under a thin revolutionary disguise, when they drove along in wagons and cars, their barred flag plentifully mixed with our red, and stood up with their clenched fists raised. Their band played the "Internationale," and "Sons of the People" as well as their own "Els Segadors". They felt they had to go carefully. Nobody cheered. (120-1)

The political context in which this procession happens is relevant to its understanding. Low mentions that the new coalition government in which the ERC, the POUM, and the anarchists participate is now a reality. The decision of playing all three anthems in the procession is undoubtedly deliberate. It appears the social democratic party is playing the other factions' anthems as a means to demonstrate a harmonious alliance with the more revolutionary parties, in this case, the anarchist trade union and organization as well as the dissident communist POUM party. Yet, there is an incompatibility in terms of ideology between the socialist and anarchist anthems and the nationalist anthem "Els Segadors," which represents the ERC party. Based on the chronicle, this dissonance is evident to the public that witnesses the procession given that the enthusiastic response to a previous POUM procession, for example, is absent here. Aside from the noticeable incompatibility in terms of associating each anthem with particular parties, what is the effect of playing all three anthems in a procession when we consider the lyrics? We examine this question next.

The peculiarity of ERC's procession resides in the songs that accompany the performance its members arrange in the center of the city, which also happens to be the center of the revolution in Barcelona. Given the association of this public space with the current revolution, ERC attempts to occupy a space that has been repurposed during the new revolutionary era. Low remarks that ERC members "felt they had to go carefully," which explains why the social democrats play anthems that are atypical of their events and even more so of their political ideology (121). The space where they engage in the bodily practice of playing anthems, particularly anthems from revolutionary movements, is significant in the sense that ERC tries to enter a space that is now a space of and for the revolution. In order to occupy it, ERC members must demonstrate their affinity with the social revolution by playing two revolutionary songs that are compatible with the space they occupy. The order in which the band plays the anthems that call for the participation in a social revolution reveals ERC's intention to appear revolutionary with the aim to "infiltrate" the space where they march. What does the order of the performances mean when we consider the anthems' lyrics? We consider this question next.

The ERC band begins its performance with the socialist anthem "L'Internationale," an anthem that has different variations with respect to its lyrics. For the purposes of our study, we examine the Spanish version of the French original as well as the anarchist version that emerged in the Iberian context. We begin by providing the lyrics of the Spanish version of the French original:

Arriba, parias de la Tierra.
En pie, famélica legión.
Atruena la razón en marcha,
es el fin de la opresión.

Del pasado hay que hacer añicos,
legión esclava en pie a vencer,
el mundo va a cambiar de base,
los nada de hoy todo han de ser.

Agrupémonos todos,
en la lucha final.
El género humano
es la internacional.
(bis)

Ni en dioses, reyes ni tribunos,
está el supremo salvador.
Nosotros mismos realicemos
el esfuerzo redentor.

Para hacer que el tirano caiga
y el mundo siervo liberar,
soplemos la potente fragua
que el hombre libre ha de forjar.

Agrupémonos todos,
en la lucha final.
El género humano
es la internacional.
(bis)

La ley nos burla y el Estado
oprime y sangra al productor.
Nos da derechos irrisorios,
no hay deberes del señor.

Basta ya de tutela odiosa,
que la igualdad ley ha de ser,
no más deberes sin derechos,
ningún derecho sin deber.

Agrupémonos todos,
en la lucha final.
El género humano
es la internacional.

(bis)

The Spanish version of the original “L’Internationale” is a call to arms to participate in the social revolution, where the working class is its own and only savior. It also imagines a new world, where oppression ceases to exist, equality is protected under law, and there are rights and duties for all. The anarchist version of “L’Internationale” is also a call to arms to fight in the social revolution that has arrived:

¡Arriba los pobres del mundo!
¡En pie los esclavos sin pan!
Alcémonos todos, que llega
La Revolución Social.

La Anarquía ha de emanciparnos
de toda la explotación.
El comunismo libertario
será nuestra redención.

Agrupémonos todos
a la lucha social.
Con la FAI lograremos
el éxito final.

Agrupémonos todos
a la lucha social.
Con la FAI lograremos
el éxito final.

Color de sangre tiene el fuego,
color negro tiene el volcán.
Colores rojo y negro tiene
nuestra bandera triunfal.

Los hombres han de ser hermanos,
cese la desigualdad.
La Tierra será paraíso
libre de la Humanidad.
Agrupémonos todos

a la lucha social.

Con la FAI lograremos
el éxito final.

Agrupémonos todos
a la lucha social.
Con la FAI lograremos
el éxito final.

Anarchist communism is the means through which the poor of the world will liberate themselves according to this version. The anthem imagines the new world: a free Paradise where brotherhood exists and inequality ends. The ERC band continues its performance with a rendition of the anarchist song "Hijos del pueblo." There are three versions of this anthem: the original from 1885, the 1936 version, and a third version titled "Himno Anarquista" (Anarchist Anthem). We examine the 1936 version, which was sung during the Spanish Revolution and Civil War:

Hijo del pueblo, te oprimen cadenas,
y esa injusticia no puede seguir;
si tu existencia es un mundo de penas
antes que esclavo prefiere morir.
En la batalla, la hiena fascista.
por nuestro esfuerzo sucumbirá;
y el pueblo entero, con los anarquistas,
hará que triunfe la libertad.

Trabajador, no más sufrir,
el opresor ha de sucumbir.
Levántate, pueblo leal,
al grito de revolución social.
Fuerte unidad de fe y de acción
producirá la revolución.
Nuestro pendón uno ha de ser:
sólo en la unión está el vencer.

"Hijos del pueblo" addresses not only the social revolution, but also the struggle against fascism; the latter is included in the 1936 version. It is a call to arms to *produce* the revolution. In contrast to the aforementioned versions of "L'Internationale," "Hijos del pueblo" does not express the revolution is underway. Rather, it encourages the children of the people or the working class to

begin it. The anthem calls for the end of oppression, the defeat of fascism, and the triumph of freedom. It also states that through the unity of faith and action, the working class shall produce the revolution. The anthem, then, explicitly addresses both struggles — the revolution and the war, a difference with both versions of "L'Internationale." The third and final song the ERC band plays is "Els Segadors." We provide the lyrics in Catalan with an English translation.

Catalunya triomfant (Triumphant Catalonia)
Tornarà a ser rica i plena (Shall be rich and abundant again).
Endarrera aquesta gent (Drive away these people)
Tan ufana i tan superba (Who are so proud and arrogant).

Bon cop de falç (Strike with the sickle!)!
Bon cop de falç (Strike with the sickle),
Defensors de la terra (Defenders of the land),
Bon cop de falç (Strike with the sickle!)!

Ara és l'hora, segadors (Now is the time, Reapers),
Ara és l'hora d'estar alerta (Now is the time to be alert),
Per quan vingui un altre juny (For when another June comes),
Esmolem ben bé les eines (we will sharpen well our tools).

Bon cop de falç (Strike with the sickle!)!
Bon cop de falç (Strike with the sickle),
Defensors de la terra (Defenders of the land),
Bon cop de falç (Strike with the sickle!)!

Que tremoli l'enemic (May the enemy tremble)
En veient la nostra ensenya (Upon seeing our banner),
Com fem caure espigues d'or (Just as we cut the wheat's golden ears),
Quan convé seguem cadenes (When necessary, we cut off chains).

Bon cop de falç (Strike with the sickle!)!
Bon cop de falç (Strike with the sickle),
Defensors de la terra (Defenders of the land),
Bon cop de falç (Strike with the sickle!)!

Its lyrics have origins in Catalan oral tradition that dates back to the seventeenth century. The modern lyrics are from 1899. This anthem represents Catalanism and Catalonia. In comparison to the previous anthems, "Els Segadors" calls for the triumph of a nation: Catalonia. The agents of this triumph are the people, namely, reapers or *segadors*, though class struggle is not explicit since the enemy the anthem references is unidentifiable. The anthem encourages reapers to defend the land with their sickles. In order to fight, reapers must sharpen well the tools in preparation for another June, which is an allusion to a popular revolt that occurred in June 1640 in the village of Sant Andreu del Palomar (now a neighborhood of Barcelona). This revolt is an episode of *la Guerra dels Segadors* (Reapers' War, Catalan Revolt) in Catalonia during the Thirty Years' War. The anthem asserts the enemy will tremble with the sight of the reapers' banner. It concludes by claiming that, in the same way *segadors* harvest wheat, when necessary, they will cut off chains.

The playing of the socialist and anarchist anthems before the Catalan anthem justifies the subsequent playing of the anthem that captures ERC's ideology — an ideology that calls for the liberation of Catalonia through the defense of the land that tyrants occupy. The collective sense in "Els Segadors" lies in the belonging to a specific land. It is a struggle for political control of a territory rather than a struggle for the liberation of the working class. Considering the source material of the lyrics, this anthem is relevant in the struggle against fascism in the current civil war. That is, the unidentifiable enemy in "Els Segadors" becomes fascism that tries to take control of the peninsula. The playing of all three anthems in that specific order manifests a shift of the conflict, from revolution to civil war in the autumn of 1936 in Barcelona. The ideological takeover of the revolutionary space is almost inconspicuous since the band plays revolutionary songs before it plays the anthem with which its political party identifies. With this example of an ERC procession, Low illustrates how winning the war gradually substitutes the fight for revolution in the once revolutionary city. Thus, it is a defiance to the revolutionary character of the urban space.

From the revolutionary character of Barcelona in dispute, we now turn to a clash between anthems in Valencia. A competition between anthems is another episode we examine with respect to war and revolution. While waiting for a train bound for Madrid at the Valencia train station, Breá witnesses a sort of singing competition between *milicianos*, which he captures in the chronicle "Madrid Before the Bombardment." The competition is between two revolutionary projects that *milicianos* present through a bodily practice of singing anthems that express their beliefs: "Somewhere in another train I could hear the 'Internationale' and 'Sons of the People' pouring out full tilt from dozens of deep throats, their separate tunes competing with each other. But the rivalry only ended in cheers and bursts of laughter" (136). Aside from distinguishing different revolutionary groups that travel to and from the front, the in-jest fighting puts face to face two revolutionary factions that temporarily compete in a contest of whose political project is the most revolutionary. As a corporeal experience, singing the anthems embodies a revolutionary project that tries to outdo another revolutionary project. In this example, the factor that determines the winner seems to be whose anthem is the loudest. Breá does not determine the winner, however. Instead, he narrates how the rivalry has an unexpected ending: cheers and laughter. In a similar way that national anthems contribute to the civic formation of citizens in nation-states, these anthems also configure the revolutionary commitment of individuals through the lyrics they learn and sing. As a result, what is the dynamic with regard to revolution between two political projects in competition? In order to answer this question, we must discuss the revolutionary project each anthem promotes.

As aforementioned, in our discussion of "L'Internationale," we examine the version in Spanish in the Iberian context. The following verses encapsulate the revolutionary ideology this socialist anthem promotes: "Ni en dioses, reyes ni tribunos, / está el supremo salvador. / Nosotros mismos realicemos / el esfuerzo redentor" ("Neither in gods, kings nor tribunes, / is the supreme savior. / Let us ourselves make / the redemptive effort"; "La Internacional"). The revolutionary commitment lies in the acknowledgment that no one shall liberate the working class, but itself. The recognition of its own role in the social revolution is the first step to configure its revolutionary commitment. Another step that reinforces revolutionary commitment is the actual participation in the social revolution that shall transform the world, where those who are nothing shall be everything ("La Internacional"). In the anarchist version of "L'Internationale," the means through which the working class of the world shall liberate itself is through revolution in the form of anarchist communism ("La Internacional (Versión Anarquista)"). The revolutionary commitment is an adherence to the collectivization of the industries. Participating in this economic system is the foundation of a social revolution. Thus the revolutionary commitment the anarchist anthem promotes is the participation in the establishing and sustaining of the collectivizations.

The revolutionary commitment in the 1936 version of "Hijos del pueblo" begins with a combination of faith and action that will produce the revolution ("Hijos del Pueblo"). Aside from making the revolution that shall end oppression, the working class also fights for freedom against a fascist adversary. The anthem recognizes two struggles that have in common the goal of liberation. The reason it explicitly names fascism as one of the struggles has to do with the fact that there is a rewriting of the anthem in 1936. The update of the anthem recognizes the temporal specificities, where the revolution cannot be reduced to a class struggle. In other words, the Spanish Revolution of 1936 also involves the defeat of fascism. As a consequence, the revolutionary commitment the anarchist anthem promotes is explicitly antifascist. This rivalry in jest that Breá observes at the Valencia train station echoes a central debate of the place the social revolution has in a war against fascism. For the *milicianos* who sing "Hijos del pueblo," it is clear that the revolution has a place in the war they are fighting against fascism. In the case of the POUM party, "there is only one effective form of struggle against fascism: proletarian revolution" (Nin). If the war is fought while the revolution is postponed, according to Andreu Nin, one of the leaders of the POUM party, fascism will be victorious. From his outsider's perspective, Breá also agrees with that assessment of the conflict (254).

The debate of whether the social revolution has a place in the current struggle against fascism is a subject Breá takes up in his chronicle about his time in the Spanish capital. In "A Last Sight of Toledo," Breá discusses the tension between war and revolution he senses during his time in Madrid. According to Breá, while revolution dominates in Barcelona what predominates in Madrid is the war. The objective in the Spanish capital is to win the war against fascism: "Madrid was still the democratic workers' republic of Ortega y Gasset and Co., a republic at war defending the soil of the fatherland to the mixed strains of Riego's hymn and the 'Internationale' and as many others as wished to join the choir on condition that none of them got out of tune with the republican concert" (149). In his reflection about the politics of Madrid, Breá condenses it in an image of a choir to explain the tensions between the different ideologies. In Madrid, the choir sings two anthems together, the anthem that becomes the unofficial symbol of the Second Republic — "Himno de Riego" — as well as "L'Internationale," the popular socialist anthem. The choir is democratic in the sense that it welcomes other melodies that may want to join the concert it gives as long as these other melodies prioritize the defense of the Republic.

"Himno de Riego" was composed during the three-year liberal period (1820-1823), and its subject is Rafael del Riego's military uprising against the absolutist monarchy of Ferdinand VII (de la Ossa Martínez 513). The popularity of this anthem is due in part to its replacement of the "Marcha Real," an anthem that is connected to the monarchy and is the official anthem today. With the establishment of the Second Republic in 1931, "Himno de Riego" becomes a strong contender to replace the aforementioned monarchic anthem. Hence, the chorus that sings "Himno de Riego" sings for a liberal democracy with the support of the working classes whose representation in the concert is "L'Internationale." Breá underscores that the concert the chorus gives is a Republican concert, as a result, the strains from the "L'Internationale" only have a featuring credit, a small role. In Madrid, then, the defense of the Republic is paramount while the political commitment of the working class is only in the service of the Republic.

Conclusions

The episodes we examine constitute only a part of a conflict that would have devastating consequences on the civil population. The time period that *Red Spanish Notebook* (1937) covers captures the hope for the triumph of a social revolution in a country where social inequality was pronounced. Although the text also includes a few episodes of Juan Breá's time at the front, in this chapter we focused on the chronicles that recount the political action in the *retaguardia* and its impact on the revolution and civil war. From the point of view of two internationals, we learn about the revolutionary fervor of the early months of the conflict. The diverse bodily practices — raising fists, wearing overalls and rope-soled shoes, carrying and reacting to political symbols, such as flags, attending rallies as well as political and funeral processions, and singing anthems — promote political projects and remind those individuals committed to the revolutionary and antifascist causes about their role in the current struggle as well as their duty to continue the fight of the fallen comrades.

Epilogue

In this dissertation, we examined the intricacies of the revolutionary process that began alongside the civil war in 1936 Spain. The three texts we studied, which were written, published, and, in the case of the dramatic text, staged during the three-year period of the struggle, addressed the war and revolution in bodily terms. The centrality of the body, its compositions, and its processes guided our analysis of the representations of the revolutionary process and its agents in Joan Oliver's *La fam* (1938), Lucía Sánchez Saornil's *Romancero de Mujeres Libres* (1938), and Mary Low and Juan Breá's *Red Spanish Notebook* (1937). The responses from these different texts to the revolutionary process and, in some instances, the war, manifest, in their own ways, the human experience during the conflict.

The central question of this dissertation about the role of theory and practice in the making of a revolution directed our analysis. This dissertation argued that the practices that derive from the visceral, engage the materiality of the body, and produce collective affect critique, exercise, and influence revolutionary politics in 1930s Spain. In *La fam* (1938), we examined three manifestations of viscerality in one of the protagonists, Samsó, that we juxtaposed with the other protagonist, Nel, the intellectual revolutionary who, although apparently prepared to participate in the revolutionary process, is unable to lead his comrades into battle when the revolutionary hour arrives. In our analysis of three forms of viscerality (animality, hunger, and gut feelings or intuition), we concluded that these manifestations of viscerality make a critique of a revolutionary process that relies solely on ideas while it discards the visceral side of its agents that also serve the revolution. For future research, the analysis of the second manifestation of viscerality we examined – the bodily process of hunger – would benefit from a scholarly engagement with hunger studies, namely, its significance in the literature of the civil war and dictatorship. In the second chapter, we analyzed *Romancero de Mujeres Libres* (1938), a collection of *romances* (ballads) that narrate the life and death of three figures – María Silva Cruz, Encarnación Giménez, and Buenaventura Durruti – as well as key episodes of the war and revolution. We examined the conceptualizations of solidarity in bodily terms that generate an understanding of this concept both as a form of kinship and as an action that is mutually embodied, which confirms the impact of practice in revolution. Additionally, we analyzed the bodies of Madrid, Asturias, and the *pueblo* as suffering bodies that transform as they face and resist oppressive forces. Sánchez Saornil's *Romancero* also manifests an excitement and enthusiasm of the new revolutionary era as well as a lingering hope that the revolution may still triumph in spite of the defeats that continued to accumulate as the conflict progressed. From this lingering hope, we return to the beginning of the revolutionary process that *Red Spanish Notebook* (1937) chronicles. In this collection of chronicles, Mary Low and Juan Breá narrate episodes that primarily focus on the revolutionary action in the *retaguardia*, although Breá also recounts his experiences at the front lines. For this chapter, we focused on the practices in the *retaguardia* since we are interested in examining alternative ways of doing revolution, aside from armed struggle, so the *retaguardia* is the place in which to fulfill our endeavors. In this chapter about *Red Spanish Notebook*, we analyzed diverse practices of revolution that the authors captured in their writings, including, raising fists, wearing blue overalls and *espardenyes*, carrying and reacting to flags, attending political rallies as well as political and funeral processions, and singing anthems. The commonality of these practices is the body in the sense that all of these practices involve the body. We examined how these practices that exemplify revolutionary action and behavior in the *retaguardia* signal a commitment to

workers' struggle and the fight against fascism and produce a collective affect (affective atmospheres) that influences the commitment to the struggle in its early months.

In all three texts, we found that the revolutionary process entails embodied practices of revolutionary action, solidarities, and commitment to the cause. Moreover, we examined the place of affect in revolution in the three texts. In the analysis of *La fam* (1938), we touched upon Samsó's attunement to emotions and the senses that the intellectual revolutionaries reject. In this text, emotions and the senses fall in the category of visceral tendencies that, according to the leaders of the revolution, must be "atrophied." In *Romancero de Mujeres Libres* (1938), we briefly discussed the affect at the beginning of the revolution in its manifestation of joy as well as the affect in the form of anguish as a response to the fascist control of the peninsula. Lastly, in *Red Spanish Notebook* (1937), we discussed episodes in which different bodies produced affective atmospheres. The focus here is on collective affect that singing anthems and chanting slogans generate. Given that all of these texts were written during the conflict, they attempt to capture the affect that emerges from the revolution and war. In this dissertation, affect was only one of many aspects we examined in texts that respond to the revolutionary struggle in 1930s Spain. This topic would be a new avenue of investigation in these texts as well as other texts that respond to the revolution and the war. More specifically, there is a need of a further discussion of the emotions that accompany Samsó's actions in *La fam*. In the case of *Romancero de Mujeres Libres*, the verse "joy of the enslaved" is suggestive and is in conversation with current intellectual discussions of the place of joy in political struggles and resistances. For *Red Spanish Notebook*, given how it provides a geographical account of the revolution both authors experience in the Iberian Peninsula, a more in-depth study of the affective atmospheres their texts capture would significantly contribute to the studies of the revolutionary process of 1936 both in the Catalan city and other places they report in their chronicles. For example, Breá chronicles conversations he had with people from *la España profunda* (rural Spain) about the new times they were experiencing.

Another commonality in all three texts is the appearance of religious imagery and language in which suffering is central to the true emancipation that the social revolution promises. With this in mind, another topic for future research is the reliance of religious language, faith, and belief in the political ideas and projects these texts depict. *La fam*, for example, represents the intellectual revolutionary's commitment to the cause in terms of religious faith. *Romancero de Mujeres Libres* features religious imagery in its *romances.* For example, in "Pasión de Asturias," the suffering poetic voice raises a fist in search for God. In *Red Spanish Notebook*, there are episodes in which the agents also appear as "believers" of a political ideology they defend and that motivates them to participate in the struggle.

In general terms, the field of literary studies is an invaluable approach to the study of the Spanish Revolution of 1936. Although this conflict has been the focus of scholarly work in the fields of history and politics, we think that approaching texts that respond to revolutionary processes during the three-year conflict from the field of literary studies would provide new ways of understanding revolution, and it would also amplify it as a topic of study, because the revolutionary process that began in the summer of 1936 is a fundamental piece of history of the Iberian Peninsula, the history of revolutions, and, above all, the history of working-class struggle and the emancipation it promises.

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