

Francisco Rivero Gil: A Tale of Graphic Othering

By

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Abstract

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This study deploys the Spanish illustrator Francisco Rivero Gil (1899–1972) as a paradigmatic figure of the graphic arts in order to explore the relationships between image and text being played out in representation as expressions of Spain’s unique process of modernization. The meanings of these graphico-lexical relationships reveal themselves through Rivero’s work, as well as through his praxis, over time, through geographical displacement and changing historical contexts. As a result, the study interweaves biography, history and graphico-lexical textual analysis in a combined diachronic and synchronic approach. Its first chapter, meant to bridge the gap between the graphic arts and Hispanic literary studies, provides an introduction to the graphic arts in the context of Spain’s modernization, as well as a review of recent research pertaining to the nexus of these two fields. The main chapters are divided into three time-spaces, which cover Rivero’s beginnings in Santander from 1914 to 1923, including a tour of duty in Morocco as a rank-and-file soldier after the Annual Disaster; the mid ‘20s to the mid ‘30s in Madrid; and the late ‘30s during the Spanish Civil War in Valencia and Barcelona.

The analysis of the various editorial projects included in these chapters shows how a different project of modernity was gestating in the field of the graphic arts, where interactions between image and text enacted a peculiarly Spanish conceptualization of the Other, based on cordiality, that contained radical implications for social change and laid the conceptual groundwork for a non-violent social revolution. This version of modernity, contrary to others advocating a rupture with the past, easily integrated traditional forms by modifying them to suit modern needs. The study shows how the graphic arts may be understood as a site that facilitated a cordial engagement with the Other, containing and channeling the many tensions of Spain’s modernization, as it contributed to the formation of new citizens and a vision of modernity firmly rooted in the past. This dissertation is the first part of a book length project covering Rivero’s life and work in Spain. Future research will take on the transatlantic dimension of his life and the work he produced as an exile in France, the Dominican Republic, Colombia and Mexico.

In memory of my parents, Mattner and Dorothy Southard,  
the keepers of many secrets.  
And to my children, Paula and Francisco Ramírez,  
who may continue the unveiling, if they choose to.



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110. Baltazar Torres (b. 1961), *Hacia el futuro* (2010). Sculpture of Pereda's protagonist, Sotileza, situated at a turn on the Rampa de Sotileza in Santander. Painted iron and bronze. Photo reproduced with the kind permission of Salvador Carretero Rebés. ....153

## Introduction

My interest in Francisco Rivero Gil (1899-1972) grew out of a first encounter with Ramón del Valle-Inclán's *Ligazón: auto para siluetas* (1926). This one-act play takes place at an inn, situated at a crossroads in a remote area of Galicia. A man from a nearby town, described as a rag doll (*pelele*), is murdered by the daughter (*la mozuela*) of the woman who runs the inn (*la ventera*), to avoid being forced into prostitution by her mother and her aunt (*la raposa*). The aunt appears on the scene with a necklace of pearls and coral, a "gift" from this man, who only appears at the end of the play with a pair of scissors stuck in his heart, being lowered from a window by two pairs of arms. One pair belongs to *la mozuela*, and the other to a flirtatious itinerant knife-sharpener (*el afilador*), whom the daughter has charmed into complicity by means of a witch's pact (*ligazón*), sealed by cutting their hands and sucking the blood from each other's wound.

Rivadeneira published this *avant-garde* work in paperback form as part of the popular collection entitled *La Novela Mundial*. Its first edition cover features a boldly colored image of two female figures in black (Fig. 1). The aunt (*la raposa*) supports herself with a long staff in one hand, dangling the necklace from the other. In her shadow stands the young niece, red lips pursed, one hand planted firmly on her hip, with the other hand raised in a defiant gesture, as if ready to speak the key line from the play: "*¡Mi cuerpo es mío!*" The background suggests Valle-Inclán's magic-imbued Galician setting as the two women stand on a shadowy blue-green hillside against a red sky lit by yellow stars and a full yellow moon. This captivating cover illustration is accompanied by similarly compelling black-and-white interior images, two of which depict the old women with their shadows, an allusion to Valle-Inclán's subtitle: *auto para siluetas*. Some years later, as I read *Ligazón* for the second time, I found that my initial encounter with its graphic version had reduced the text itself to a faint blur in my memory. I wondered about the power of these images and the artist who had produced them. I searched for information about the Rivero Gil who had signed them, but could find none. I felt as if Valle-Inclán's work was keeping a secret from me. The desire to uncover this textual secret is what drives this project. However, as Colin Davis points out in his discussion of Esther Radkin's *Family Secrets and the Psychoanalysis of Narrative*, "uncovering textual secrets always brings to the fore other enigmas which might demand, but not be susceptible to, solution" (N. pag.). The "other enigmas" in this case are two family members: my father and a great-great grandmother on my father's side.

Like Rivero, my father Mattner Southard devoted his life to image-making. As a newspaper photographer in San Francisco during the industry's heyday of the 1950s and '60s, he had a passion for "making" (as opposed to taking) photographs, many of which wallpapered a certain bar "south of Market" until it was torn down some years ago. The lengths to which he would go to get the right shot earned him a reputation as "the living legend." He thought nothing of climbing to the top of the Golden Gate Bridge to get that shot (Fig. 2) or hanging by his legs off the bowsprit of a ship. He felt an equal passion for painting and, as a self-taught artist, was particularly obsessed with representing the World War II vessels he had helped build in the shipyards of Richmond. These he eventually came to render in oils with masterful attention to historical detail (Fig. 3). I simply wish to acknowledge his "ghost" at this point, though I will say more later on about the hauntological sense in which I use the term as it relates to this project.



Fig. 1. Francisco Rivero Gil, illus. Cover design for *Ligazón: auto para siluetas* by Ramón del Valle-Inclán. (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1926). Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.



Fig. 2. Mattner Southard (1917-1992), photog., untitled [Bridgeworker atop the Golden Gate Bridge] (1961), Southard family archive. Black-and-white photograph. Photo: ©Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.



Fig. 3. Mattner Southard, *Three Unidentified Warships* (1972), Southard family archive. Oil painting on canvas. Photo: all rights reserved ©Donna Ann Southard.

My great-great grandmother's life story has something in common with both *Ligazón's* protagonist and the artist who depicted her so powerfully. Family lore has it that she came from a family of shipbuilders in Spain. She was promised in marriage to a man in San Francisco and put on a ship that "sailed around the Horn." I was not aware of her existence until I had already been living in Spain for a number of years. Then, sometime during the 1980s, I attended a presentation given by an American woman at a conference on bilingualism in Madrid. I have forgotten everything about this conference and this woman except for the crux of her talk: she found significant statistical evidence to support the idea that the experience of emigration leaves a deep-seated desire for a return to the homeland, which is transmitted unconsciously to the next generation, usually the second-born child, who is unknowingly charged with materializing this unconscious family imperative.

Though several generations removed, I am the second-born child in my family who, being unaware of this family secret (possibly kept so out of racial bigotry), returned to the lost Spanish homeland. This reading of my great-great grandmother's story accounts for my father's obsession with ships, as well as for why Spain has always felt like home to me. More to the point here, it also accounts for the very strong visceral reaction I had to the attempt to sell a young woman's body depicted in *Ligazón's* visual text. In any case, this ghostly non-presence from the paternal side of my family constitutes a sort of "father-of-the-brideness" from beyond the grave, which hovers nearby as I write-speak my scholarly vows (*¡Esta voz es mía!*) in search of a voice that will not betray my own body as disembodied academic discourse. Thus, a hauntological acknowledgement of my own family's forgotten members seems a fitting place for me to begin. Furthermore, it is in keeping with the overarching objective of this project, which is framed by the current Spanish national obsession with the recuperation of historical memory. Just as archeological digs are unearthing the remains of Spain's disappeared, victims of Franco's attempts to eliminate the ideological "other" from the Spanish political stage, this study embarks on a scholarly dig to uncover the significance of a body of graphic work buried in the ground of *desmemoria*.

Thanks to summer grants from the Department of Spanish & Portuguese and the Graduate Division of the University of California at Berkeley, I was able to answer some of my initial questions about the illustrator of *Ligazón* through direct research in Spain. Francisco Rivero Gil was a promising young professional during the 1920s, making his way from the conservative periphery of his native Santander to Madrid, where the graphic arts industry was in a state of effervescence, thanks to technological innovations and demographic changes in the reading public. Rivero's professional development in Spain, however, was truncated by his exile at the end of the Civil War. Although he continued his professional activity in Mexico City, where he would eventually settle, in Spain his work was virtually forgotten. He left behind a great deal of published material, however, from which we may discern that, although the graphic image was his preferred medium of expression and dominant mode of communication, he also maintained a cordial relationship with lexicality as a journalist, war correspondent and political cartoonist. Described by his sister-in-law as "*el perejil de todas las salsas*," he constitutes an eminently modern figure of mobility linked to the *flâneur*. Contrary to Baudelaire's model, however, Rivero was not a dandy cultivating leisurely aristocratic pursuits, but rather a working member of the middle class, who put his natural powers of observation to work for society through his access to print media.

Aided by his training as a draftsman, a profession that graphically materializes the forces of modernity, he was fluid and chameleonic, occupying a wide swath of the social habitat. He could as easily keep the company of Alfonso XIII at an exclusive art exhibition as

he could that of beggars in Madrid's *barrios bajos fondos*, as likely to find his subjects in elite venues like the Ateneo as in popular events such as bull fights, soccer matches or *romerías*. At the same time, he was a highly mobile figure geographically, whether motivated by personal interests or ideological beliefs, or impelled by historical events. From Santander he accepted a position as a draftsman in Segovia, while continuing to collaborate with the *maurista*<sup>1</sup> daily, *El Pueblo Cántabro*, where he began his career. He transferred to Seville and attended the Escuela de Bellas Artes, presumably where he learned muralism and ceramics (Carretero 16). After the Disaster at Annual in 1921 he was recruited to fight in Morocco, whence he continued to contribute drawings and articles about the African campaign to *El Pueblo Cántabro*. Upon his return, he established himself in Madrid, working for such publications as *El Sol*, *Buen Humor*, *La Esfera* and *Estampa*. Eventually, he followed the movements of the Republican government into exile: from Madrid to Catalonia and France. From France he made his way to the Dominican Republic and, after a year under the Trujillo dictatorship, moved on to Bogotá, Colombia. In 1944 he joined the community of exiles in Mexico City, where he remained until his death at the age of seventy-three (Carretero 22–80).

Despite the massive socio-political upheaval caused by the Civil War, Rivero navigated his experience of exile with relative success, at least initially, thanks to the status he enjoyed as a member of Santander's powerful bourgeoisie. He knew Indalecio Prieto<sup>2</sup> personally and appealed to him for permission to leave the country, which was granted "*por la significación personal y profesional del interesado*" (Soldevilla 140–2). Briefly interned in a French concentration camp and notwithstanding forced labor, he managed to contribute sporadically to French magazines. According to a 1941 Colombian news source, he participated in an exhibition of artwork by Republican exiles, organized in Paris by La Maison de la Culture in the summer of 1939, which was subsequently taken to London and New York (Carretero 58–9). He received modest financial assistance from the *JARE* (*Junta de auxilio a los republicanos españoles*), and it is likely that he received support from other groups as well (JARE 162). In any case, it was due to a strong social network that he escaped the fate of less privileged exiles. Nonetheless, the hardships of his new status as an exile took their toll, though he managed to preserve some semblance of professional activity, particularly as an illustrator of movie posters. He died in Mexico City in 1972, true to his word never to set foot on Spanish soil while Franco remained in power. Eventually a return of his textual body was made possible in 1999 when Santander's Museo de Bellas Artes (today Museo de Arte Moderno y Contemporáneo de Santander y Cantabria, known as El MAS) organized a retrospective exhibition of his work. Part of an institutional "prodigal son" narrative, this symbolic act of

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1. Antonio Maura was a Conservative Prime Minister, who formed governments on five different occasions from 1903 to 1922 during the Restoration. More will be said about him in Chapter Two.

2. Of humble origins, Indalecio Prieto became a prominent Socialist leader in Bilbao, working his way up in the daily *El Liberal*, to become its director and, eventually, its owner. He was elected to Parliament in 1918, 1919, 1920 and 1923. He was a correspondent in Morocco at the time of the Annual Disaster and spearheaded criticisms of Alfonso XIII and the Army upon his return to Parliament. He served in the Republican government under Alcalá Zamora and Manuel Azaña. After the Socialist Party lost the elections in 1933, its leadership split between Largo Caballero and Prieto. The Popular Front government of 1936 was undermined by this division. Once the Civil War began, Largo became president, but his government fell after the revolutionary events in Barcelona of May 1937 and Juan Negrín formed a new cabinet, in which Prieto served as minister of Defense. In disagreement with Negrín and his Communist ministers, he left the government in 1938, becoming ambassador to several South American countries. After the Civil War he continued to be an important leader of the Socialist Party, founding the JARE (*Junta de auxilio a los republicanos españoles*). In 1945 he formed part of the Republican government in exile. He died in Mexico in 1962. More will be said about him in Chapter Four.

return to the *patria chica* marked the centennial of his birth and the new millennium with the rediscovery of one of the city's lost sons.

The Museum's director, Salvador Carretero Rebés, produced a carefully researched catalog for the event, the only monographic work on Rivero to date (Fig 4). I have relied on this small, but lovingly crafted volume throughout this project: it has guided me through a maze of archival material, facilitated my decisions about which editorial projects to select for this study and provided a firm foundation on which to build. Carretero, whom I met during my first sojourn in Santander, has been extremely generous with his time and knowledge throughout this process, providing essential contacts and personal introductions, as well as making many phone calls on my behalf. The network of contacts that grew out of his office include, in Santander:



Fig. 4. Francisco Rivero Gil, illus, cover of catalog for exhibition entitled *Francisco Rivero Gil (1899-1972)* by Salvador Carretero Rebés et al. (Santander: Museo de Bellas Artes/Ayuntamiento de Santander, 1999). Print. Reproduced with the kind permission of Salvador Carretero Rebés.

Elena González de Rivero, Francisco's sister-in-law, who conserves many of her brother-in-law's works, such as the one pictured in Figure 5, which Carretero discovered in her home while researching the work of another artist for a different exhibition. Elena, now eighty-seven, was a schoolteacher when it was considered daring in Spain for a woman to exercise a profession. As the only surviving family member of Rivero's generation, she is also the principle source of Rivero family oral history.

José Ramón Sáiz Viadero, writer, journalist and retired cultural advisor for the City of Santander, is the author of an extensive list of works on Cantabrian cultural life and editor of *Viñetas de Ayer y Hoy*, an annual publication featuring the work of past and contemporary Cantabrian graphic artists. He has authored several articles on Rivero and has organized conferences on the Republican diaspora.





Fig. 5. Francisco Rivero Gil, *Escuela* (1925), González de Rivero family archive. Gouache and ink on paper. Reproduced with the kind permission of Elena González de Rivero. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

Santiago Pérez de Obregón is a sitting judge, whose father was a friend of the artist. He conserves several works by Rivero depicting typical Santander scenes from days gone by, such as the one pictured in figure 6.



Fig. 6. Francisco Rivero Gil, *Cargadores de redes* (1925), Pérez de Obregón family archive. Gouache and ink on paper. Reproduced with the kind permission of Santiago Pérez de Obregón. Photo: all rights reserved ©Donna Ann Southard.

Fermín Sánchez is a soft-spoken ruddy-faced retired engineer who lives to sail. His father was a close friend of the artist and a sports columnist for *El Pueblo Cántabro*. Sánchez conserves a set of four *costumbrista*-inspired gouaches, one of which is pictured in figure 7, a wedding present from Rivero to his parents. Rivero also gave his father two sketchbooks, one of caricatures of well-known local figures accompanied by humorous poetic descriptions, and the other containing scenes from his time in Morocco, which would merit their own study.

Fernando Vierna is the author of numerous articles on Cantabrian history written under the auspices of the Centro de Estudios Montañeses and the Sociedad Menéndez Pelayo. In 2004 he produced an exhibition and publication entitled *Cantabria en la Ilustración Gráfica de Vanguardia 1925–1939* in conjunction with Alastair Carmichael of Carmichael-Alonso Books that features an illustration by Rivero on the cover (see fig. 8).



Fig. 7. Francisco Rivero Gil. *Los abuelos* (1931), Sánchez family archive. Gouache and ink on paper. Reproduced with the kind permission of Fermín Sánchez. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.



Fig. 8. Francisco Rivero Gil, illus., cover of catalog for exhibition entitled *Cantabria en la ilustración gráfica de vanguardia (1925-1938)* (Lloreda de Cayón: Carmichael Alonso, 2004). Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

In Madrid, Manuel Rivero, the artist's nephew and Elena's only child, practices law in a private firm. The walls of his home are densely hung with Rivero artwork inherited from his grandfather and from his uncle Pepe, among them the gouache from 1923 pictured in figure 9, entitled *Reunión de rabadanes (hebreos)*. Following in his mother's footsteps, he is also a great source of oral family history and maintains the connection with a contingent of the family that was exiled to Venezuela.



REUNION DE RABADANES (HEBREOS)

Fig. 9. Francisco Rivero Gil, *Reunión de rabadanes (Hebreos)* (1923). Gouache on paper. Reproduced with the kind permission of Manuel González de Rivero. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved

Also in Madrid, Rivero's Catalanian cousin, José Antonio Alcácer, is a well-known graphic artist painter and graphic artist, about whom more will be said in Chapter Four.

In Mexico City, Rivero's only child, Francisco Rivero García, is an architect, a professor at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM) (see Fig 10), as well as an accomplished artist in his own right. He was born in Bogotá, but now describes himself as "*un mexicanazo*." In him his father's love of flamenco and bullfighting lives on, and he also carries on the tradition of the *tertulia* learned at his father's knee.

Without exception, the above-mentioned individuals have matched Carretero's interest, enthusiasm and generosity. While this study focuses on published editorial projects and not the particular works I saw in their homes, this personalized part of my research has been invaluable, for it has given me a feel for the human dimension of the artist. Rivero's son refers to him as "*un ilustre desconocido*." He seems to have been universally admired, not only for his talent and intelligence, but also for his unaffected humanity. This spirit has touched me through these people; it has also added an unexpected dimension to this process: the pleasure of new friends. Such auspicious beginnings suggest the possibility of a larger project, which would take into account the transatlantic component of Rivero's circuit of exile. For obvious reasons, however, the scope of the present study must be limited and will focus on the artist's activity in Spain during the 1920s and '30s.





Fig. 10. Francisco Rivero García advising his architecture students at the UNAM in October 2009. Color Photograph. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

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*Con el paso del tiempo, Francisco Rivero Gil fue convirtiéndose en una metáfora de... muchas cosas que podían haber sido y nunca llegaron a ser en España.*

—Manuel Rivero González

Manuel Rivero wrote the above observation about his uncle for an article published by *El Diario Montañés* entitled “We, the last Riveros” [*“Nosotros, los últimos Rivero”*] in conjunction with the inauguration of the exhibition mentioned earlier. What were those “many things that could have been and never came to be” percolating through Spanish society during this period? How do Rivero’s life and work embody them? At its most general level, this study attempts to answer these questions. Manuel’s metaphorical sense of stillborn potentiality, however, also provides a link to a more specific focus of this project. To make this connection, some Rivero family “*intrahistoria*”<sup>3</sup> will be necessary, along with its contextualization in the wider historical circumstances of the times, which will then lead into more specific connections with the graphic arts industry.

Francisco Rivero Gil’s parents, Francisco Rivero Herrería and Mauricia Gil Iturralde, were married in 1898, the year of the Spanish American War, in which Spain lost the remnants of its empire: Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines. More will be said about this in Chapter Two. For now, suffice it to say that Francisco Junior would be born the next year, followed by ten other children, two of whom would die shortly after birth. Of the nine who

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3. Term coined by Miguel de Unamuno in his philosophical essay “En torno al casticismo” (1895): “Unamuno’s intra-history views history from a minimalist version of social events, which helps us to link his concept to the study of the everyday and the local. For Unamuno, history should be interested in the routes whose principle leading roles are played by its peripheral actors; that is to say, the paths followed by those men who make history in an unconscious manner, by those who do not aspire to the title of heroes. And so the writer places his bets on the ‘living tradition’, the paradoxical tradition of the present. Furthermore, we can observe in these ideas of Unamuno a rejection of tragic history which is woven through the force of intrigues” (Medina, n. pag.).

grew into adulthood, six fled to France in 1939, including Francisco. When he set sail from France to the Dominican Republic, he was accompanied by his siblings Manuel, Jesús, Valentina, Carmen and María Ángeles. Manuel and Valentina made their way to Mexico where Francisco would join them a few years later. Jesús and María Ángeles settled in Venezuela, to be joined later by Carmen, who had remained in Marseilles until the German occupation (Rivero González in personal conversation). Only Valentina would ever return to live in Spain, which she did in 1970; María Ángeles returned for a visit during the 1980s. Francisco died in exile, as already mentioned, three years before the death of Franco.

Among the Rivero siblings who remained in Santander was his brother Luciano, Manuel's father, who was just twenty years old when the majority of his brothers and sisters fled the country. Consequently, Manuel, born in the 1950s, grew up not knowing most of his father's family. For him, one of the things that "never came to be" was meeting his talented Uncle Paco. He was thirteen or fourteen and still living in Santander when news arrived of his uncle's passing. Though he recalls the deep sorrow he felt at the time, his current perspective on the family split retrieves a positive value from his sense of loss: "the cosmopolitan condition of the family overseas" sparked an awareness of the outside world that otherwise would have been impossible in the context of his upbringing under the dictatorship [*la condición cosmopolita de la familia de Ultramar*"] (Rivero González in personal conversation).

Manuel inherited a Spain that had been reduced to rubble by the Civil War, with no Marshall plan to rebuild housing, half of which had been destroyed, or the nation's fledgling industry and the roads by which to supply the cities. With the land ravaged and the labor force considerably reduced, agricultural production remained at a standstill for three years following the end of the Civil War. Widespread shortages of food, shelter, medical supplies and other necessities meant continuing hardship, mounting starvation and disease (Perez 628). At the same time Spain began a long period of isolation, due both to characteristics of Franco's regime and to global politics, which would have profound effects on the nation's intellectual life. On the one hand, the dictator's profoundly conservative ideology bordered on paranoia. He blamed foreign ideas, such as liberal democracy and freemasonry, for the fall of the Spanish Empire; he was also convinced that a conspiracy of "freemasons, Bolsheviks and Jews" had controlled the Republican side during the Civil War (Preston 323). Certain that such ideas were responsible for corrupting true Spanish identity, he wanted to eradicate them to forge an "essentialist Catholic national identity" (Balfour 265–6). To this end he continued to wage war against the losing side by retroactively criminalizing "serious passivity" of citizens, that is, allowing themselves to be governed by the Second Republic.

This institutionalized repression was responsible for some 10,000 executions during the first five months after the War, while government-issued documents, necessary for ration cards and employment, were denied to those suspected of sympathy for the Republic (Perez 628). At the same time, though Republican Spain was no stranger to censorship,<sup>4</sup> under Franco control was centralized and considerably tightened. As Martín de la Guardia explains: "From the beginning of the Civil War the Francoist authorities were conscious of the urgent need for a propaganda organization, which would serve to legitimize the actions of the rebels and encourage ties of support and solidarity in public opinion." [*Desde los primeros momentos de la Guerra Civil, las autoridades franquistas fueron conscientes de la necesidad apremiante de organizar un aparato propagandístico que sirviera para legitimar las acciones de los sublevados y fomentara los lazos de*

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4. Even under the Second Republic local authorities were authorized to censor the content of print media and cinematic production.

*cohesión y solidaridad entre la opinión pública”]* (Martín de la Guardia 73). To this end, the Delegación Nacional de Prensa y Propaganda de FET de las JONS<sup>5</sup> was created in 1937 (Martín de la Guardia 274–5). Recognizing the propaganda potential of Spain’s emerging film industry, the Junta Superior de Censura Cinematográfica (Supreme Film Censorship Board) was also formed to assess newsreels and documentaries for ideological content. A year later the Comisión Nacional de Cinematografía (National Film Commission) came into being for the review of commercial film. These boards were made up of members of the fascist party, Falange, the army and the Church. By 1940 a new form of censorship was instituted: *censura previa*, or “prior censorship,” as a means of reviewing scripts to “eliminate politically and morally offensive material” (D’Lugo 678). Finally, in 1943 the propagandistic newsreel *No-Do* (*Noticiarios y Documentales*) was created and its projection was mandatory in every commercial theater in Spain until 1981.

Efforts were also made to “rehabilitate” Spain’s literary past and reduce the people’s exposure to elements considered impure by authorities:

The regime closed all bookstores and purged their inventories, destroying works tainted with liberalism, banning writings by the Generation of 1898 (who “criticized” Spain), and the Generation of 1927 (condemned for association with leftist artists and intellectuals). Nineteenth-century Realists and Naturalists and most foreign writers were outlawed. Medieval and Golden Age canonical works survived, as did orthodox religious texts, Falangist... political writings, and works by German, Italian, and Portuguese fascists. An entire generation, growing up under Franco, lost contact with modern literary history. (Perez 629)

The Spanish stage fared no better. In 1971 José Monleón wrote: “Spain’s policy of neutrality [during WWII] was no excuse for the triviality of its stage... Normally wretched and stupid, it ignored [reality] sitting at the top of a fig tree, where, protected by censors and stupefied spectators, it practiced a theory of diversion and vacuity, from which, even today, it hasn’t freed itself” (Perez 28) [*“La no beligerancia española no justifica en absoluto la trivialidad de nuestra escena... miserable y, por lo común, estúpido, se desentendía encaramado a lo alto de la higuera. Allí, protegido[a] por censores y espectadores alelados, vivirá una teoría del entretenimiento y el vacío de la que, en la práctica, ni siquiera hoy ha podido liberarse”*]. Monleón’s arborological choice plays on the colloquial expression “*estar en la higuera*,” literally “to be in a fig tree,” which means “absent in spirit” [*“ausente de espíritu”*], adding a ridiculous note to his characterization (Beinhauer 334).

Initially, the Western democracies were content to leave Franco alone as Spain’s ruined economy did not pose a threat in the context of the global conflict that was looming. Once World War II began, official Spanish neutrality kept Franco and the true nature of his regime out of the spotlight. After the War, however, with the capture of German documents and as Nazi officials and Vichy militia members poured into the country, the duplicitous nature of Franco’s position became increasingly clear (Preston 550). In this context the continuing repression and lack of legal guarantees caused increased pressure for a change of regime. In February of 1946, after Franco had ordered the execution of members of the French resistance, France closed its border with Spain and severed economic ties. The next

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5. The Delegación was controlled by the Falange until 1945, when Germany’s defeat caused Franco to restructure his government and reduce fascist rhetoric in the media (Martín de la Guardia 274–5).

month a Tripartite Declaration, issued by the United States, Great Britain and France, invited Franco to vacate power, warning that Spain would be excluded from the concert of nations “as long as General Franco continue[d] in control.” In response, Franco orchestrated a massive campaign portraying Spain as the “victim of international aggression” (Preston 553–4). In December of the same year Spain was formally excluded from the United Nations. However, given the dictator’s ironclad control over the media, this measure had unintended effects: not only did it allow him to cast himself as a hero “in the long Spanish historical tradition of heroic struggles against overwhelming odds, from the Romans through the Moorish to the Napoleonic invasions,” it also served to displace blame for failing economic policies, heighten nationalistic feeling and increase support for autarchy (Preston 563).

From all of the above it follows that the legacy of the Civil War for Manuel’s generation was one of isolation, material and intellectual poverty, as well as closely policed behavioral standards inspired by the ultraconservative moral views of military and ecclesiastical authorities. Nonetheless, Franco’s efforts to eliminate the ideological “other” from the national psyche were not altogether successful. Indeed, they actually generated alternate circuits of communication and transmission of knowledge. While this is a topic that goes beyond the scope of the present study, Manuel’s experience of his family exemplifies this phenomenon, as he emphasizes how his imagination was stimulated by postcards, stamps and newspaper clippings enclosed in letters from his uncle: exotic images of “tropical landscapes...mixed with futuristic buildings and long avenues with baroquely decorated virgins” [*“paisajes tropicales con edificios futuristas, y largas avenidas con vírgenes barrocamente decoradas”*] and bits of news served to corroborate the existence of a different world, a world in which his uncle was not only accepted, but also well-known and admired [*“tan conocido y admirado era en su país de acogida”*] (Rivero González 2). Paul Ilie theorizes that exile creates “[a] deprivation [that] occurs in both directions, for while the extirpated segment is territorially exiled from the homeland, the resident population is reduced to an inner exile. Each segment is incomplete and absent from the other.” The “hollow” left by “absent citizens” produces a need to “remodel itself and fill the absent shape” (Ilie 3–4). Manuel’s condition of inner exile filled the hollow with an imagined cosmopolitan Other, understood in a positive sense, which will be explained further on. In my view, Rivero’s trajectory is linked to this positive othering experience, and his graphic work constitutes its textual medium.

Here I draw on W. J. T. Mitchell, whose conceptualization of image as textual “other” (for now, in quotes to distinguish it from the more positive sense used above, although these different notions of otherness will be discussed in greater depth later on) emerged from a failed attempt at elaborating a theory of images. Realizing that “the notion of imagery serve[d] as a kind of relay connecting theories of art, language and the mind with conceptions of social, cultural and political value” (Mitchell 2–3), he opted instead to historicize the image/text debate, exposing the underlying “contest between ...interests of verbal and pictorial representation [and the] powers [they] serve[d].” For Mitchell “the image is the sign that pretends not to be a sign, masquerading as (or, for the believer, actually achieving) natural immediacy and presence. The word is its ‘other,’ the artificial, arbitrary production of human will that disrupts natural presence by introducing unnatural elements into the world: time, consciousness, history, and the alienating intervention of symbolic mediation” (*Iconology* 43–4). Understanding the futility of trying to “heal the split between words and images with some all-embracing theory of signs,” in a later essay Mitchell defines the proper object of study as the entire group of relationships between image and text, whether similar or antagonistic, dissonant or collaborative, where “relationship” is defined as a space of interaction. He refers

to film and theater (particularly Artaud and Brecht) as othering spaces or “site[s] of conflict, where political, institutional, and social antagonisms play themselves out in the materiality of representations” (“Beyond Comparison...” 89–91). Similarly, I view the graphic arts industry as a space of interaction between image and text generating a vast array of political, institutional and social meanings transmitted through print. In this context, Rivero’s caricatures, cartoons and illustrations interact with accompanying textual elements, employing varying degrees of irony, running the gamut from collaborative interface to antagonistic, emancipatory alternative to the text. Their status and function as textual Others will be examined in the chapters to come, and my unorthodox use of the noun-verb “other” will be clarified shortly, as previously stated.

The growing desire in the publishing industry for innovative visual complements to written expression reflected “social and political transformations... [that had] determined a significant shift in point of view already in place... [that is,] the desire to *see* the world both in a broader and at the same time more intimate and mundane way” (Charnon-Deutsch 3). Rivero, a product of his times, embodied this shift. Not only did he inhabit this broader world, but, through his professional activity, he also endeavored to bring it up close to a new readership, participating in the creation of a new reading experience, which tended to deconstruct authoritarian values that adhered to the word. For, despite the burgeoning presence of visual experience (cinema, photography, advertising, illustrated novels, graphic magazines, etc.), the word still occupied a place of hegemonic preeminence. Indeed, under the liberal regime “books [became] animated by a concept that distanced them from the sacred, to become symbols of knowledge and reason” [*Los libros circularon animados por un concepto que les alejaba del carácter sacro, para ser asociados como símbolos del conocimiento y de la razón*] (Martínez 43). Despite this distance from its earlier association with the metaphysical, the word retained a quasi-religious symbolic status as the foundation of the rational process, the new savior of the liberal age, the instrument by which a new citizenry, necessary for the implantation of liberalism and democratic government, could be formed.<sup>6</sup> So great is the word’s privileged status, even today, that it is commonplace among educators to lament that reading and writing skills in children and young adults are seriously deficient, while little or no concern is voiced about their ability to interpret images. Indeed, cartoons are still normally considered childish by adults. Stephen Miller points out that this bias that privileges the word also permeates literary studies, as most investigation is conducted in absence of illustrated first editions, relying on later editions, from which the graphic component, “for one reason or another,” has been eliminated. While he is referring to the “particularly nineteenth century format of the most widely circulated magazines...[in which] poems, fictions and articles on history, geography, exotic lands and peoples, biography, and contemporary events were illustrated,” these formats carry over and dominate the early decades of the twentieth century (“The Realist Novel” 411).

This abundance of graphic material, mostly ignored today, calls for the reconsideration of hegemonic textual expression in order to notice the shift that was underway: a dialogical reconfiguration of printed words and graphic illustrations that challenged the hierarchy in which the former was supreme. This textual reconfiguration that was taking place through representation on the printed page was the expression of an emergent subjectivity. Rivero embodied this new dialogical subject, although he was notably silent about the import of what

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6. The Constitution promulgated in 1812 by the Cortes de Cádiz decreed the establishment of primary schools for this purpose (Escolar 35).



he did. He was not a theoretician, but, from early on, an observer with a keen mind, a would-be bohemian engaged with every aspect of life, enacting, even in the conservative environment of Santander, aspects of a social transformation that would later be called a revolution when it erupted, famously, thanks to George Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia*, in Barcelona.

As a figure of peripheral modernity, Rivero struggles for visibility on different levels: psychologically, he is the first-born artist/draftsman son striving to be recognized by his artist/draftsman father; aesthetically, he is a graphic artist with a drive to elevate his craft in the eyes of the world; socially, he is a provincial figure jockeying for position in the nation's capital; politically, he will come to support a national model of cosmopolitan integration with Europe, while retaining solid connections with regional specificity. How does his work evince sympathies, unrecognized until now, with different currents of otherness circulating under the surface of his bourgeois milieu? The meanings of his work unfold over time. For this reason discrete editorial projects will be examined across time and geographical space in a combined synchronic and diachronic approach. This dual approach will show how he engaged and interpreted the emerging modern subjectivity without eliding its many tensions, and how he employed a variety of methods—related to, but very different from film, photography and theater—to communicate with his reading/viewing public. In the chapters that follow, Rivero's biography, the lived experience that is an integral part of his work, provides the narrative thread for Barthian against-the-grain analysis of these editorial projects placed in their historical context. This will show the artist abandoning initial monarchist leanings, acquired by osmosis in the conservative environment of Santander. Over time, thanks to his graphic *métier*—which required the unique ability to *see* the Other—his praxis of othering developed a seeing-voice of social conscience, which found its most overt political expression in cartooning during the Civil War.

It will be apparent by now that I am using the term “other” in an unconventional way: I do not mean Edward Said's postcolonial studies sense of dehumanized abstraction, or “other” bereft of subjectivity in the eyes of the powerful observer. I am using the term as Rivero and his contemporaries understood it (and used it, as in the series of articles examined in Chapter Three, entitled *Los otros*), which implies a desire to transcend difference and establish a relationship of porous reciprocity with the Other through identification enabled by social ties and interaction. This distinctly Spanish sense of the Other is implicit, as Dru Dougherty observes, in Antonio Machado's desire to “catch a glimpse of cordial ideas, the universals of affect” [*vislumbrar las ideas cordiales, los universales del sentimiento*], expressed in his 1917 prologue to *Páginas escogidas*. This sense of “*el prójimo*” is based on affect and rooted in cordiality (from the Latin *cor, cordis* meaning heart), the fundamental value at the heart of Spanish sociability, which will be discussed further in Chapter Two. The same idea is expressed in Ortega y Gasset's “I am myself and my circumstance” [*Yo soy yo y mi circunstancia*], which is “a denial of the Cartesian autonomous thinking subject; Ortega's definition of the subject suggests that the Spanish *yo* integrates affective ties (family, friends, cronies, enemies, etc.) into a *being* that is not reduced to the function of thought, to the abstract” (Dougherty in personal note). As a member of the newly formed class of the *petit bourgeoisie*, Rivero expresses its unfixed nature in his fluid embodiment of this dialogical Other, being perfectly situated to act as a social mediator, a function he carries out through representation in his constant shuttling between verbal and visual expression.

Up to this point I have used the more general terms “image” and “text” to refer to pictures and words. However, as Mitchell has pointed out, “image” lends itself to a great deal of confusion because of its association with mental imagery and with romantic notions of

“imagination.”<sup>7</sup> From now on I will adopt Stephen Miller’s terms: “lexical text” refers to any printed words, including titles, captions and signatures, either inside or outside any possible framing of a printed picture; “graphic text” refers to the pictorial part of Rivero’s caricatures, illustrations and cartoons, although sometimes the boundaries between these two may be difficult to distinguish. The terms “text” and “image,” however, will be retained when doing so lends greater directness to the discussion; to avoid repetition, additional definitions will be provided of more specific terms where needed.

By now it should be clear that Rivero is being deployed in this study as a paradigmatic figure of this dialogical relationship developing on the page between lexical and graphic text, signaling modernity’s shift of interest from word to image. This shift carried with it a sense of rupture with the past, which was fraught with aesthetic and ideological implications. In “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproducibility” Walter Benjamin described the “developmental tendencies of art” as “weapons” deployed in a revolutionary transformation of society as capitalism brings about its own destruction. He saw the shattering of “tradition” as the “obverse of the renewal of mankind,” necessary for the changes to come, and privileged film as the “most powerful agent” in this process. While the *avant-garde* is conventionally thought to have assumed this mission of rupture with the aesthetic past and the “Seventh Art” still hangs on to an attenuated status as the ideal weapon for societal change, questions remain about the revolutionary potential of traditional art forms, particularly in Spain, where a generation of *avant-garde* poets invoked Spanish literary tradition at what came to be considered their founding moment, the 1927 tercentennial of Góngora’s death.

In 1995 Derek Harris attributed this deployment of tradition to the fact that writers and artists in Spain were “functioning within borrowed [Parisian] horizons” and frequently felt the need to resist the cultural dominance from the North by asserting their own identity, which they accomplished by calling attention to Spain’s golden literary past. He situates Spanish modernism’s “squaring of the circle” within the all too familiar narrative of Spain’s backwardness and confusion, which he refers to as “delayed responses to the latest movements from abroad [...resulting in] confusion, rather than a fusion of contradictory elements,” obviating the theoretical problem with the nineties buzzword “hybridization” and derailing a much-needed process of reflection (Harris 3-4). What was it about the virtually forgotten baroque poet that resonated so strongly with the new generation? For one thing, Góngora possessed the attractive quality of being a rebel, a priest with a penchant for partying, gambling and profane verse, in trouble with ecclesiastical authorities (Jones 1). He was also a linguistic rebel, taking liberties with the language that unsettled the lexical and syntactic *status quo*. His lyrical provocations led to the famous feud with Quevedo and a rather sterile, but nonetheless long-lasting critical debate between *conceptismo* and *culturismo* or *gongorismo*. Textbook accounts of Góngora’s innovations describe his extensive use of Latinate and Greek neologisms, along with hyperbaton to disrupt syntactic rules, but they do little to explain what this group of early 20<sup>th</sup>-century poets found relevant to their times in his poetry. For this it is useful to turn to the Generation of ‘27 poets themselves.

In *La imagen poética de don Luis de Góngora* Federico García Lorca highlighted the baroque poet’s work with metaphor, attributing to him the invention of a new way of capturing images and the belief that the “eternity” of a poem depended on the “quality” and “coherence” of its images [*Inventa por primera vez en el castellano un nuevo método de cazar y plasmar las metáforas, y piensa, sin decirlo, que la eternidad de un poema depende de la calidad y trabazón*

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7. For a full discussion, see Mitchell, “What is an Image” in *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology*, 4-46.

*de sus imágenes*”](66). For Lorca, Góngora’s poetry is also very closely associated with the body: “the narration is like the skeleton of the poem covered in the magnificent flesh of images” [*“La narración es como un esqueleto del poema envuelto en la carne magnífica de las imágenes”*] (81); and these metaphors are a true “living” presence [*“metáforas vivas y no figuradas o falsas”*] (74). Years later Rafael Alberti coincided with Lorca’s assessment, describing himself as “a visual poet, like all the poets from Andalusia, from Góngora to García Lorca” [*“soy un poeta visual, como todos los poetas de Andalucía, desde Góngora a García Lorca”*] (qtd. in Morris 87). Although couched in the terms of regional essentialism in vogue at the time, clearly for these poets Góngora’s relevance must be situated, to some degree, in the visual nature of his poetry, in his capacity for creating images that vibrate with embodied presence. While Lorca and Alberti seem to be referring to mental images, visual poetry of the period evidences an overlapping of these formerly neat categories. Indeed, in a grand modernizing gesture, Lorca compares Góngora to film director Jean Epstein as an authority on images. In any case, Alberti and Lorca were also producers of material images, the former as a painter and the latter as a graphic artist/creator of *avant-garde* drawings. Their concern with poetic imagery and its proximity to the material is symptomatic of the shift mentioned above and unfolds in the context of modernity’s reconfiguration of traditional categories of representation.

Rancière explains modernism by combining art and labor history in a three-part structure of art regimes, which, while described chronologically, are in many instances contemporaneous. The Ethical Regime goes back to “Plato’s division of society into functional orders (artisans, warriors, rulers), such that slaves, or shoemakers, for instance, are forever banished from the domain of philosophy. To each type of person, one allotted task: labour, war, or thought. Hence the importance of excluding those who, by seeking to imitate a type other than their own, threaten to cross these functional lines” (Hallward 192). The problem of these “double beings” is dealt with differently under the Representational Regime, which coincides with the rise of the bourgeoisie, when art as a field is split into liberal and mechanical arts, to elevate the former above the latter (Rancière 42). Modernism marks the arrival of the Aesthetic Regime, which breaks down the hierarchies of the preceding age. In the Aesthetic Regime art assumes and inhabits a paradox: it is both autonomous and identified with life. The artist is at once autonomous creator and dependent laborer. Rancière argues that “such artistic egalitarianism is analogous to the breaking down of real social and political hierarchies.” The graphic arts industry, with its increasingly strong liaison between graphic and lexical texts, emerges in this context as a privileged site for experimenting with new aesthetic and socio-political relationships through representation.

If mechanical reproducibility freed the word from its laborious production by hand, it also freed the page from its binding in heavy tomes guarded in ecclesiastical libraries by the Church. After Martin Luther’s *Ninety-Five Theses*, word and page were eventually freed as well from the static vertical nature of their wooden hieratic support to enter a new economy of horizontal circulation. This distributional change of perspective tore the word and its new autonomous paper support from its dependence on the divine, with similar implications for reproducible art, no longer conditioned by larger formats and expensive means of production requiring hierarchical relationships of patronage. Aura’s loosening hold over time was given further impetus by technological innovations: the industrialization of paper production and the introduction of the lithographic offset press in the 19<sup>th</sup> century radically increased the possibilities for a secular coexistence of lexical and graphic texts in the new horizontally circulating environment of the page. Benjamin recognized, however, that mechanical reproducibility had the ability both to destroy and create aura; that it could also reproduce

authoritarian hierarchical values susceptible to exploitation by fascist political groups. The present study also explores the ways in which the graphic arts resist such appropriation.

Given France's cultural hegemony at the time, it is relevant at this point to take a brief look beyond Spain's borders, at Paris, where technological and socio-political changes congealed in a utopian experiment that was a touchstone for Spanish journalism. Henri Barbusse's weekly newspaper *Monde* was founded in 1928 for the express purpose of transforming society through revolutionary aesthetics. Envisioned as an international movement, revolutionary but pacifist in nature, *Monde* was to be translated into Spanish and other languages. Barbusse also contemplated establishing a bookstore and a cinema, intending to create an "*internationale de la pensée*" that would connect with the masses (Normand 175-7). Indeed, the title of his editorial on the front page of the first edition of *Monde*, which appeared on June 9, 1928, in large bold block letters, explicitly announced the inclusive nature of the project: "To Everyone!" ["*A Tous!*"]. *Monde* contained sections devoted to political, economic, social and scientific news, as well as to the arts. Barbusse was a communist who maintained, however, a fierce independence from the Party line and was committed to a reliance on subscriptions as opposed to advertising for support (174; 186). The first issue listed Barbusse as director and a governing board made up of an impressive group of intellectuals, among them Miguel de Unamuno.<sup>8</sup> Despite its success, *Monde* ceased to exist in 1935, fundamentally due to Barbusse's death, as his vision and personal dedication was the driving force behind the project. His absence created a vacuum that made it impossible to overcome economic difficulties derived both from the banning of the publication in countries overtaken by dictatorships (Morocco, Italy, Hungary, Egypt, Portugal, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria) and the global depression (186).

What is most striking about this newspaper and pertinent here is the amount of space allocated to graphic texts in its pages, the specific nature of these texts and the ways in which they functioned. After the first few issues, the front pages of which are devoted first to Barbusse's call to intellectual arms and then to the announcement of a survey on proletarian literature ["*Littérature prolétarienne?*"] (1), this space is dominated by graphic text. Significantly, photographic images are absent from the pages of *Monde*, whereas they abound in other European publications of the period, including Spanish newspapers. The journalistic function of photographic images is predominantly one of illustrating and documenting the news. Barbusse, however, is concerned with creating a forum for *thought* ["*internationale de la pensée*"] and revolutionary aesthetics, implying that *graphic* art, not photography, was viewed as the ideal medium for both, a medium through which the trade skills joined materiality and art to create an embodied aesthetic of the masses (Normand 176). It is notable that *Monde* participated in the revival of the woodcut taking place at the time in Europe by featuring the work of Franz Masereel, among others. Thus, it was not only in Spain where traditional forms were adapted to satisfy modern appetites.

As Estrella de Diego and Jaime Brihuega affirm, "Spanish artists at this time did not make associations between art and politics," citing examples such as the surrealist José Caballero's illustrations for the fascist magazine *Vértice* and the right-leaning Ramón Gómez de la Serna's promotion of the *avant-garde* (de Diego and Brihuega 55). While these examples support the authors' thesis of a lack of ideological coherence among artists, a more nuanced picture is needed of these associations. Just as Barbusse's vision for *Monde* was a highly

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8. The governing board also included Albert Einstein, Maxime Gorki, Upton Sinclair, Manuel Ugarte, Leon Bazalgette, Mathias Morhardt and Leon Werth.

personal affair and took priority over his political affiliation, in Spain these publications were often driven by personal relationships, which held sway over ideology. The narrative of ideological confusion,<sup>9</sup> in which many critics participate, often unwittingly, is based on a singular hierarchical model for modernity constructed from northern Europe:

The end of Spanish hegemony in the late 1600s entailed not only a diminishment of Spanish power within the European political arena, but also the forfeiture of Spain's ability to represent and successfully project its history and culture internationally. A country that had been one of the privileged sites for the enunciation of European history in the early modern era had by the eighteenth-century increasingly become an object of representation — and symbolic subordination — for a newly dominant northern Europe. If the Renaissance *Zeitgeist* came to be viewed as radiating from Mediterranean Europe, the spirit of Enlightenment and its aftermath, in contrast was represented as an almost entirely northern affair. The effect of this fundamental geopolitical shift, of Spain's becoming the first posthegemonic European nation-state, could not have been more profound. From the late seventeenth to the late twentieth century, Spain was displaced to the periphery of the modern within the European imaginary, and by the early nineteenth century... Spanish culture was for the most part imagined to exist on the outskirts of the "modern history" of Europe. (Iarocci xi)

The notion of modernity constructed from northern Europe has normally viewed the geographical area south of the Pyrenees as Europe's oriental "other" (here, in Said's sense of romantic, exotic, uncivilized, racially impure, backward, confused, etc.). The frequent acceptance of this narrative from within Spain itself testifies to the persistence of a national inferiority complex, one of the many "legacies of empire," which artists like Rivero felt bound to contest in their work.

As Spain takes on the recuperation of historical memory and reinstates itself in the global community, this study seeks to restore to memory one of its many citizens lost to exile. At the same time, by deploying Rivero as paradigmatic figure of peripheral modernity, it situates itself in the line of inquiry opened up by Iarocci, attempting to break down monolithic notions of Modernity and redeem Spain from its "romantic ghettoization" beyond the Pyrenees. Rivero's struggle for recognition can be viewed as a metaphor for Spain's own unique process of modernization, a becomingness foiled by Franco and denied from many quarters even today, including the critical ones that continue to write-speak about Spain's backwardness and confused engagement with modernity. This project seeks to contribute to the visibility of this process. The first chapter of the study is divided into two parts: Part I presents a brief summary of the development of the graphic arts industry in Spain, while Part II reviews current research directions engaging with the nexus of Hispanic literary studies and the graphic arts in order to situate the present project more precisely within the field. The three following chapters chart Rivero's life and selected editorial projects in three distinct time-spaces.

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9. A dissenting narrative replaces confusion with Marxian-inspired revolution that presumes to speak for the subaltern: see Victor Fuentes, *La marcha al pueblo en las letras españolas 1917-1936*. Madrid: Ediciones de la Torre, 1980.

Chapter Two provides a brief overview of Santander at the turn of the century and covers the early years of the artist's career, from 1917, when his first caricatures began to appear in *El Pueblo Cántabro*, through his deployment in Morocco and return to Santander in 1923. During this period the growing popularity of his initial work secured his participation in a series of articles entitled “¿Cómo se gana Usted la vida?” which will be examined here. Although these journalistic *semblanzas* or written portraits at first glance may appear to be a *costumbrista* holdover from the previous century, closer examination will reveal that they are the product of a modern “graphico-lexical partnership,” to use Stephen Miller's term. Also examined in this chapter is the *Álbum-recuerdo del Batallón de Valencia en Marruecos: Campaña de 1921-1922*, an illustrated chronicle of Rivero's tour of duty in Morocco after the Annual Disaster elaborated in collaboration with journalist Ezequiel Cuevas and photographer Tomás Quintana (Samot). The obvious precedent for this work is Pedro Antonio Alarcón's *Diario de un testigo de la Guerra de África* (1859), which firmly anchors the *Álbum* in the literary tradition of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The *Álbum*'s clear historiographical, aesthetic and methodological differences, however, herald a new era.

Chapter Three continues the chronological mapping of Rivero's work from the mid-1920s into the early '30s, during which time he establishes himself in Madrid. Valle-Inclán's dramatic work, *Ligazón: auto para siluetas* (1926) is examined in the context of *avant-garde* conceptualizations of theater. My experience of this work suggests that Rivero's illustrations attained a high degree of autonomy, containing, in the words of Jesús Rubio Jiménez, “una verdadera propuesta de puesta en escena” (“a true plan for staging”) (Rubio 67). This section addresses the status of illustration during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera and then the Second Republic, as it engages with Rivero's concerns with marginalization, which are made explicit a few years later in a series of articles entitled *Los otros* (1930), published in the *madrileño* illustrated weekly, *Estampa*. These articles represent an early example of investigative journalism, for which Rivero teamed up with writer Ignacio Carral to deliver an up-close graphico-lexical account of life in Madrid's *barríos bajos fondos*, or marginal neighborhoods.

Chapter Four plots Rivero's time in Valencia and Barcelona during the Civil War. Two war posters, a broadsheet cartoon strip-like document called an *aleluya* and six single-panel political cartoons will be examined. The war posters, created for the POUM [Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista], attest to his metamorphic polyvalence as an artist and involvement in this ubiquitous art form of urgency. Perhaps more important, they also place him at the center of the significant historical “events of May” that took place in Barcelona in the spring of 1937. In addition, although this aspect falls outside the scope of the present study, these posters presage Rivero's postwar production of film posters as part of the Mexican film industry. His *Aleluyas de la defensa de Euzkadi* was published and widely distributed by the Comisariat de Propaganda de la Generalitat de Catalunya (Propaganda Office of the autonomous governing body of Catalonia) for the official week of actions organized in Barcelona in support of the Basque people. This document provides an opportunity to link Rivero to another event of great historical significance—the bombing of Guernica—regarded as the first aerial bombing of a civilian population in modern times.<sup>10</sup> His *Aleluyas* is of interest not only because of its historical significance, but also because of the way

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10. Although this experimental terror bombing—carried out by the German Condor Division under the command of Francisco Franco—had been practiced since 1936 on Madrid and other Spanish locations, Guernica is commonly associated with this dubious honor, no doubt thanks to the publicity of Picasso's iconic painting.

in which the traditional form of the *aleluya*—a highly visual format competing in the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century with other visual forms like film and photography—is mobilized to serve modern informational and propagandistic needs of the Second Republic. This document is discussed in relation to Rivero’s cartoon panels, which establish an intertextual relationship with the *Aleluyas*. It is during this period that the influence of Rivero’s mentor, the famous caricaturist Luís Bagaría, becomes a significant factor in Rivero’s aesthetic and ideological development. His othering praxis is transformed, beyond the lighthearted quipping that characterized his earlier cartooning, into a politically committed seeing-saying voice of social conscience that takes on new relevance today, considering global movements of popular protest in response to the economic crisis brought on by what some are calling the End of Capitalism.

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## Chapter 1

### Nexus: The Graphic Arts and Hispanic Cultural Studies

#### *Introduction*

Recognizing that readers may be unfamiliar with aspects of the graphic arts, the first part of this chapter will provide an account of the major technological developments in this field, describing the basic methods used in the mechanical reproduction of images and placing them within the context of Spain's process of industrialization during the 1900s through the early decades of the 20th century. This account will be informed by Rancière's theory of modernism and certain historical features of Spanish sociability, which find in the graphic arts their embodiment, both as praxis and representation. The second part of the chapter will outline the direction of current research addressing the interface between the graphic arts and Hispanic literary and cultural studies to position the present project more precisely within this field of inquiry.

#### *Graphic Arts Primer*

The 19th century has been called “the great century of the printed image” [*“el gran siglo de la imagen impresa”*] and was marked by the introduction of a great number of technological innovations, “more in one century, than in the four previous centuries since the invention of the printing press” (Velez 195–6). I hasten to add that this citation has not been chosen in the spirit of a triumphalist discourse of progress to mask a supposedly neutral discussion of technology—it should be clear by now that the ideological implications of technological advancements in the graphic arts are an integral part of this project—but rather to provide a sense of the burgeoning economy that called on the graphic arts during this period, as text yielded its protagonism to the image (Velez 545), the “raw material for the construction of the social imaginary” [*“materia prima en la construcción del imaginario social”*] (Riego 33). It should be kept in mind that the technical descriptions that follow have been greatly pared down to serve our purposes here. In practice and given the experimental spirit of the age, the methods used for the mechanical reproduction of images could often be complicated and were susceptible to a myriad of variations.

In the early 20th century there were three basic ways of reproducing images in print: relief, intaglio and planographic. In relief printing images are printed off the raised inked edges of wood (woodcut) or linoleum (linocut), which have been incised to make the design. The recessed areas are not normally inked so they do not print, although they often leave an embossed effect, since the paper is pushed into them because of the pressure applied during the printing process. A chiaroscuro woodcut uses several blocks of wood for the same design, which is divided among them. Each block is inked with a different color, which may or may not overlap. Parts of the design may be cut away to coincide in all the blocks, so that blank areas of the paper appear in the finished print, creating the chiaroscuro effect.

For intaglio printing the image is etched or incised on a metal plate. Ink is applied to the grooves and then the surface areas of the plate are wiped clean, though a film of ink may be left for different tonal effects. The paper is dampened in this type of printing, giving it the flexibility and absorbency necessary to take the ink from the grooves. A great deal of pressure is needed, so an intaglio print will often have a plate mark around the edges. The ink on this type of print dries to form a slight relief. There are three basic types of intaglio printing,

determined by the way the metal plate is marked. Engraving is a process of gouging the plate with a tool called a burin or graver, which may be applied with more or less pressure to produce stronger or finer lines; curved lines are made by turning the plate. This form of printing may produce a stiff, formal effect. The technique of drypoint employs any type of sharp instrument to scratch the surface of the plate, which produces a more spontaneous effect like drawing. Etching is a process through which acid is used to “bite” the surface of the metal plate, which is first coated with an acid-resistant substance called ground. The ground is then scratched with a stylus to expose the metal and acid is applied. Different effects can be achieved by varying the time of exposure to the acid, repeated exposures and the application of acid-repelling varnishes to the lines. Various kinds of grounds can also be used. For example, aquatint disperses a fine rosin powder on the plate that produces tonal effects. Mezzotint also creates tonal rather than linear effects. A tool called a rocker is used to abrade the entire surface of the metal plate with tiny holes, which, when later inked, produce a dark base. The design is created, working from dark to light, by polishing areas of the abraded plate to produce lighter tones.

Relief and intaglio printing were the basic techniques in use during the 19th century, but, as stated above, they could also be combined and altered in a multitude of different ways. Francisco de Goya, of course, is a prime example of an artist who innovatively used and developed intaglio techniques, combining methods of etching, drypoint and aquatint within a single plate. However, images were also being produced in combination with moveable type in commercial settings. Advertisements, posters, newspapers, weekly and monthly magazines, as well as paperback and hardcover books and broadsheet material or *literatura de cordel*, were all vehicles for the delivery of a visual culture that was multiplying exponentially. Relief and intaglio printing, however, involved a slow, complicated and expensive process. For mass production, an original drawing had to be transcribed, as described above, into its new medium of wood or metal by specialized workers. To satisfy the growing demand for images, faster and cheaper ways of production were needed.

Early in the 19th century a new type of planographic printing appeared on the scene that promised much in this regard, though its effects would be felt over the long term. This type of printing differs from the others in that, as its name implies, the inked and non-inked surfaces are at the same level. It refers especially to lithography, “the most important development in printing since the invention of movable type” (Aldis 86). This new technique introduced a chemical process, eliminating the need for a previous drawing and its transcription, although a previous drawing often served as the basis for the image. The lithographer worked directly on limestone with an oil or wax-based crayon. The surface of the stone was then sealed with a gum arabic solution, which only adhered to the unmarked parts of the stone. The oily marks were then cleaned with turpentine, leaving that surface free to accept the oil-based ink, which was repelled by the sealed parts of the stone. By eliminating the time-consuming and expensive transcription process, lithography allowed the reproduction of images to keep pace with that of texts. At the same time it allowed speed of production to impinge on the creative process.

Understood in terms of Rancière’s theory of modernism, lithography was the next step in a process that was already blurring the sharp hierarchical distinctions between the liberal and mechanical arts of the Representational Regime. While the artist for some time had been moving from the aesthetic realm into closer contact with that of labor through experimentation with printing methods, lithography increased the demand for artists in commercial settings, while also affording skilled laborers opportunities to access the province

of aesthetics as lithographers. As the Aesthetic Regime emerged, artist and commercial lithographer became “double beings” with a paradoxical new role that crossed functional boundaries, inhabiting the new aesthetic distribution paradigm of the page, “which exceed[ed] the materiality of a written sheet of paper” and had radical political implications:

Novelistic democracy, on the one hand, is the indifferent democracy of writing such as it is symbolized by the novel and its readership. There is also, however, the knowledge concerning typography and iconography, the intertwining of graphic and pictorial capabilities, that played such an important role in the renaissance and was revived by Romantic typography through its use of vignettes, culs-de-lampe, and various innovations. This model disturbs the clear-cut rules of representative logic that establish a relationship of correspondence at a distance between the sayable and the visible. It also disturbs the clear partition between works of pure art and the ornaments made by the decorative arts. This is why it played such an important — and generally underestimated — role in the upheaval of the representative paradigm and of its political implications... [particularly] its role in the Arts and Crafts movements and all of its derivatives (Art Deco, Bauhaus, Constructivism). These movements... inspired a new idea of pictorial surface as a surface of shared writing. (Rancière 14–5)

Rancière’s “indifferent democracy” refers to the political passivity implicit in representative logic and its aesthetic embodiment, the novel, whose author believes in the capacity of the text to convey reality, and whose reader accepts the author’s textual creation as a faithful reproduction of the real. The intellectual passivity of these unquestioned premises are accompanied by *physical and social* passivity trained into both the reader and the writer by the long periods of immobility and isolation required for the process of reading or writing a novel, conditioning through aesthetics both mind and body for submission to authoritarian regimes. The “new idea” of “shared writing” on the “pictorial surface” of the page, however, introduces play as an aesthetic principle, linked by definition to pleasure and egalitarian modes of social interaction. This new paradigm favors short, quickly constructed interactive forms, whose information can be “digested” readily, and whose varied material forms can be passed around, tossed away or cannibalized for new creations. These new forms liberate desire and circulate in an active, embodied relationship of egalitarian sociability. The development of lithography, supported by significant advancements in the production of paper, which will be discussed further on, provided the material possibility for this shared graphism.

Many artists traveled to Paris and/or Munich to learn this new technique. José María Cardano, for example, was sent to Munich by Fernando VII in 1818. Cardano was charged, upon his return in 1819, with responsibility for the Lithographic Institute of Madrid [*Establecimiento Litográfico de Madrid*]. The same year the Royal Institute of Lithography [*Real Establecimiento Litográfico*] was founded in Madrid, under the direction of José de Madrazo (Velez 549), where Goya’s “El sueño” was one of the first works produced (Jurado 109). Others learned *in situ*, like Josep March, who put the technique into practice after reading about it in a book (Velez 549). The first commercial lithographic enterprise is attributed to Antoni Brusi in 1820 (Velez 549). The planographic nature of lithographs, however, meant that they had to be printed separately when combined with typographic reliefs, increasing costs, whereas woodcuts, significantly improved by new techniques, could be fully integrated

into the typographic process (Riego 131). As lithography was slowly integrated into commercial printing shops in Madrid and Barcelona (Jurado 110), woodcuts and engravings continued to be the principle methods used for printing lexical and graphic texts together, even in the second half of the 19th century (Charnon-Deutsch 52). Lithography, however, would lay the foundations for further developments.

Offset lithography incorporated a process that transferred the image from a stone or a zinc or aluminum plate to a rubber roller. From the roller the image could be reproduced on a wider variety of surfaces, also achieving a higher quality print. In addition, offset incorporated rollers for damping, inking and printing, significantly increasing the speed of the printing process, which made it ideally suited for industrial printing. With the introduction of photography in the second half of the century, photographic processing techniques were also adapted to the principles of lithography to produce a process of chemical engraving called photoengraving [*“huecograbado”*], another important method used in industrial printing. In 1921 Rivero himself wrote and illustrated an article on the photoengraver (*“El fotograador”* discussed in Chapter Two). This process employs a zinc or copper plate coated with a photosensitive substance, which is exposed to ultraviolet light through a photographic negative, causing the substance to harden where light has passed through; the plate is then washed in a solvent that removes the parts that have not hardened and, finally, submerged in an acid bath, which eats away the metal not protected by what is left of the hardened coating.

Although lithography eliminated the need for the copier/engraver, their skills continued to be in demand, as they were required to reproduce photographic images. Like illustrations, in the early stages photographs were subordinated to the engraving process for their reproduction, “translated to the graphic codes imposed by the woodcut” [*“las fotografías... se traducirán a los códigos gráficos impuestos por el grabado en madera”*] (Riego 139). First an “artist-draftsman” produced a drawing of the photo, which another skilled “technician-engraver” then transcribed to a block or plate (Charnon-Deutsch 48). In the process of transcription from one medium to another, the photograph became an intermediary between the real object and the draftsman’s and/or the engraver’s rendering of it, as they “unmistakably took liberties with the original photograph... aim[ing] for a clarification... of the scene to make its contents more legible” (Charnon-Deutsch 55). Implicated in the “liberties” taken by the copier/engraver was, of course, aesthetic judgment, which, as discussed previously, signals a loss of the clearly delineated boundaries of the Representational Regime and the emergence of the new Aesthetic Regime.

Estelle Jussim refers to the advent of photography in Europe and the United States, from 1865 to 1905, as “The Forty Years’ War of the Media,” suggesting a violent takeover by this new technology (qtd. in Charnon-Deutsch 47). One might question her use of war rhetoric to characterize this period, and in any event, this was not the case in Spain. Though photographs were “common urban artifacts” at the time, the development of photographic applications to print media did not become widespread until the last decade of the 19th century (Charnon-Deutsch 51). As photography developed less cumbersome equipment, its use in the field was facilitated, where illustration was already being used to document reality. Thus, the two graphic mediums shared this function for a time during which editors, as well as writers, photographers and illustrators were able to conceive of and engage in true graphico-lexical collaborations. At first, however, given the reliance on engraving for commercial reproduction, photos and illustrations were difficult to tell apart, so captions had to be used, indicating whether engravings were “after a photograph” or “after an illustration.” The notion of photographic realism was fostered as photoengraving developed, giving both mediums

visual autonomy. Now “the photograph...became...a privileged form of communication, the axis around which the news text was beginning to revolve.... [Photographic] images did not merely complement or augment the information communicated in the text; they were the primary vehicle of communication for an event or scene” (Charnon-Deutsch 70).

Photography, perceived as a truer and more neutral reflection of reality, would eventually eclipse illustration:

Though the field illustrator and the magazine technician played an important role in consolidating the expectation for visual coverage of events as did the photographer, every innovation in the transfer of visual information expanded the reading public’s expectations about the way events were communicated, and this fact led to the loss of the sketch’s historical credibility. (Charnon-Deutsch 71)

In the wake of Jussim’s warring mediums, Charnon-Deutsch privileges the dominant new photographic technology in mapping visual culture of the period, citing the “loss of the sketch’s historical credibility.” This writing of visual history erases, perhaps unwittingly, the process of sociopolitical and aesthetic transformation undergone by illustration, the functions it took on in this process and the values that adhered to these functions. Charnon-Deutsch perhaps overstates the importance of photography based on the cultural capital it has acquired *over time*. It should be emphasized, however, that during the period with which we are concerned, photography did not yet possess the overarching status it enjoys today, but rather was considered in an altogether different light, as one of several mediums for conveying visual information. More will be said about this shortly. In any case drawing did not just disappear, as Charnon-Deutsch seems to imply—indeed, it was more valued than ever in certain quarters.

Bernardo Riego, for his part, notes the vacuum left by studies that have focused on illustrators and engravers, assigning them exclusively “artistic values” [*valores artísticos*], and other evolutionary approaches from the field of the history of communication, which dismiss them as “an archaic and naive, but necessary link to arrive at the maturity of photographic information in the press” [*eslabón arcaico e ingenuo, pero necesario, para llegar a la madurez de la información fotográfica en la prensa*] (25). Curiously, he adopts a similar line of reasoning when he affirms that illustration corresponds to a “phase of the liberal system of information in which politics is represented by parties or groups made up of the elite, while the graphic press based on photographic images develops at the same time as political relationships mutate into parties of the masses” [*la etapa del grabado en madera corresponde a una fase del sistema informativo liberal en el que la política está representada por partidos o agrupaciones de notables, mientras que la prensa gráfica basada en imágenes fotográficas se desarrolla a la par que las formas de relación política están mutando hacia los partidos de masas*] (Riego 25). He seems to imply that there were only two models of press: a soon-to-be outmoded “party press” or “*prensa de partido*” and a modern (“mature”) business model of democratic journalism or “*periodismo de empresa*,” each with its own corresponding graphic expression, engraving and photography, respectively (Riego 31). This oversimplification constitutes another erasure of the extraordinarily rich complexities of visual culture during this period of coexistence between illustration and photography.

Returning to the previous point about the way in which early photographers were seen, it is important to note, as Charnon-Deutsch herself observes, that they were not considered artists or even professionals, but rather “experimenters” concerned fundamentally

with “fidelity to the original” and “potential scientific and social applications” (63). The photograph “was not viewed as a message about reality, but as reality itself, somehow magically compressed and flattened onto the printed page” (65). Illustration, for its part, was undergoing a rebirth, thanks to technological advances in the woodcut, which incorporated harder woods cut against the grain with new tools to produce higher quality images. Riego aptly notes that in 1844 *El Semanario Pintoresco* detailed these advances in an article of self-promotion highlighting the woodcut’s antiquity in a process of dignification [*“Esa antigüedad dignificaba a esta técnica cuyas particularidades se detallan...”*], while also emphasizing the other virtues of woodcuts: they make reading faster and aid memory; as virtual reality they save the reader costly and difficult trips; they make knowledge available while saving space on the page; they are a deposit for memory and possess the capacity to narrate contemporary events (Riego 138–9).

In 1914 the drawing skill upon which the woodcut depended was recognized when Jose Francés organized the first annual exhibitions known as *Salones de Humoristas*, to “highlight or discover” [*“destacar o revelar”*] all kinds of “artists” (referred to also as “*caricaturistas, ilustradores, cartelistas e impresionistas*” or, simply “*dibujantes*”). The tension generated by these new double beings is implicit in his complaint about critics [*“detractores sistemáticos rutinarios”*] and his defensive stance, as he identifies in their work the “very useful” values of “elegance” and “good taste” as well as a “modernity in line with other countries” [*“...utilísima y bien encauzada orientación en el sentido noble del buen gusto, de la elegancia, de la modernidad coetáneas y a tono con los de otros países”*]. He defends these artists against those who would reproach them for “exotic influences” and “servile imitations” [*“quienes les reprochan exóticas influencias, imitaciones servilistas”*], offering the following explanation:

They might, at first glance, remind us of others, chronologically first; but underneath, their distinct personalities are latent, the characteristic traits of the peculiar and firstborn style; they have known how to make the most of the social betterment and spiritual renovation that has transformed and elevated so many simultaneous aspects of Spanish life today. (“Prólogo” 9-10)  
[Podrán externamente, y a flor de mirada, recordar otros, cronológicamente primeros; pero en el fondo están latentes sus personalidades distintas, los rasgos característicos del estilo peculiar y primogénito, que han sabido aprovecharse del pulimento social y la renovación espiritual, que han transformado y elevado tantos aspectos simultáneos de la vida española actual.]

Francés highlights simultaneity as he describes the aesthetic values which are one with a new syncretic being of embodied opposites: open to the outside yet rooted in the homeland, socially and spiritually elevated, possessed of elegance and good taste, yet modern, in a style both “peculiar” and *primogénito*. This last adjective, borrowed from the biblical conception of Christ as the firstborn of all humankind, was adopted and desacralized by anarchist/utopianist socio-political currents to allude to the idea of universal brotherhood. Thus, Francés assigns this new type of art/artist a position of supreme importance as he registers the emergence of a new socio-cultural and aesthetic category. Illustrators, caricaturists and poster artists were reader/translators of the works they illustrated, observers of the social scene in which they participated and spectators of the cultural milieu in which they were immersed, mediating through a labor-intensive aesthetic praxis to produce images that were mirrors held up for collective recognition.

In 1937, Gabriel García Moroto edited a booklet entitled *Los dibujantes en la guerra de España*, the first in what was intended to be a series published by the Second Republic's Ministry of Propaganda devoted to "topics of plastic significance related to the antifascist and independence war that Spain is fighting" (García Moroto n. p.) [*"La sección de publicaciones del Ministerio de Propaganda inicia con este cuaderno la publicación de una serie de temas de significación plástica relacionados con la guerra antifascista y de independencia que mantiene España"*]. A sense of urgency testifies to the uncertainty of the moment in the short introduction of the graphic text "that wants to serve our struggle, that wants help order in the conscience and sensibility [of the reader] all the different aspects of the effort to prevail that our fight represents" (García Moroto n. p.) [*"...con este propósito que quiere servir a nuestra lucha, que quiere ayudar a ordenar en la consciencia y en la sensibilidad de todos los diferentes aspectos del esfuerzo superador que nuestra lucha representa"*]. The booklet expresses the collective desire and struggle to overcome the enemy through an aesthetic ordering of the war-torn Spanish reality that addresses both morality, "consciencia," and aesthetic sensibility. Moroto also emphasizes the graphic text's synthesizing, narrative and analytic aspirations: "[it] wants to be a synthesis of a period already overcome, in which the shock of betrayal follows the defensive impulse that is associated with the desire to defeat [the enemy], analyzing the power of the people, [who have taken up] arms in disciplined zeal to forge an army that will undo the invaders" (García Moroto n. p.) [*"quiere ser síntesis de una etapa, superada ya, en que a la sorpresa por la traición sigue el impulso defensivo, se asocia el ansia de vencer, analizándose el poderío del pueblo en armas en el disciplinado afán de forjar un ejército que desbaga a los invasores"*]. Not only does this collection of graphic texts possess these intellectual functions, but it also registers a historical moment ("already overcome") and possesses therapeutic value, that is, the ability to rechannel negative emotions, such as shock, into disciplined action. Finally, as political and aesthetic expression, the "charm and depth [of the drawings] are arms bestowed on the artist by virtue of his creative capabilities" (García Moroto n. p.) [*"...su gracia y hondura... las armas que les son dadas por la virtud de su capacidad creadora"*]. In other words, aspirations for regeneration and upward mobility, linked to a sort of regionalist cosmopolitanism and utopianist brotherhood, were values that were shunted onto drawing as photography took on the technological/scientific specificity of documenting reality. When these values were later subjected to the dramatic circumstances of war, they became compressed into an urgent shorthand of idealized collective struggle. Thus, we might say that as technological advancements allowed photography and illustration visual autonomy, the former was initially seduced by the realist drive to know what *is*, which was countered by drawing's dialogic and open-ended desire to imagine what *could be*.

### *Spanish Industrialization*

The previous considerations must be framed by Spain's idiosyncratic process of modernization, significantly divergent from the British paradigm, which tends to equate modernity with rapid industrial development (Rueda 81). In Spain, rapid industrialization was impeded for most of the 19th century by political instability: the Napoleonic invasion and occupation (1808-14); the Civil War or *Trienio Liberal* (1820-3); the three Carlist Wars (1833-9; 1846-9; 1872-6); and the short-lived First Spanish Republic, founded after the abdication of Amadeo I in 1873 and ended by military coup in 1874. It was not until that year, with the restoration of the Bourbon Monarchy and the institution of a parliamentary system in which Conservatives and Liberals alternated in power, that political stability allowed increased agricultural production and the construction of new roads and railroad lines.

Though Spain was still predominantly an agrarian society, urban life began to grow and conditions were provided for more effective distribution and increased consumption of all forms of print media. However, a significant feature of Spain's process of modernization was the persistence of "precapitalist collectivist traditions of the village," which were programatically nourished, especially in Catalonian and Andalusian rural areas, by the predominantly Bakuninist anarchist movement for their "revolutionary potentialities as liberatory modes of mutual-aid and self-management." This strategy was the anarchist *pièce de résistance* against the workers' "assimilation ...to an authoritarian industrial rationality" and Spain's urban working class was constantly "fertilized" by the migration of laborers from these areas, where this strong anarchist presence had been actively reinforcing traditional modes of close-knit social interaction (Bookchin 10-1). Thus, not only was modern technology implemented slowly, but it also came about in a setting with a great degree of social cohesion.

New systems of transportation made public space more mobile and accessible, which was inhabited by these revitalized traditional modes of social interaction. In addition, while illiteracy rates were extremely high (72% in 1877; 63.8% in 1900; 44% in 1930), this also meant a persistence of oral culture, further reinforcing traditional agrarian sociability. Thus, as new readers became incorporated into the reading public, they did so at an exceptionally high rate—and these new readers, untrained in the passivity of the realist mode, were *active subjects*. In its new urban environment, what shall hereinafter be referred to as *Spanish sociability* or simply *sociability* became a uniquely cohesive and vigorous system of spontaneous, unregulated relationships based on family and neighborhood that interacted in private, but especially in public spaces (streets and plazas, boulevards, etc.) or semi-public meeting places (taverns, cafés, bars), competing with other types of associations that revolved around the Church.

José Ortega y Gasset registered this new socio-historical reality when he theorized that an individual's existence only becomes real in the concrete context of community. A child is a product of the family, which in turn is the product of a neighborhood or town: "every home is only a gesture of the great public soul" [*"cada hogar es sólo un gesto de la grande alma ciudadana"*] (513-4). Elsewhere he indicates a growing awareness that this subject is not only acted upon by the great public soul, but also possesses agency: "[t]he word *I* that used to suggest something still... begins to mean something active" [*"La palabra yo que antes sugería algo quieto... comienza a (significar algo activo)"*] ("Variaciones sobre la circunstancia" 137-8). This new active and socially interconnected subject was the raw material for a new type of readership, which the market rushed to accommodate with a flood of short, visually-oriented forms. The creators of these forms, active subjects themselves, incorporated the same values of sociability into their work-a-day praxis, spawning many a collaborative project and placing these image/text forms in "conversation" with their reader/spectators (Miller, Esbozo 265). This interactive relationship between the circulating image/text page, its makers and its reader/spectators performed through representation the conditions of this new modern social reality.

In this context, whether using more traditional methods or modern lithographic techniques, 19th-century Spanish printers could not satisfy the increasing demand for images, so many were imported, approximately fifty percent, according to calculations made by Jean-François Botrel. As a result, Spain's slow adoption of modern technology also had the paradoxical effect of creating a *more* cosmopolitan visual culture than that of other European countries able to meet their own demand for images from within. This widespread use of imported images suggests that the translation of these images and their role in the



construction of Spanish social reality are topics that need to be explored further (Botrel in personal interview). 10/22/10). These issues, however, fall outside the scope of this project.<sup>11</sup> Suffice it to say here that Spanish sociability lent a unique dimension to the growing presence of images on the printed page.

Other developments in the paper and printing industries are in a permeable relationship with this boom of the image. Part of the “hidden side” of industrial development in Spain, the paper industry is paradigmatic of this atypical process of industrialization, in which smaller sectors—typography is another—adapted more slowly, but with a higher degree of efficiency (Rueda 82). The traditional process of making paper was based on the shredding and fermentation of rags to produce a pulp, which was then pressed into wooden frames with a metallic mesh at the bottom that acted as a sieve to form individual pages. A great deal of water was required for the process, as well as a large supply of rags, so paper mills were located on rivers near cities. This process remained virtually unchanged for centuries, becoming a flourishing industry in Catalonia, where, in the 18th century, there were two hundred eighty paper mills exporting to the colonies (Jurado 43).

Early in the 19th century the Fourdrinier machine, which produced a continuous roll of paper, revolutionized paper production in England. It also generated the incorporation of wood pulp into the process, as the supply of rags could no longer keep pace with the production capacity of the new technology (Jurado 47-8). As with other types of modern machinery, the continuous paper machine was not immediately adopted in Spain. Not only was it expensive, but it also needed a large volume of water to power it, an additional difficulty given Spain’s unevenly distributed hydraulic resources. Thus, at the end of the century there were only twenty-five machines in the entire country (qtd. in Jurado 48), whereas in France, by mid-century there were two hundred (Rueda 89). Due to the continued reliance on traditional production methods, paper was expensive. As a result, competition with lower priced paper produced abroad was a source of tension during the 1860s and ‘70s between national paper producers and the newspaper and publishing companies. This situation was finally resolved by protectionist measures taken by the government in 1887 and 1892, which reordered the paper sector and considerably reduced the importation of continuous paper until World War I (91).

Public debate was stimulated by the outbreak of that War and, with it, the circulation of print media, which increased the demand for paper. As newspapers became either pro-ally [*aliadófilos*] or pro-German [*germanófilos*], they were also faced with a sharp rise in the price of paper. The government stepped in to offer loans to keep the prices at prewar levels (Devois 46-8). These loans, never fully paid back, in reality became indirect subsidies to the paper companies. At the same time this government intervention created a conflict of interest with newspapers, evolving from their original condition as mouthpieces for the political parties, created for the elite classes to influence parliament, into modern independent news sources, whose mission was to inform public opinion. Some newspapers, such as *El Socialista*, refused this arrangement, but nonetheless compromised their independence by contracting enormous debts with La Papelera Española, essentially a monopoly formed by a group of Basque paper producers (Devois 48).

After 1845 continuous paper machines had become concentrated in Guipúzcoa and Vizcaya, where centers for the production of coal and hydraulic power were also located. La Papelera de Cadagua, for example, in the town of Zalla, possessed five. Nicolás María

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11. For a account of this commercial exchange, see Botrel, “Imágenes sin fronteras,” 129-44.

Urgoitia, a major figure in the sector, launched a long and productive career from his position as director of this company. In 1901 all the factories in the area were grouped, under his direction, into La Papelera Española, which quickly managed to dominate the market, through the institution of a policy of “dumping” or predatory pricing, the acquisition of pulp factories and the creation of storage and distribution facilities. In 1919 Urgoitia also invested in the graphic arts company, Gráficas Reunidas, the Madrid daily, *El Sol*, and the publishing company, Calpe. These would become major forces to contend with for years to come. While Barcelona’s daily, *La Vanguardia*, produced its own paper, most newspapers took advantage of the loans offered. Even so, this system did not avoid an increase in prices. The cost of newspapers was staggered in five-cent increments from ten to twenty-five cents, curiously based on the total area of the publication’s pages, in an attempt to prevent the press controlled by La Papelera, principally *El Sol*, from producing papers with more pages for the same price (Devois 47-8).

The rise of advertising, associated with the development of the continuous paper machine, affected the printing industry in various ways. Printing presses had to be redesigned to accommodate continuous reels of paper. The Walter rotary press was developed in the late 1860s, resulting in faster printing speeds (Aldis 50-1). Printers no longer relied mainly on the production of books, which were produced using traditional flatbed printers (Jurado 64:1; Aldis 51). Advertising also required large type sizes to increase visibility. As a result, the 19th century also saw an “unequaled” profusion [*“una profusión nunca igualada”*] of type design, which included two new Spanish contributions: Bastarda Española and Gótico Incunable. The material production of type was dominated by the Germans, whose foundries were the strongest in the world. In the 1880s Richard Gans established a type foundry in Madrid that would become the most important in Spain (Jurado 105).

Most newspaper companies did not have their own printing presses and relied on printing shops, where most of the typesetting was done by hand (Devois 6-7). The transition from handset type to a mechanized process took place over the last half of the 19th century. The first effective machine of this type was the Linotype, designed in 1885, which would be followed rapidly by others. Of these, besides the Linotype, the most common in Spain were the Monotype (1887) and the Typograph (1899). These machines all work similarly to a typewriter. Pressing a key releases a matrix containing a mold for a character from the magazine, which falls into the line of type (thus, the name linotype) being composed. The machine then pours molten lead into the line from the crucible, turning it into an elongated lead block, called a slug, which is cooled rapidly by immersion in water and then dropped into a tray that holds the slugs in the order in which they are cast.

The technological advancements described in this section, as well as many others not included for reasons of space, required a qualified workforce of press operators, typesetters, copyists, engravers, lithographers, photographers and photoengravers, among others, who were formed in a series of specialized schools, the first of which was created for this purpose out of what was originally a machinery exhibit in the Retiro Park. The Real Conservatorio de Artes came into being in 1824, as awareness grew that it would be necessary to provide instruction to understand and operate the new machines. In 1871 La Escuela de Artes y Oficios de Madrid was created as a part of the Conservatorio to impart technical and artistic classes. In 1886 the Escuela de Artes y Oficios separated from the Conservatorio, becoming the Escuela de Artes y Oficios Central with ten Escuelas de Distrito in Madrid, as well as seven others around the country. Registration in the courses of study offered was free of charge and the two top students at each school received grants from the government to

further their studies in other locations, either in Spain or abroad. In 1900 the Escuelas de Artes e Industrias were created, fusing the Escuela de Artes y Oficios Central and the provincial Escuelas de Bellas Artes or schools of classic arts into one entity and establishing elementary and superior levels; in 1910 the Escuelas de Artes Industriales, administratively dependent on the Ministry of Industry, took over the elementary levels of both the industrial art and the classical art strands, with the specific objective of providing the working classes with the fundamentals in science and the arts. To this end they offered night classes in reading and writing, arithmetic, geometry, construction, mechanics, physics, chemistry, drafting and artistic drawing, modeling, art history, etc. The superior levels were taken over by the Escuelas de Bellas Artes, which were linked administratively to the university. The way in which the graphic and industrial arts flow into and out of the classic arts as they were developed and restructured is symptomatic of the instability and interdependence of these categories (Espasa Calpe 1095).

These are the underpinnings of a circulating print culture that incorporated advanced technology gradually, particularly regarding lithography, photographic applications to the reproduction of images, the continuous paper machine and mechanized typesetting, in an atypical process of modernization. The slow implementation of these technological advances paradoxically contributed to an ultra-cosmopolitan visual culture, which converged with unique characteristics of agrarian sociability preserved for posterity by anarchist influence in rural environments; these pre-industrial social traditions took on new socio-political significance with the migration of laborers to new urban environments. All of these elements played a significant role in generating a new stage, on which Spain's modernity would be performed: the page.

### *Research Directions*

A review of the current research concerned with the nexus of the graphic arts and Spanish literature reveals a vast and amorphous body of approaches, the categorization of which begins to disintegrate almost as quickly as an organizational tack is adopted.<sup>12</sup> Despite the field's resistance to systemization—symptomatic of the editorial culture we are dealing with—I will spare the reader a long list of titles and authors by identifying four categories, according to the main objective pursued: bibliographical studies; theoretical inquiry; interdisciplinary research; and graphico-lexical readings.<sup>13</sup> Overlaps are more often the rule than the exception, so this basic structure is meant to be understood loosely.

The review will reveal a clear predominance of studies focused on 19<sup>th</sup>-century literature, despite the proliferation of popular illustrated editions and other image-text formats during the first three decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The paucity of 20<sup>th</sup>-century studies

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12. Among the research approaches with emphases not covered in this section: biographical studies that describe an author's relationship with the arts ("Benito Pérez Galdós, viajero y observador del arte italiano" [2005] by Marta Cristina); literary depictions of artists ("Artistas en los 'cuentos morales' de Leopoldo Alas" [2005] by José Luís Campal, and "Poesía gráfica del XIX; otro avatar de los caligramas" [2010] by Leonardo Romero Tobar); comparative studies of different 19th-century editions of the same work illustrated by different artists ("Narrar el *Quijote I* en palabras e imágenes gráficas: Cervantes, Doré y Dalí" [2005] by Stephen Miller); the traffic of illustrations produced in France and appropriated by Spanish editors ("Imágenes sin fronteras: el comercio europeo de las ilustraciones" by Jean François Botrel [2011]).

13. Stephen Miller identifies two broad "areas of concern" in the nexus between the graphic arts and literature: bibliography and the direct study of graphico-lexical fiction ("Introduction" 286). A further division of the latter suits my purposes here.

constitutes an anomaly, the analysis of which will provide an additional opportunity to position the present study on Francisco Rivero Gil more precisely within the interface of the graphic arts and Spanish literature.

This review is admittedly US-Eurocentric and focused on prose. Addressing the latter imbalance first, although Rivero created a sketchbook of caricatures accompanied by poems that certainly merit study, these graphico-lexical *semblanzas* do not immediately fit into the parameters of the present project. On the other hand, the exclusion of Latin American contributions to the field is due, in part, to what appears to be a naturally occurring divide in the material itself; and while it would have been possible to make transatlantic connections, practical considerations advised against it. This lopsidedness will no doubt be corrected by the second part of this project focusing on the work Rivero produced in exile. For now I have included a fifth category of “outliers,” in which two studies address these gaps, while a third gives notice of a current exhibition in Madrid, whose as yet unreviewed catalog promises to make a significant contribution to the field. These studies stand as mindful placeholders for the work yet to be done.

#### *Bibliographical Studies*<sup>14</sup>

The above-mentioned predominance of concern with 19<sup>th</sup>-century literature is accompanied by a prevalence of bibliographical research, often focused on one author. This is the case of Stephen Miller’s study on Benito Pérez Galdós and his interest in the graphic dimensions of literary creation. Miller’s *Galdós gráfico (1861-1907) orígenes, técnicas y límites del socio-mimetismo* (2001) constitutes a major contribution not only to Galdosian studies in general, but also to the emerging subfield of Hispanism that concerns itself with the nexus of literature and the graphic arts. Miller’s study is accompanied by facsimile editions of *Gran teatro de la pescadería* (2001), *Las Canarias* (2001), *Atlas zoológico* (2001), *Álbum arquitectónico* (2001), and *Álbum marítimo* (2001), of which the first three constitute graphico-lexical narratives, this being Miller’s chief concern. I will say more about this further on.

Bibliographical research has often been pursued in the context of wider historiographical concerns. In this regard Jean François Botrel’s extensive work on the history of the book, the press and reading constitute major points of reference: *La Diffusion du livre en Espagne (1868-1914)* (1988), *Libros, prensa y lectura en la España del siglo XIX* (1993), *Historia de la edición y de la lectura en España, 1472-1914* (2003). More recently, Botrel brought his historicizing concerns to bear on the 20<sup>th</sup> century in *Libros y lectores en la España del siglo XX* (2008),<sup>15</sup> in which he defers to Jesús A. Martínez’s *Historia de la edición en España (1856–1956)* (2001) as the major 20<sup>th</sup>-century historiographical reference.<sup>16</sup> Botrel’s notable attention to popular culture and broadsheet literature (“Los ciegos expendedores de impresos,” “Pueblo y literatura” and “The popular canon” [2002]), including more specific studies (“La serie de aleluyas Marés, Minuesa, Hernando”) has been invaluable in gaining an understanding of the

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14. For a list of bibliography specific to the nexus of literature and illustration in the 19th century see the work done by the Grupo Buril (Raquel Gutiérrez Sebastián, Juan Molina Porras, Ángeles Quesada Novás, Montserrat Ribao Pereira and Borja Rodríguez Gutiérrez) “Literatura e ilustración en el XIX” at <http://roble.pntic.mec.es/frog0032/bibliogra.htm>.

15. Marie-Linda Ortega follows a similar historicist line with a more specific concentration on the illustrated press, reading and a particular interest in caricature: *Ojos que ven, ojos que leen* (2004), *Texto e imagen en la España Isabelina*, (2004), *Escribir en España* (2003), *Mirar al otro: de unas representaciones de “los moros”* (2005).

16. In this volume Martínez brings together a series of articles on the production of print material, its distribution and readership as interrelated socio-cultural phenomena.

popular origins of the *aleluya*, a graphico-lexical form revived by Rivero in his *Aleluyas de la defensa de Euzkadi*, discussed in Chapter Four. Botrel's work also represents a watershed moment in European Hispanism, in terms of marking the linguistic/pictorial divide, as discussed by W. J. T. Mitchell.<sup>17</sup> Botrel's overarching project extends Spanish literary history to include the complex editorial and sociological realities of print media, in which images played a fundamental role, thus marking the "pictorial turn," that is, the paradigmatic shift in human consciousness from language to image in the quest for suitable ways to express the complexities of modernity.

Other bibliographical studies appear to be somewhat free-floating in their lack of overt historicist concern. The common editorial practice referred to in the Introduction of suppressing illustrations that originally accompanied first editions has produced several generations of Hispanists formed in a highly lexicalized academic environment operating within the dominant linguistic paradigm. As a result, much of the research is imbued with a sense of surprise and the wonder of discovery, apparently generated by the act of *noticing* the object of study's graphic components and the excitement that it generates about sharing a new way of experiencing literature. This excitement is signaled by the use of attributive adjectives. A case in point is the title of Yolanda Arencibia's study, presented at the ICEL conference in 2010, "Imagen y literatura en Galdós: una afortunada simbiosis," in which an emotive response to the material is conveyed by the use of the attributive adjective "*afortunada*" in the subtitle, which points to this new visibility and the emergent status of the image-text field<sup>18</sup> (ICEL n.p.).

The 2007 dissertation, entitled *La ilustración como componente semiótico-discursivo de la novela corta (1900-1925)*,<sup>19</sup> by Sebastiana María García Mínguez constitutes a bibliographical *tour de force* of early 20<sup>th</sup>-century popular illustrated collections, one of the few studies centered on this time period. García provides a full bibliographical account of seven popular illustrated collections of short novels, examining 2,496 selected illustrations in terms of technique, semiotic values and semantic-discursive tendencies. Her study establishes a baseline for those concerned with popular collections, on which future investigation will undoubtedly build.

A recently published work by José Manuel Ruíz Martínez on the *santanderino* graphic artist Daniel Gil (no relation to Rivero Gil), entitled *Daniel Gil: los mil rostros del libro* (2012), combines biography, bibliography and critical evaluation, as it examines more than 2,000 cover illustrations produced for the popular collection *El libro de bolsillo de Alianza Editorial*. Focused on this aspect of the material reality of the book, Ruíz's study provides a typological classification and critical analysis of Gil's cover designs, emphasizing the influence of surrealism in the artist's work. I contemplated a similar approach for the present study in the early stages of compiling an electronic database of Rivero's work, which includes many book cover designs. However, having read Carretero's study, mentioned in the Introduction, I realized that I had already been provided with keys to Rivero's aesthetic expression — its

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17. According to Mitchell, Richard Rorty views the history of philosophy as a series of "turns" that shift focus from one set of problems to another, the "linguistic turn" being the final stage in Rorty's account, marked by a concern with language-based disciplines (i.e., linguistics, semiotics, rhetoric), which serve as models for critical reflection. Mitchell identifies what he calls "anxiety" over the adequacy of this language-based model, which he locates in Rorty's and Wittgenstein's phobia of visual metaphors, as evidence that the "pictorial turn" has taken place (*Picture Theory* 12-3).

18. The subtitle was eliminated in the published version, although its emotive content migrated into the first paragraph of the article, in the guise of a similar expression ("*simbiosis feliz*").

19. García's dissertation was directed by Manuel Martínez Arnaldos at the University of Murcia.

*heterogeneous* nature and its *progression* through critical historical moments of Spain's geography and history —, which Carretero's expertise and particular sensibility had captured, but not made explicit. Thus, his exhibition catalog determined my decision to include a representative cross-section of Rivero's work, making explicit Carretero's time/space narrative structure and adopting his way of weaving together biography, art criticism and history. My vocation and training in literary studies, however, made me particularly sensitive to Rivero's relationship with textual expression, determining a central aspect of this study, whose elaboration allowed me to bring to light aspects of Rivero's artistic production that were previously unknown (the series, entitled "¿Usted, cómo se gana la vida?", and Alfonso XIII's copy of the *Álbum-recuerdo* covered in Chapter Two; the illustrations of *Ligazón*, discussed in Chapter Three).

As I embarked on the present study, for which I could find no models within my own field of contemporary Spanish literature, Miller's "Introduction to the Illustrated Fiction of the Generation of 1868" (1988) was significant as a validation of my research concerns. Moreover, his brief article may be considered as the foundational study for this new subfield of Hispanism concerned with the nexus of literature and the graphic arts. Miller homes in on Galdós's comments regarding his conceptualization of the *Episodios Nacionales* as an illustrated series. Galdós referred to its first edition (1873-9) as "provisional" [*provisionales*] because it lacked illustrations (Miller, "Introduction" 283). He went on to characterize the fifty-seven drawings by Arturo Mérida that were incorporated into the 1881-5 edition as "intrinsic" to the work, which could now be thought of as "complete." In addition, highlighting what was often a "oneness of purpose and results between writer and illustrator," Miller identifies a key creative strategy employed not only by Galdós and other 19<sup>th</sup>-century writers,<sup>20</sup> but also by Rivero and many of his contemporaries ("Introduction" 268).

Despite the fact that it does not address lexical expression, the biographic-bibliographical study by Begoña Summers de Aguinaga of the graphic artist Ricardo Summers Isern (Serny), entitled *La obra de Serny desde la edad de plata del dibujo hasta 1995* (2009), is well worth mentioning for several reasons. First, the fine quality of its material reality honors the memory of this graphic artist, significant in the present context as an example from the other side of the political divide, who went on to become a successful artist under Franco. This volume also honors the memory of Alberto Sánchez Álvarez-Insúa, who authored its prologue and devoted his life to making visible a world of art objects in print form that were marginalized to a large degree by the canonical concerns of the academy. Sánchez's work, entitled *La Novela Mundial* (1997), in particular, opened my eyes to the socio-political significance of the editorial reality in which Rivero and his contemporaries were operating (Chapter Three). More importantly, Sánchez's prologue draws out an aspect of Summers's work that connects it, as well as his own life's work, to the present study in a very fundamental way. The research drive behind all three is the desire to understand family history, whose visibility has been occluded by modernity's chaotic socio-political and historical forces.

Sánchez writes: "I have always resisted writing about my grandfather, Alberto Insúa, my great grandfather, Waldo Álvarez Insúa, my great uncle, Alfonso Hernández-Catá, or my father, Mariano Sánchez de Palacios. But I have finally had to do it." [*Yo siempre me he resistido a escribir sobre mi abuelo, Alberto Insúa, mi bisabuelo Waldo Álvarez Insúa, mi tío abuelo, Alfonso Hernández-Catá o sobre mi padre, Mariano Sánchez de Palacios. Pero al final he tendido que*

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20. For a study on Clarín and his relationship with the magazine *La caricatura*, his views on the art of caricature and their significance in his work, see Jesús Rubio's "Siluetas y caricaturas: el caso de Clarín" (2011).

*hacerlo”]* (Serny 14). Despite this resistance, he could not avoid devoting his life to an intense bibliographical activity that makes these family members visible as part of a collective cultural phenomenon. Similarly, Summers does not mention that she is Serny’s granddaughter, a significant omission in her narrative, possibly due, in part, to a desire to lend the study a professional tone. However, taken with a notable gap in the work, which skips over the Civil War (“Once the Civil War was over...” [*“Una vez acabada la Guerra Civil...”*]), these omissions reveal how Spain’s work on the recuperation of historical memory—begun under the PSOE’s regime and, at this writing, thwarted by the Partido Popular, who won the November 2011 election—is fraught not only with external political difficulties, but also with inherent resistance derived from the traumatic effects of the War (126).<sup>21</sup>

Summers’s study, with its key prologue, has allowed me to transversally connect my own generational drive to that of contemporary Spain. In addition, her reconstruction of an interstitial space of Madrid’s prewar cultural life, in which cultural agents of all types of ideological persuasions were actively collaborating in an atmosphere that bubbled with creative excitement, helped to sharpen the focus of a central theme of the present study—the disruption of that space by the military uprising and the dispersal of its cultural agents after the Civil War. Herein lies a fundamental aspect of Rivero’s paradigmatic nature: his personal story of exile also represents the banishment of a new cultural praxis that linked art to the status of disenfranchised popular classes, which was part and parcel of the social transformation taking place through aesthetics in prewar Spain.

### *Theoretical Studies*

Returning to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, among the few investigators concerned with bridging the theoretical gap between literature and the graphic arts, Botrel approaches the illustrated serialized novel from a perspective of the sociology of the book in his article, “Leer láminas: la doble función de las ilustraciones en las novelas por entregas” (2008). Highlighting the iconographic aspects—illustrated cover and interior illustrations—of this print format, he posits their dual function as incentives to reading that intensify the reader’s experience of the lessons imparted by the book, increasing its didactic power.

Stephen Miller, to my knowledge, is the only researcher actively engaged in developing a general theory of illustrated 19<sup>th</sup>-century novels. As part of this broader objective, which pursues “an extension of the Aristotelian analysis of how drama is structured and creates its effects” (Miller in personal communication), his article “Una teoría de la narrativa ilustrada: del Semanario Pintoresco Español a la novela realista ilustrada” (2011) examines the theoretical activity during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries of some specialists, who reject the literary claims of illustrated texts. Although Miller’s general theory is not scheduled to be published until 2013, his 2008 article “Esbozo de una teoría de la novela ilustrada del S. XIX” outlines five principles of 19<sup>th</sup>-century graphic narrative: the first refers to the nature of graphico-lexical narrative as a collaboration between artist and writer (258); the second establishes an index of graphic density, based on the number of illustrations in relation to the total amount of lexical text (261), which determines the intensity of the graphico-lexical

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21. For a documentary exemplifying the drive of subsequent generations to work through family trauma caused by Franco’s regime and the erasure of family history, see C. M. Hardt’s *Death in El Valle* (2005). Hardt, daughter of Spanish immigrants and first generation U.S. citizen, documents her efforts to discover who murdered her grandfather in her parents’ hometown of El Valle, Asturias in the aftermath of the Civil War, when the Maquis were waging guerrilla warfare against the Franco regime in many regions of Spain.

reading experience; the third posits a dialog between artist and author on how to bring their respective disciplines together to create a more complex and meaningful art object (264); the fourth postulates an ideal reader, capable of turning this dialog into a conversation through a “comparative-contrastive back-and-forth” [*“un ir y venir comparativo-contrastivo”*] of opinions about various aspects of the text (264-5); the fifth principle hypothesizes the distinctive nature of the graphico-lexical reading (as opposed to a purely lexical one), which is distinguished by the heightened emotional participation experienced by the ideal reader (265).<sup>22</sup> While these principles have applications beyond the limits of Miller’s focus, my objective is not theoretical; I am concerned rather with creating a biographical-historiographical-political backdrop for Rivero’s artistic production, and with performing the iconographic work of critical graphico-lexical reading. As a result, these principles remain implicit at this stage of the present study, although future refinements will no doubt include drawing them out with the benefit of Miller’s completed study.

### *Interdisciplinary Research*

While all the research reviewed is obviously interdisciplinary, I am using the expression here in a more restricted sense to mean those studies that make use of text and image in a parallel fashion to arrive at a critical evaluation of another area of interest. Their primary goal is to gain a greater understanding of the target area, not to examine how image and text function together. Marie-Linda Ortega and Pura Fernández’s *La mujer de letras o la letraherida: textos y representaciones sobre la mujer en el siglo XIX* (2008) is a case in point. This study examines both graphic and lexical 19<sup>th</sup>-century representations of women from a wide variety of sources to evaluate women’s status as readers and writers. The primary concern of this work is with women’s relationship with the letters, not with image and text, which are just the tools used in constructing a narrative about women. In the chapters of my study, the representation of women is touched on where relevant, but it should be clear by now that my objectives are of a more holistic nature.

Cecilio Alonso’s study of the graphic artist Francisco Ortego, “Épica y sátira en los dibujos de Francisco Ortego en torno a la guerra de África (1859-1860)” (2010), combines biographic-bibliographical work to establish an iconographic typology of caricatures of the African War. More importantly, Alonso’s graphico-lexical readings possess the virtue of focusing on the ideological content of Ortego’s lithographic caricatures, an aspect almost always overlooked in the literature. In the same biographic-bibliographical vein, Marie-Linda Ortega devotes attention to Ortego’s caricatured headers for satirical magazines of the period (“El arte de Ortego en la prensa: la caricatura de cabecera” [2004]). Of particular interest is her discussion of anthropomorphized letters and her graphico-lexical readings of headers for *El Nene* and *La Criatura*. The former provides a precedent to Rivero’s final drawing for *Ligazón* (Chapter Three), while the latter introduces a “subversive” use of caricatures of children, which comes into play in several of Rivero’s caricatures discussed in Chapters Two and Four.<sup>23</sup>

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22. In his 2004 study (*La ilustración como categoría: una teoría unificada sobre arte y conocimiento*) Juan Martínez Moro is concerned with the dual nature of illustration taken by itself as an esthetic and epistemological category, beyond its utilitarian function as a supplement to the text or a creative medium. He briefly addresses the status of the illustrated book and poster, positing a symbiosis, as opposed to a dominance of image over text or vice versa, of graphic and lexical expression (94–102).

23. This “subversive” use of caricatures of children is understood by Ortega to mean the purposeful use of images of childhood innocence to signal the critically distanced stance adopted by these publications.



### *Graphico-Lexical Readings*

Studies performing graphico-lexical readings of illustrated literature and other print material are generally lacking in the literature, but a few may be found in the volume entitled *Literatura ilustrada decimonónica. 57 perspectivas* (2011). The article by Dolores Thion Soriano-Mollá, entitled “Eusebio Planas, hacia la supremacía de la imagen,” posits the antagonistic relationship between text and image, resulting in the dominance of the graphic image over the text it accompanies, in a diachronic examination of the work of graphic artist Eusebio Planas. This theme is relevant to Chapter Three, where the protagonism of the graphic text in *Ligazón* and *Los otros* is discussed.

Marisa Sotelo’s contribution, entitled “La Ilustración Artística de Barcelona: divulgación cultural ilustrada,” performs graphic readings of images published in the illustrated *Periódico semanal de Literatura, Artes y Ciencias (1882-1916)*. This study centers on the formative role of these images in the aesthetic sensibility of the magazine’s readership. Sotelo’s study is of particular interest because of its chronological focus straddling both centuries, which establishes aesthetic links to the time period that concerns us.

Salvador García Castañeda’s research on the *aleluya* is of interest, particularly given the scarcity of studies of this popular broadsheet form since the 1931 study by Joan Amadés, J. Colominas and P. Vila, entitled *Les auques*. García traces the rendering in *aleluyas* of popular fictional characters (“Don Perlimplín, Don Crispín y otras vidas en aleluyas”) and biographical figures (“Figuras y figurones o vidas de los ilustres en aleluyas” [2005]). Another study, which takes a more sociological approach, employing the *aleluya* to examine 19<sup>th</sup>-century life in the streets of Madrid (“El pintoresco mundo de la calle o las costumbres del día en aleluyas”), is pertinent to the discussion of *Los otros* (Chapter Three), and taken together, these studies aided my understanding of this traditional broadsheet format that underpins the discussion of Rivero’s *Aleluyas de la defensa de Euzkadi* (Chapter Four).

Returning to the illustrated novel, Stephen Miller’s “Reading Galdós Illustrated: The Riddle of the Sphinx in *La corte de Carlos IV*” (2010) provides a particularly illuminating example of graphico-lexical analysis. Taking his cue from Galdós’s declarations, discussed earlier, regarding the “intrinsic” nature of the illustrations for the 1881-5 edition of the *Episodios Nacionales*, Miller reveals the significance of a rebus or graphic riddle, or “*jeroglífico*,” contained in *La corte de Carlos IV*. Given that these “*jeroglíficos*” were a common feature of 19<sup>th</sup>-century illustrated magazines, Miller recognizes the sphinx presiding the novel’s title page as a graphic cue, signaling to readers that a riddle must be deciphered in order to gain access to another realm of textual meaning. The riddle itself is then “stated” in the second illustration, which is situated above the first lines of the novel.

This image depicts a tragic mask out of whose mouth a male *putto* reaches to embrace his female counterpart with an abundance of details that might be seen as mere decorative elements. However, from these details and those of other illustrations, along with clues from the lexical text and previous knowledge of Spanish social and geographical reality, Miller teases out a metaliterary “counterpoint to Carlos’s real-life theater-court” that transforms the reader, who would not normally have been privy to information about the inner workings of court life, into an insider. Miller’s skillful graphico-lexical reading convincingly shows how the Galdós/Mélida collaboration knowingly constructs an alternate discourse that completes the meaning of the novel’s lexical text, a fundamental premise of the present study.

## Outliers

The nature of the literature-graphic arts nexus as a subfield is such that it tends to overflow its own boundaries. Catharine E. Wall's study, entitled *The Poetics of Word and Image in the Hispanic Avant-Garde* (2010), offers a survey of *avant-garde* (mostly poetic) graphico-lexical creations arising from the "interartistic embrace" that produces word-image assemblages. Like the present study, it is organized spatially. In contrast, it moves transoceanically, "travel[ing] by country" from Spain and France to Latin America in order to examine how the "internal consistency" of this dualistic concern with text and image is manifested in different regional and cultural contexts (Wall 16). One virtue of this work is its evenhanded approach as an introduction to the topic. Wall first presents a synthesis of the principal image-text theories, then an abundant assortment of nuanced graphico-lexical readings—another of its strengths—and, finally, some fifty pages of useful addenda that include a critical survey of source documents, a list of *ultraísmo* documents and *estridentista* artists, as well as a glossary of movements and *-ismos*. This work appears to have been designed with teaching in mind, either as a textbook or an aid in course design.

Erica Segre has focused on the interface of film and the graphic arts in her examination of the collaboration among Mexican film director Emilio Fernandez, cinematographer Gabriel Figueroa and graphic artist Leopoldo Méndez of the artist collective Taller de Gráfica Popular (TGP). Her study posits the "foundational dependence" of Mexican cinema on "existing simulacra," that is, the still image (87). She categorizes the types of still image media to which film is indebted under the headings of mural art, graphic art and photography, considering their amalgamation with the Seventh Art as evidence of a "strategic revision of monolithic definitions of *mexicanismo*" in film (90). The group's goal was "a representational practice and visual currency which was resistant both to the '*mexicanismo* a la yanqui' of Hollywood and the 'folkloric pastiche' of the *comedia ranchera*" (87). Segre is specifically concerned with the graphic murals created by Méndez for the 1948 films *Río Escondido* and *Pueblerina*, a direct result of Figueroa's deep-seated admiration for the social and aesthetic scope of contemporary Mexican graphic art. Méndez collaborated with Siqueiros, republican exiles, and "the salient writers and artists of the period, producing pamphlets, broadsheets, albums, illustrated books, educational materials, and posters." For the film *Río Escondido* he created an album of ten engravings, which "were photographed and projected in the title sequence on the giant screen, acquiring the dimension and finality of mural." This "graphic mural" constituted the "fusion of a populist aesthetic with the primacy of the photographic composition." She goes on to remark that "[i]ronically," film for Fernández and Figueroa "aimed to achieve the plenitude and definition of the perfect frozen shot: every frame a finished composition, fixed in time, a monument to a national essence" (92-3). This experimental collaboration between cinematographers and graphic artists is relevant to Chapter Three, in which a possible link is established between Rivero's illustrations for *Ligazón* and García Lorca's photography-inspired ideas for theater, suggesting the need for further research.

The paucity of attention devoted to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, despite the burgeoning presence in Spain of textual formats accompanied by drawings, particularly during its first three decades, is notable. The pencil, as David Thomas has observed, "is a marginal technology in the pantheon of art technologies and in the history of modernism" (41). This lack of attention to the role of illustration in the visual culture of early 20<sup>th</sup>-century Spain may be viewed as a textual gap in our cultural narrative that signals, among other things, a suppression of the ideologically oriented *praxis* associated with the graphic arts that constituted this field as a

generative site of radical social transformation. One of the main objectives of the present study is precisely to reconstruct the political dimension of the relationship between text and image.<sup>24</sup> The destruction of this field by the Republican diaspora has been followed by its erasure—the gap noted in this research review—rooted in hegemonic pressures that promote instead a fashionable intellectual admiration for the more highly technologized aesthetic expressions of visual culture—film and photography—as part of capitalism’s narrative of the glorification of technology. The cultural capital enjoyed by these forms of visual media and their increasing status as the sole aesthetic bastions of early 20<sup>th</sup>-century social values has perhaps transformed them into unwitting accomplices in a larger process that strips art of its function as social labor and, consequently, of its potential for constituting a collective/multiple subject with agency for social change.<sup>25</sup> The present biographic-bibliographical study attempts to redraw the ideological contours of Rivero’s aesthetic praxis, emphasizing the linkages between ideology, history, literature and graphic art in his unjustly forgotten *oeuvre*.

While I have not had the opportunity to review the recent publication *La vanguardia aplicada (1890-1950)* (Madrid: Fundación Juan March, 2012), I would nonetheless like to mention it here because of its relevance to the topic at hand, not only with respect to its content, but also to a central issue it poses, in the present context, about the nature of the nexus of literature and the graphic arts as a subfield. This catalog was produced for the exhibition of the same name,<sup>26</sup> integrated by almost seven hundred works, apparently including one by Rivero. Organized by the Fundación Juan March in Madrid, the exhibition catalog includes textual contributions by Manuel Fontán del Junco, Richard Hollis, Maurizio Scudiero and Bruno Tonini. What is pertinent about this exhibit for our purposes here is its transversality, which helps to situate Spanish graphic arts production within the global context of that of almost thirty other countries. Equally significant is the image-text nature of the installation, resolved spatially by displaying posters on the verticality of the walls, while books and magazines are situated in glass cases occupying the horizontal plane of the exhibition space. In addition, modern museological activity, at least in the case of some institutions, has transformed the archeological nature of the museum as a burial site for dead art into the heir of a living, socially engaged artistic praxis that reclaims the museum as a generative site of social change. This reflection poses the question of the appropriate venue for the presentation of critical work on the dynamic potential of the image-text nexus. Can we be content with academia’s classes, conferences, professional journals, and doctoral dissertations? Or should we also look to, and collaborate with museums that open their doors to the general public in the presence of the objects we study as they host events, activities and multimedia happenings that reactivate a cultural praxis connected to the people?

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24. Valle-Inclán alluded to the graphic arts as an agent for social change by the trade he chose for his protagonist, who was a typographer, in *Fin de un revolucionario: aleyas de la gloriosa* (1928).

25. See Walter Benjamin’s essay “The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility,” especially sections XI–XV (Norton 2001, 1178–1184).

26. *La vanguardia aplicada (1890-1950)*, Fundación Juan March in Madrid, March 30–July 1, 2012. See <http://www.march.es/>.

## Chapter 2

### From Home to Hell and Back Again: Santander-Morocco-Santander (1917-1923)

#### *Beginnings*

Mauricia Gil Iturralde and Francisco Rivero Herrería were married in Santander on April 13, 1898, two days after President McKinley approved war with Spain and ten days before Spain declared war on the U.S. The Spanish-American War, famously referred to as “a splendid little war” by Ambassador John Hay, was not such a splendid affair for the losing side (Bethell). In only ten weeks Spain lost the last of its overseas colonies (Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippines), dealing the death-blow to four centuries of Empire. The Disaster [*el Desastre*], as it is commonly referred to in Spain, would have far-reaching consequences for the nation. The loss of international prestige would produce a national obsession with regeneration, fuel military discontent and redirect Spain’s imperial designs to the African continent. Morocco would be seen as Spain’s “last chance to keep her position in the concert of Europe,” eventually becoming the spawning grounds for Franco’s uprising, which would determine, forty years later, the younger Rivero’s need to flee the country with five of his siblings and a great number of his compatriots (Count of Romanones qtd. in Carr 518; 2). It would also have an acute affect on the urban environment in which he was to grow up.

Santander was a port city closely linked to the colonies through commercial interests and socio-sentimental relationships. At the same time, the 19<sup>th</sup>-century health fashion of sea bathing had determined its new identity as a resort town for those of means. Hostilities with the U.S. ended on August 12, at the height of the summer season. As bathers enjoyed the sun and waves on the famous *Sardinero* beach, and newspapers chronicled the comings and goings of the rich and famous, the repatriation of ill and wounded soldiers began. In the following months a total of 31,137 individuals entered the city to be treated in local hospitals, imposing visions of tragedy and defeat on Santander’s image of summertime bliss (Cabarga, *Santander* 385). The pathos of the returning soldiers contrasted with another aspect of Santander’s turn-of-the-century reality: the city was alive with “projects of urban expansion, new residential neighborhoods and important structural changes, tr[ying] to erase the painful traces of the 1893 explosion in its harbour of the freighter [*Cabo*] *Machichaco*” [*...planes de expansion urbana, nuevos espacios residenciales, cambios funcionales de calado considerable trataban de borrar la huella dolorosa de la explosión del Machichaco años antes*] (Suárez 13-4).

The explosion of the *Cabo Machichaco* five years earlier was caused initially by a fire, which ignited several bottles of sulfuric acid and fifty-one tons of unregistered dynamite contained in its hold, killing five hundred people and destroying the infrastructure of the port, as well as an entire city street (Fig. 11) Catastrophically mismanaged by authorities, the “worst civic disaster” in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Europe blasted Santander into modernity, fragmenting the city and, quite literally, a large number of its inhabitants, many of whose limbs appeared kilometers away. This accident anticipated the type of grisly destruction that would be delivered upon Europe a few years later during the Great War by technological advancements applied to warfare. As a result, the Disaster of 1898 found Santander juggling reconstruction with collective mourning, while it managed a seasonal population of upper-class tourists. At the same time, decades of imperial erosion leading up to the Disaster had had major economic repercussions on the city:

Santander... was trying to find its own way after several decades of economic decline, looking for an alternative to the flour trade, which it found precisely through the economic effects of the colonial crisis, once the repatriation of capital facilitated a commercial orientation towards mining and industrial investments. The turn of the century is therefore, also a change of economic cycle and productive orientation

*[Santander... trataba de encontrar su propio camino tras varias décadas de declinar económico, que buscaba una alternativa al ciclo de intercambios barineros y que, precisamente, encontró esa ruta por el efecto económico directo de la crisis colonial, una vez que la repatriación de capitales facilitó la orientación hacia las inversiones industriales y mineras. El cambio de siglo es así en Santander también un cambio de ciclo económico y orientación productivo.]* (Suárez 14)

This shift in the city's economic base had the effect of allying industrialists with the military as Spain's imperialist designs on northern Africa intensified. Perhaps not coincidentally, in 1912 construction of the Palace of the Magdalena was finished and given as a gift the next year to King Alfonso XIII, a great supporter of the military. From then until 1930 the royal family would spend the long summer season in Santander, where government, finance and politics converged with the leisure interests of the well-heeled. Thus, it is fair to say that the city that saw the birth of Francisco Rivero Gil, sandwiched between a modern disaster and a colonial one, was making necessary adjustments and undergoing transformations of all sorts.



Fig. 11. Historic photo of fire on the freighter Cabo Machichaco in Santander harbor, Nov. 3, 1893. Wikipedia. Web. June 4, 2012.

Rivero senior was fully engaged in the structural transformation of the city. Applying his artistic talent to a profession that would no doubt be in great demand, as well as provide for a growing family, he became a maritime draftsman (see his "Plano Parcial" Fig. 12). Setting a precedent for his first-born, who opted for a similarly pragmatic profession as a civil draftsman, both occupations required a combination of hands-on work and intense intellectual preparation, culminating in a stringent state exam. Both father and son were thus uniquely situated in a liminal position between laborers and middle-class professionals. The elder Rivero also combined his professional occupation with contributions to local newspapers. His portrait of Antonio Maura, published on the front page of the first edition of *El Pueblo Cántabro* in June of 1914, documents that his relationship with the newspaper preceded that of his son. Before examining the young Rivero's activities as journalist, illustrator and war correspondent, a few words about this publication are needed to finish laying out the *santanderino* page on which he will begin his graphico-lexical performance.



Fig. 12. Francisco Rivero Herrería *Plano parcial de Santander* (1941). Gouache pigments on paper. Reproduced with the kind permission of Manuel Rivero González Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

*El Pueblo Cántabro* came into being through a split down political lines in the conservative Catholic daily, *El Atalaya*, amidst national political turmoil following Barcelona's 1909 Tragic Week. When Antonio Maura's conservative government attempted to call up reservists in Barcelona for a minor campaign in Morocco, a strike was called and discontent among masses of newly organizing workers quickly took the form of anticlerical street violence, during which forty-two convents and monasteries were burned or damaged (Carr, "Liberalism" 227). This workers' rampage was touched off by the seemingly trivial act of distributing crosses to conscripts performed by devout Catholic women. Waves of anticlericalism had hit Spain before, in 1830 and 1860, after the French Revolution had left a balance of some thirty thousand exiled clerics, many of whom took refuge in Spain. With religious orders mushrooming in a movement of "Social Catholicism" directed from Rome, they began to take on an important role in education, seen by the working classes as favoring the elites. Since young men from the upper classes could also opt out of conscription for a fee, the act of passing out crosses to soldiers embarking for a war fought almost exclusively by workers would have been seen as the height of hypocrisy, just what was needed to incite a riot in such an atmosphere.

As a result of the disturbances, Maura, himself a devout Catholic, overreacted and ordered the execution of five men without trial, among them Francesc Ferrer i Guardia, who led a nonviolent, anarchist-inspired pedagogical movement and founded Barcelona's Modern School. In protest, Liberals allied with Republicans to create an uproar that spread beyond Spain's borders. Consequently, Maura was dismissed by King Alfonso XIII, who chose the Liberal Moret to preside over the government. This move did not produce the hoped-for political stability, however, and the *turno pacífico*, as the Restoration system of peaceful alternation in power between Liberals and Conservatives was known, began to break down (Carr, *Spain 1808-1931* 295). The proud and intransigent Maura was now seen as a "political liability" by members of his own party. In 1912 the king chose another Liberal, the Count of Romanones, to head the government, though only a year later, he again chose the Conservative, Eduardo Dato, to form a government (Carr 487). This move produced a schism in the Conservative Party between *mauristas* and *datistas*, which was reproduced in Santander among regulars at the *tertulia* (informal literary groups gathering in cafés) that grew up around the daily *El Atalaya*, enveloping its board of directors as well (Cabarga 231). Dissident *mauristas* decided to found *El Pueblo Cántabro* with the explicit purpose of being a propagandistic tool of *maurismo*.

Taking over an established printing shop, the first edition of *El Pueblo Cántabro* saw the light on June 8, 1914 —featuring a an portrait of Antonio Maura by Rivero’s father on the front page— not quite two months before World War I began, under the direction of Pedro Acha, a lawyer and member of Congress, (Cabarga, *Historia de la prensa* 330) (Fig. 13) Echoing Maura’s position of neutrality, *El Pueblo Cántabro* combined coverage of the War with that of local and regional events. Cantabria had experienced a boom in 1913, when Alfonso XIII and his family began spending the summers in Santander. During World War I the city received another influx of well-to-do English and French beach-goers deserting the resort towns of Ostend and Biarritz, not to be deprived of their summer season (Cabarga, *Historia de la prensa* 331–2).



Fig. 13. Francisco Rivero Herrería, *Portrait of Antonio Maura*, illustration published in *El Pueblo Cántabro*, June 8, 1914. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

#### «El pueblo cántabro»

The young Rivero began his professional relationship with *El Pueblo Cántabro* in November of 1917 at the age of eighteen. Earlier that year its direction had fallen to Antonio Morillas, a rising star in Madrid’s theater and journalism circles. In the capital he had taken several *sainetes* to the stage, both his own and in collaboration with Ramos de Castro. He had also worked as a journalist for *La Nación* and *El Mentihero*, where he popularized his pseudonym “*Roque For.*” Morillas lent an air of populist jocularly “*a lo Arniches*” to this serious political project and it was during this time that the sports section acquired more importance with writers Joaquín Rasero (“Amaya”) and Fermín Sánchez, Rivero’s close friend (Cabarga, *Historia de la Prensa* 331). It is important to note that the artist’s political affiliation, if he had one at the time, probably was not a factor in his employment. The caricatures of Rivero senior’s talented offspring would most likely have appealed to the new director’s temperament and his vision for the newspaper. For his part, the young artist, like the best writers and artists working in the press at the time, reserved an autonomous space for himself in his drawings, which could diverge from the *maurista* party line.

Rivero’s single weekly panels of a public figure, entitled “Gente Conocida,” normally provided the only visual relief from the tightly spaced lexical text of its broadsheet format. The location of this panel is highly variable, subordinate to the layout demands of the lexical text. The elongated graphic text occupies the same space within a column as the lexical text of the surrounding, but unrelated article. The black line framing the example shown in fig. 14 suggests its autonomy and sets it off from two related lexical elements: the title of the panel, appearing in bold-faced capital letters above the frame, and the caption, “*Por F. Rivero Gil,*” in



small type underneath to the right. Inside the frame the only lexical element is the artist's signature, which is underlined and slanted behind the figure's foot, appearing to be part of the caricature itself, a scuff mark left behind as the foot moves forward. A psychoanalytical interpretation might interpret the young artist's name under the foot of an older well-known male as difficulties following in the footsteps of his father or he dragged his heels on political issues supported by the newspaper. More relevant to our purposes here, Germán Gullón observes that realist literary techniques, such as stream of consciousness and free indirect style, give the impression that the writer retreats from the authorial role, giving characters more autonomy, such that they seem to take over the spoken word (155). In an analogous fashion this caricature seems to drag his foot over the artist's signature, transforming it into a personalized and uniquely stylized indexical trace, a presentation of the artist to the world. This presentation is made in conjunction with an Other, through the self-reflectiveness of caricature, establishing a problematic relationship between the artist and his graphic creation. Rivero's caricature brings the artist into visibility as a scuff mark, evidencing the agency of the graphic text.



Fig. 14. Francisco Rivero Gil, *Gente conocida*, caricature published in *El Pueblo Cántabro*, Dec. 25, 1917. Print.



The absence of any lexical identification of the public figure depicted in the graphic text underlines the latter's autonomy. The lexical title, "*Gente Conocida*," signals that sociability is the key to legibility, which creates a direct relationship with the reader, bypassing lexicality itself. As Rachel Schmidt points out, "illustrators are not aligned with the authors but with the readers, for their representation of the text arises from a reading of the text, not the author's mind" (Schmidt 12). While she is referring to the illustration of 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-century novels, her point is valid here, for Rivero's "*Gente Conocida*" are readings, not of any lexical text, but of the social context in which he moves. The text's only other role outside the frame, and this is an important distinction, is its identification of the artist. While at first glance it seems merely redundant, upon closer analysis it may be seen to erode aura, in the Benjaminian sense, even further. If the graphic text inside the frame is capable of naming its own creator through an artful stylization of lexicality, outside the frame the naming function falls to the newspaper through a purely utilitarian use of typography. Therefore, this doubling signals not only a multiplication of perspectives, but also the principle of reciprocity that governs the relationship between artist and employer: while the artist relies on his employer's page for the distribution and, therefore, visibility of his work, he also becomes an advertisement for the continued distribution and visibility of the employer's product. Hence the simultaneous presence of both producers is registered, allowing mutual recognition, as well as recognition by the reader, in a marriage of aesthetic and material concerns. In this way the hierarchical model for the employer/employee relationship is reconfigured in terms of collaborative horizontality. At the same time, this doubling reveals the new divided status of the secularized word.

Only three "*Gente Conocida*" panels were published, at weekly intervals, although Rivero kept a sketchbook with sixty-two caricatures of the same title. Like the published panels, these had no lexical identification of the figures depicted, but they were accompanied by a lighthearted poem of praise using the traditional eight-syllable line of popular versification. This collection would merit its own study, but for our purposes here the image shown in Figure 15 will suffice to exemplify the artist's ironic post-WWI sensibility in his graphico-lexical engagement with the social reality of his times.

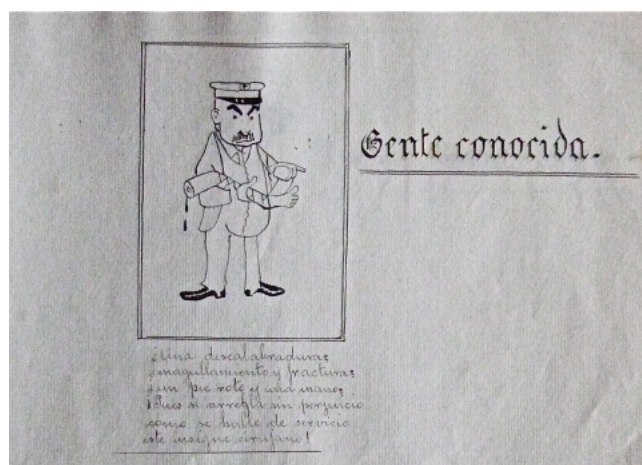


Fig. 15. Francisco Rivero Gil, untitled caricature [Surgeon] with poem from sketchbook entitled *Gente Conocida* (c 1917-18[?]), Sánchez family archive. India ink. Reproduced with the kind permission of Fermín Sánchez. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

In January of 1918 Rivero's graphic presence in the pages of *El Pueblo Cántabro* increased when his "Gente Conocida" panel was replaced by a "gag cartoon," which soon became a regular feature at the top of the front page occupying a horizontal space across two columns, at intervals of three to nine days. While the example shown in Figure 16 carries its own specific title, the cartoons often appear with the generic title of "Nota Cómica." Again, this lack of fixed conventions typifies the fluidity that characterized the relationship between graphic and lexical texts during this period. The central figure of his first cartoon is recognizable as Rivero himself, the first of many self-caricatures and a graphical reiteration of his already duplicated lexical presence, a modernist analog of sorts to the Renaissance practice of prefacing a work by singing the praises of the patron. The artist sings his own praises not through the act of writing, but rather through his graphic insertion into a graphico-lexical collaboration, his own and the newspaper's, which does not precede the written work, but is embedded in the lexical text of the front page. For its humorous effect, the cartoon, anchored by a lexical text below the frame, depends on a visual pun, which turns on the weather. The newspaper boy tries to sell the passerby a copy of the major national newspaper, *El Sol*: "Tome Ud. «El Sol»,” he calls, which can be understood as "Take a copy of the newspaper" or "Take a sunbath," when Santander is known precisely for its rainy climate. Rivero's early socialist leanings are visible in the cartoon in this depiction of a street scene that combines well-dressed citified types with the working class and marginal elements of urban life, represented respectively by the newspaper boy and the figure on the right with his back to the reader. The use of public space to portray a cross-section of social strata is a constant in Rivero's work, hinting also that the concept of sociability is a key ideological concern. By placing himself in the center of this new punning graphico-lexical text, the artist not only expresses a desire to insert himself into this space, but he also enacts this insertion through the act of drawing. If we take into account the existence of a predetermined employment "route" followed by aspiring young professionals from the periphery, whose apex would be employment in the nation's capital for publications like "El Sol" (Sáiz de Viadero in personal interview), we may also conclude that this pun expresses, albeit obliquely, the artist's desire to work for this newspaper in Madrid. In this context, the word "take" acquires special significance. The cartoon Rivero is a passerby, whose path is interrupted by a petition from an agent of the newspaper itself: "Take *The Sun*." Rivero is a budding young artist convinced of his own merits. He is not asking for favors, but rather wants a job offer from this prestigious national publication, an opportunity to take it by storm and make his mark at the center of the Spanish world. Some years later, Rivero will indeed be employed at *El Sol*.

During this time the densely lexical pages of *El Pueblo Cántabro* become increasingly populated by Rivero's graphic texts depicting both well-known and anonymous, local and national figures. Another modality of graphico-lexical interaction in the pages of *El Pueblo Cántabro* is the illustrated article, in which Rivero's graphic texts are embedded in articles written by other journalists, occupying the column as the lexical text would. The lack of frame signals its dependence on the text, while the interruption of the linear flow of the lexical text suggests antagonistic tension accompanying collaborative give and take. Rivero contributes frequently to Pepe Montana's sports column (Fermín Sánchez, mentioned in the introduction, was Rivero's close friend), which becomes consolidated during this period (Fig. 17). In his depictions of Santander's soccer team, *El Real Racing Club*, movement and speed become significant features, providing opportunities for a highly stylized development of Rivero's already linear style (Fig 18). Even the artist's signature is pared down to a simple "r.g" as these graphic texts capture a slice of movement in time, taking on an almost filmic presence.



Fig. 16. Francisco Rivero Gil, *Ironía periodística*, cartoon published in *El Pueblo Cántabro*, Jan. 14, 1918. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.



Fig. 17. Francisco Rivero Gil, untitled caricature [Boy catching soccer ball], published in *El Pueblo Cántabro*, Jan. 28, 1918. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.



Fig. 18. Francisco Rivero Gil, *González*, caricature of soccer player published in *El Pueblo Cántabro*, date. May 25, 1920. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

Rivero also illustrates articles about other types of cultural news. The graphic text in Figure 19 depicts Ricardo Bernardo in a review of his exhibition held at Santander's Ateneo. The carefully lettered date under Rivero's signature, separated by a series of dashes and dots that follow the curve of his subject's lapel, gives the appearance of stitching, creating a textile effect. If Apollinaire's visual poetry a few years earlier, followed by that of others (Vicente Huidobro, Guillermo de Torre, Juan Larrea, Gerardo Diego, etc.), signaled new graphic and typographic possibilities for lexical expression, this illustration reflects Rivero's growing awareness of the design possibilities of writing.



Fig. 19. Francisco Rivero Gil, untitled caricature of Cantabrian artist Ricardo Bernardo, published in *El Pueblo Cántabro*, Feb. 8, 1918. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

By April of the same year Rivero appears to have achieved a certain degree of notoriety. His caricature by the well-known artist Ángel López Padilla accompanies an unsigned article entitled “*Paco Rivero Gil*,” which announces the young artist’s relocation to Segovia to accept a position as municipal draftsman, secured by a difficult state exam (Fig 20). The unidentified writer describes Rivero as a “modest young man of great value” [*“un muchacho modesto, que vale mucho”*] and predicts that he will have a brilliant career [*“hará una carrera brillantísima”*]. He goes on singing Rivero’s artistic praises:

His professional worth is established by the position he has gone to fill. His artistic worth has been established for some time by his drawings and caricatures, which demonstrate his familiarity with the secrets of movement and the incalculable importance of the line. His drawings, full of humor and intention, admirably designed, and his caricatures, personal and unmistakable in that the gesture and action of the “portraits” are seen masterfully, have turned Rivero Gil into a favorite among so many others who clearly fail. We expect a great deal of him. We are confident that very soon, without straying from his obligation, which represents his livelihood, he will conquer a place of honor among the best Spanish caricaturists. López Padilla [?]

*[Lo que vale en su profesión nos lo dice el puesto que ha ido a ocupar ahora; lo que vale en el arte nos lo ha dicho ya hace tiempo con su trabajo de dibujante y caricaturista, que conoce todos los secretos de los movimientos de las figuras y el valor incalculable de la línea. Sus dibujos, llenos de gracia e intención, admirablemente trazados, y sus caricaturas personales inconfundibles, en que el gesto y la acción de los “retratos” están vistos de modo magistral, han hecho de Rivero Gil un elegido entre tantos como fracasan rotundamente. Nosotros esperamos de él mucho. Confiamos en que muy pronto, sin apartarse de su obligación, que representa su pan de toda la vida, conquistará un puesto de honor entre los primeros caricaturistas españoles]. (López Padilla [?])*

The congratulatory prose manifests a dualism in the first line of the citation, associating a bourgeois work ethic with serious aesthetic values, implying that these two aspects of idealized modern citizenry converge in the young artist, suggestive of Rivero’s role as mediator between the spheres of labor and aesthetics. This mediation, in turn, implies a new porosity between formally closed categories, allowing for reciprocal influence and exchange of their assigned values, and the possibility of new relationships between them governed by the principle of reciprocity. The writer goes on to highlight Rivero’s command of movement, expressed through the simplicity of its linear nature, also essential features, one could add, of writing. Indeed, writing and drawing often tend to converge in Rivero’s work. The writer goes on to reassure readers that Rivero will continue to illustrate *El Pueblo Cántabro’s* pages from his new destination in Segovia with “the fruit that springs from his pencil” [*“los frutos que brotan de su lápiz”*]. This metaphor brings to mind Vicente Huidobro’s “Por qué cantáis la rosa, ¡oh, Poetas!/Hacedla florecer en el poema. (“Arte Poética” ([1912])).

Gerardo Diego, an up-and-coming *santanderino* poet studying in Madrid who participated in the Creationist movement, was undoubtedly a channel for the dissemination of its doctrine up north. In the drawing seen in Figure 21 Rivero playfully turns himself into the creator of a creationist god, from whose pen sprouts an allusion to the Garden of Eden; or the



artist may have been aware of Ramón Pérez de Ayala's writing on caricature and the living power of the line, which he metaphorically described as a snake.



Fig. 20. Ángel López Padilla (1895-1977[?]), caricature of Francisco Rivero Gil published in *El Pueblo Cántabro*, Ap. 4, 1918. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.



Fig. 21. Francisco Rivero Gil, untitled caricature [Writer with snake] in sketchbook (1917-8[?]), Sánchez family archive. India ink. Reproduced with the kind permission of Fermín Sánchez. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

Once in Segovia, Rivero applies for a transfer to Seville. His desire to move south may have been motivated by his intention to attend the Escuela de Artes y Oficios, an important center for artistic training at the time. He lived in Seville from 1919 to 1921, apparently learning the techniques of muralism and ceramics. It seems he did not finish a course of studies, though more research is needed to establish this with certainty. While continuing to send illustrations north, he also published his drawings in the local *sevillano* press (Carretero 16). During this period his lifelong passion for bullfighting finds its first graphic expression, as evidenced by the highly stylized illustrations pictured in Figures 22 and 23. Accompanying an article in *El Pueblo Cántabro* entitled “Treat Animals Sweetly” [“*Tratad con dulzura a los animales*”] (Fig. 24), this graphico-lexical collaboration accomplishes what would be unthinkable by today’s standards: marrying animal rights with a congratulatory report on Ignacio Sánchez Mejía’s *faena* in Santander during July of 1920.



Fig. 22. Francisco Rivero Gil, untitled drawing of the *banderillero* Sánchez Mejías, published in *El Pueblo Cántabro*, Aug. 8, 1920. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.



Fig. 23. Francisco Rivero Gil, untitled drawing of *faena* and *estocada* during Sánchez Mejías bullfight, published in *El Pueblo Cántabro*, Aug. 8, 1920. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

Any possible message in the reporter’s review of the *corriña* is subordinated to the immediacy of the graphic texts, which transform the grisly material reality of the bullfight into an aesthetically pleasing visual experience for the reader. At the same time, this aesthetic experience contains a subtle challenge to itself, for it depends on the deconstruction of traditional gender-specific perspective composed of straight lines and angles, which is

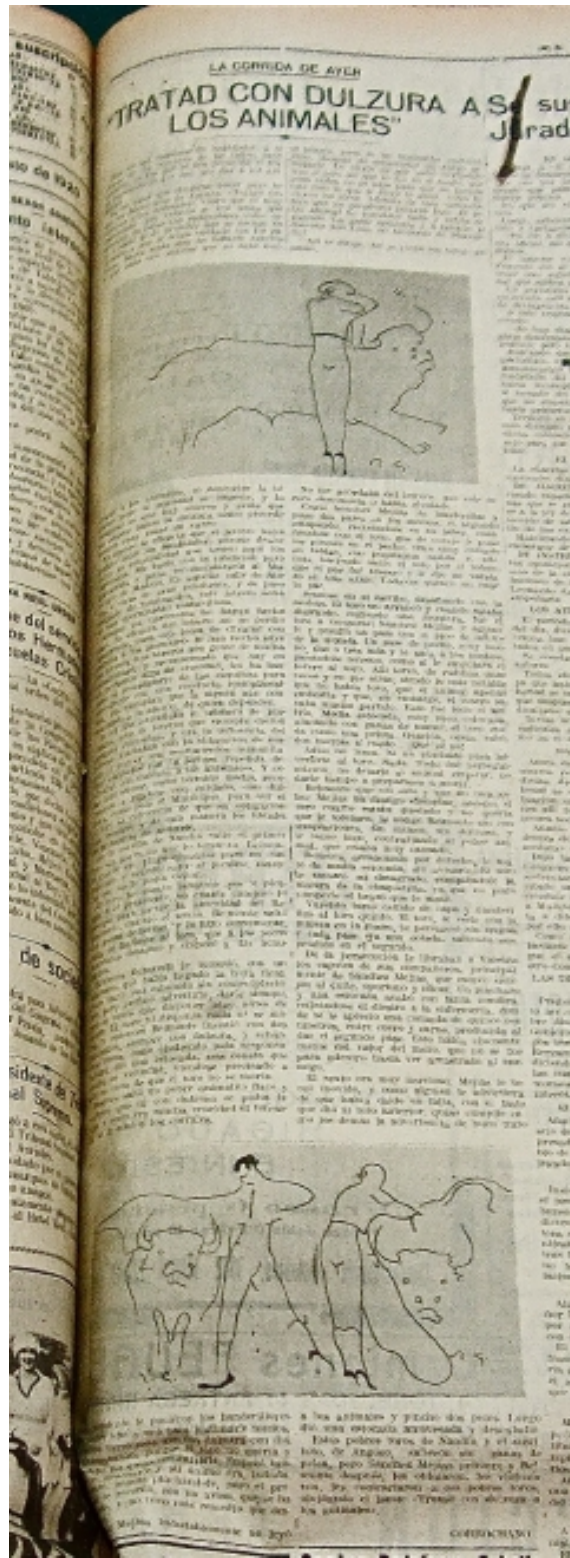


Fig. 24. Francisco Rivero Gil, illus., "Tratad con dulzura a los animals," unknown writer published in *El Pueblo Cántabro*, Aug. 8, 1920. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.



replaced here by curved lines and a flattening of foreground and background across the surface of the page, creating ambiguities between figure and its background, as well as anatomical fragmentation. The absent background symbolically liberates the figure from narrative, allowing it to emerge from the page as autonomous movement. Movement, the prime aesthetic value here, is conveyed not only by linear curves, but also, in figure 23, through the simultaneous portrayal of two moments in the *corrida*, which crowd the page in a visual crescendo, collapsing time and signaling the multiplication of perspectives in a filmic sensibility as the human eye's perception of wholeness is lost to speed. In this process, the primacy of the human face disappears: of the three figures depicted, only half of one is turned, and only partially, toward the reader/spectator; in contrast, this value has been transferred to the bull, whose head is turned in all three instances to face the reader/spectator full on. In this way, the beauty of movement and the poignancy of the bull's predicament become prime ingredients of the aesthetic experience. Even the artist's initials, barely recognizable squiggles, imply a hurried execution in the presence of the action with an affective response as Rivero, in his role as spectator/reporter, distills the moment on the page, mediating between lived experience and the reader/spectator through aesthetics.

The graphic text interferes with the legibility of the lexical text in which it is embedded, because of its immediacy: it stands out from the dense narrative, freeing the eye from the conventions of lexical reading, which depend on highly coordinated and tightly controlled ocular movements that track across and down the narrow column and from the bottom of one column to the top of the next, accumulating signs which only reveal meaning over time; in contrast, the graphic text is perceived all at once as a whole and draws on the reader's social reality, on orality and lived experience, bypassing the need for a lexical text, which, in this case, becomes a supplement. Taking into account Derridian "*différance*," the endlessly deferred lexical text gives way to the immediacy of its graphic counterpart, whose "presence" seems to prevail over the seemingly meaningless and interminable stream of words ("Jaques Derrida" 1818).

«¿Cómo se gana Usted la vida?»

A month later, in August, the first article of a new series appears: *¿Cómo se gana Usted la vida?* is illustrated by Rivero and written by Ezequiel Cuevas, J. R. de la Serna, Francisco Revuelta, Roque For (Antonio Morillas, director of *El Pueblo Cántabro*) and Rivero himself, who uses the pen name Cyranus (a humoristic allusion to *Cyrano de Bergerac* and the size of his own nose). These journalistic *semblanzas* are commonly defined as a written portrait and are part of a very old graphico-lexical tradition. The traditional *semblanza* focused on lower class "types" [*tipos*] or popular tradespeople [*oficios*]; it was widely cultivated in broadsheets and *aleluyas* of the seventeenth century and incorporated into 19<sup>th</sup>-century literature and prints of manners (Bozal 67). The *costumbrista oficios* shown in [Fig. 25] are expressed in the realist style characteristic of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. They differ from earlier traditional ceramic depictions of types fully integrated in the rural landscape of [Fig. 26]. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the figures acquire more independence from their new urban environment, which fades into the background, while their wares exhibit natural elements transformed into consumer goods. *El Pueblo Cántabro's* readers would have been thoroughly familiarized with this traditional gallery of types (shoemaker, washerwoman, mattress maker, farmer, harvester, etc.), although they may have noticed a distinctly modern note in the new types added to this series: those specific to the modern urban (telegrapher, electrician, typographer, etc.) and the new liberal regime (lawyer, magistrate, businessman, politician, advertising agent), as well as

professions in the arts (theater prompter, municipal band director, photographer, playwright, etc.); one hundred and twenty in all (See Appendix I for full list). It is clear that, once again, Rivero's socio-economic context, his "*circunstancia*," claims his attention, calling for more mediation, more "*salvar las apariencias.... buscar el sentido de lo que nos rodea*" (Ortega, p. 77). The artist may also have been aware of Lessing's essay "Laocoön," for the ecphrastic nature of the traditional *semblanza* is considerably disturbed in these new *semblanzas*, as we shall see.



Fig. 25. [E. Zarza?], Madrid street vendors illustrated in *El museo de las familias*, VI, 1848. Print.



Fig. 26. Unknown artist. Contemporary reproduction of traditional ceramic tile design depicting *los oficios*. Reproduced with the kind permission of Bensu Ceramics, Barcelona.

The series begins with the industrial seamstress, differentiated in a later article from the traditional seamstress, who works in private homes (figure 27) The narrative "we" is often

used to indicate the collaborative methodology employed by writer and illustrator, closely identified with the living executors of the project, and expresses a tongue-in-cheek anxiety about the task at hand: “We spent several terrible days of vacillation and dread. Will we go to a workroom? Will we wait for them around a corner to fire the question at them? Will we decide on the more urbane method of a visit to a private home?” [*“Llevábamos unos días horribles de vacilaciones y sobresaltos. ¿Iremos a un taller? ¿Las esperaremos detrás de una esquina para hacerlas la pregunta a quemadescote? ¿Nos inclinaremos por el urbano procedimiento de la visita a domicilio particular?”*]. To sustain the humoristic effect the role of interviewer is intentionally confused with that of suitor: “We are so shy that once we needed to use a gramophone to make a declaration of love” [*“Nosotros somos tan tímidos que una vez sentimos necesidad de valernos de un gramófono para hacer una declaración de amor”*]. The rationalist imperative is satirized as it is invoked: “We really should have gone to the shop to get mixed up among remnants of fabric and get our hands and feet tangled up in the threads of the spools, to live and observe, in sum, during a few moments that which we proposed to put on paper. We don’t understand how the devil we accepted the idea to find out about sufferings in places where it would have been more logical to know of pleasures” [*“En realidad, nosotros debíamos haber ido al taller, confundirnos entre retales, enredarnos de manos y pies con los hilos de los carretes, vivir y observar, en suma, durante unos momentos aquello que nos proponíamos trasladar a las cuartillas. No se nos alcanza como diablos aceptamos, en cambio, la idea de averiguar penalidades en lugares donde fuera más lógico saber alegrías”*]. The narrative voice acquires more sincerity at this point and is at a loss to explain the disjointed spatial arrangement that is produced. Lefebvre offers the following insight:

The bourgeoisie and the capitalist system... experience great difficulty in mastering what is at once their product and the tool of their mastery, namely space. They find themselves unable to reduce practice (the practico-sensory realm, the body, social-spatial practice) to their abstract space, and hence new spatial contradictions arise and make themselves felt. (63)

The interviewer voice requires a body, in this case two young male bodies, and the task they must carry out requires the presence of young female bodies. The practice of journalism cannot be reduced to the abstract space of labor when the “practico-sensory realm” comes into play. The young female workers are immediately sexualized when, in the third line of the article, the expression *a quemarropa* (“at point blank,” literally at “burnclothes”) is transformed into *a quemadescote*, which plays with two meanings of *escote*: “neckline” is associated with clothes, object of the seamstress trade, while “cleavage” is associated with the body, focus of the two young men. Both meanings taken together register the divide between the genders and the awkwardness felt as social-spatial practices are forced into view. Under the spell of this feminine bodily presence, the implied invitation for a stroll on the dock is accepted. The encounter resembles a date until the interview is initiated, interrupting the pleasantries with the “inappropriate” question. Work, language, the body and desire converge to interfere with the rational objective and barely four lines are devoted to the topic of the article: “We had to learn of privations, of work, of endless hours bent over their task, sunken chests and divine burning eyes... Listening to them talk about the many hours of work and the low remuneration it seemed to us that behind them there was a powerless woman speaking who was the one suffering those troubles” [*“Tuvimos que saber de privaciones, de trabajo, de infinitas horas pasadas sobre la labor, hundido el pecho y encendidos los ojos divinos... Oyendolas hablar de las muchas horas de trabajo y las excusas retribuciones nos parecía que detrás de ellas hablaba la mujercita*

*que sufría aquellas penalidades”]. The narrative voice has difficulty reconciling an idealized version of the “adorable” women with the strapped reality of their existence. As Lefebvre observes, “The moment the body is envisioned as a practico-sensory totality, a decentering and recentering of knowledge occurs” (63). Evidence of this process is the narrative voice’s dawning recognition of the young women, which produces an otherliness so disturbing that a romantic fantasy must be created to hold the crumbling ideal together.*



Fig. 27. Page design for *¿Cómo se gana Usted la vida?*, pt. 1 of series published in *El Pueblo Cántabro*, Aug. 18, 1920. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

Below the main body of the lexical text, separated by a line of dots, the article concludes with an instructive nugget: “They make a living? If this is true, it must be agreed that a whole lifetime will not be enough for them to make it” [*Ellas ganarse la vida? Si así es, en efecto, habrá que convenir que toda la vida es poca para que la ganen*]. Reminiscent of *El libro del Conde Lucanor*, this updated *semblanza-exemplo* instructs with a twist in the form of a punning critique of modern life, allowing the unstable self-conscious narrative voice to both exhibit and contain itself. “Such a knowledge is conscious of its own approximateness: it is at once certain and uncertain. It announces its own relativity at each step, undertaking...self-criticism, yet never allowing itself to become dissipated in apologies for non-knowledge, absolute spontaneity or ‘pure’ violence. This knowledge must find a middle path between dogmatism on the one hand and the abdication of understanding on the other” (Lefebvre 65). Here humor is the self-critical middle path to this new knowledge, a path which seeks a recognition of the other. In this case the new knowledge is tenuous, failing to take hold as it is displaced onto a fantasy woman.

The graphic text registers this momentary fantasy, interrupting the lexical message where this process of recognition is recorded, to present the idealized lexical version of the seamstress, the moment of failure. Modern clothes and hairstyle, vigorous forward movement, correct posture and smiling expression suggest a grounded optimism toward the future, and no signs of the laborious seamstress trade are included (see fig 28). Hence, the figure floats conceptually in an empty background, from which the instruments of human degradation

have been removed. The graphic text serves to register, therefore, the key moment in the lexical text's resistance to new knowledge, where knowledge is no longer an absolute state but a new process of shuttling back and forth between knowing and not knowing (between "dogmatism" and "abdication of understanding") so readily called confusion. Nonetheless, traces of the fissure caused by new knowledge and a new social reality are expressed in the exaggerated smile "worn" like a mask, just as she wears the products of her labor to mask the arduous reality of her everyday existence. The subtle caricature may be seen in this light as a mediation between reality and ideology as Althusser understood the latter term: the "Representation of the Imaginary Relationship of Individuals to their Real Conditions of Existence" (qtd. in Norton 1498).



Fig. 28. Francisco Rivero Gil, illus. Industrial seamstress (*La costurera*), pt. 1 of *¿Cómo se gana Usted la vida?*, Aug. 18, 1920. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

The photoengraver is another of the new types covered in this series (see fig. 29). Like the typographer, the photoengraver occupies a liminal position in the newspaper industry between image and reader/viewer, as well as between manual labor and middle class professionals. Not surprisingly, the article entitled "*El fotograbador*" is signed by Rivero, who uses his pen name, Cyranuco. After a lengthy, bantering introduction affirming a general ignorance, even among the well-educated, of the technical procedures used for the reproduction of photos and illustrations, the narrative voice assures us that more than one reader has tried to pry an image from the pages of the newspaper with a pen-knife. A simple, but very clear technical explanation follows, differentiating the older lithographic process from modern photoengraving. The reader is then situated in the photoengraver's workshop, a second order witness to the interview. When the photoengraver is asked how he makes his living, his *emotional* response is conveyed before anything else: "he neither sighs nor looks sad" [*"...ni suspira ni pone la cara triste..."*] when he invites the journalist to observe his work. The implication is that he enjoys his work, corroborated by the graphic text, which depicts him with sleeves rolled up, though neatly attired in a shirt and tie, looking intently at a watch held



in his right hand and leaning expectantly towards the dripping basin where his modern-day alchemic transformations are taking place.



Fig. 29. Francisco Rivero Gil, illus. Photoengraver (*El fotograbador*), pt. 40 of *¿Cómo se gana Usted la vida?*, Dec. 4, 1920. Print. Donna Southard, all rights reserved.

Another explanation follows of the chemical components, immersions and carefully timed exposures to light involved. The final part of the photoengraving process involves submerging a plate of zinc into a basin containing the right mixture of acids, while a boy taps the basin a certain number of times to produce a jiggling movement. Perhaps it is the boy's smelly and ink-stained presence that causes his skill to be underestimated by the interviewer, who asks to try his hand at it. His sense of superiority, however, is soon dashed: "When we decide to confess our failure, our trousers are ruined and we sincerely recognize that the job performed by the boy is extremely transcendental" [*"Cuando nos decidimos a confesar nuestro fracaso, nuestros pantalones están 'accidentados', y reconocemos sinceramente que la labor del chico es sumamente transcendental"*]. Not only is this movement imbued with mystical import, but hierarchies are also inverted: the boy's skill cannot be substituted by that of the journalist, an educated adult. The graphic text, however, eliminates this detail and focuses on the photoengraver himself. Shown at the supreme moment of the magic-imbued chemical transformation, his can-do stance and bare working man's arms convey the strength and vitality of the laborer, while his neat attire and grooming, along with fixed attention on the watch, express the intellectual component of the middle-class professional. The photoengraver thus embodies a new work ethic that combines body and mind to produce enjoyment, although the separation of the head from the body here suggests that these two aspects of modern labor have yet to be fully integrated. The watch, placed at the compositional center of the drawing in the man's right hand and facing out toward the reader/viewer, alludes to the importance of timing in the chemical processes of photoengraving. More importantly, however, it places modern consciousness of institutionally regulated time at the center of our field of vision, holding it up for observation. The artist's initials, placed directly under a drop falling from the basin, acquire the misshapeness of drops that have hit the floor, connoting a liquid identification with the transformational properties of acid. This liquidity is replicated in the changes of register identifiable in the lexical text: the tongue-in-cheek humor becomes scientific prose imbued with a touch of mysticism, moving through the sociological to finish on

a moral didacticist note. Taken together, graphic and lexical text act like a prism held up to the light so that the many facets of modern consciousness may be contemplated as a fragmented whole.

Also included in this series are occupations with more regional specificity (sailor and miner), as well as figures that one might typically encounter in Santander itself, such as the high-society “globe-trotter” (*el “globe-trotter”*) or the marginal dock urchin (“*raquero de muelle*”). In 1864 José María Pereda included a *semblanza* of the latter in his *Escenas montañosas*:

...The term *raquero* comes from the verb *raquear*; which, in turn, though with vigorous objection on my part, comes from the latin *rapio, is*, which means to take what does not belong to one against the will of its owner.

I am of the opinion that the *raquero*'s destiny like the broom of the street-sweeper is to appropriate all that which has no known owner: if at times he crosses boundaries toward that which is in doubt, or appropriates what belongs to his neighbor, he will have reasons to justify his actions; and above all, one swallow doesn't make a summer. The authentic *raquero* is born precisely on High Street or on Sea Street. His life is of as little interest as that of any other being until he knows how to run like a squirrel. Then he leaves the maternal home for the Naos dock, and his Christian name for the graphic nick-name confirmed by his fellows; nick-name that, founded on some culminating event in his life, he must adopt propelled by fists if he resists logical reasoning. His father did the same thing as did the father of his neighbors. In those neighborhoods everyone is a pagan to judge by their names... in favor of these types so popular in Santander I will make one small observation: here such worm-eaten and torturous stems often grow into robust and fruitful trunks. The history of this port abounds with brilliant pages due to the honor, skill and heroism of our sailors, many of whom have walked a path as exposed and thorny in their childhood as the one I have just sketched. (Pereda, *Escenas* 14-5)

[... *La palabra raquero viene del verbo raquear; y éste, a su vez, aunque con enérgica protesta de mi tipo, del latino rapio, is, que significa tomar lo ajeno contra la voluntad de su dueño.*

*Yo soy de la opinión del raquero: su destino, como escobón de barrendero, es apropiarse de cuanto no tenga dueño conocido: si alguna vez se extralimita hasta lo dudoso, o se apropia lo del vecino, razones habrá que le disculpen; y, sobre todo, una golondrina no hace verano. El raquero de pura raza nace, precisamente, en la calle Alta o en la de la Mar. Su vida es tan escasa de interés como la de cualquier otro ser, hasta que sabe correr como una ardilla: entonces deja al materno hogar por el Muelle de las Naos, y el nombre de pila por el gráfico mote con que le confirman sus compañeros; mote que, fundado en algún hecho culminante de su vida, tiene que adoptar a puñetazos, si a lógicos argumentos se resisten. Lo mismo hicieron sus padres y los vecinos de sus padres. En aquellos barrios todos son paganos, a juzgar por los santos de sus nombres... en pro de este tipo tan popular en Santander, haré una ligera observación: de vástagos tan carcomidos y tortuosos son muy frecuentes aquí robustos y fructíferos troncos. La historia de este puerto abunda en páginas brillantes debidas a la honradez, pericia y heroísmo de nuestros marineros, muchos de los cuales han recorrido en su infancia un sendero tan expuesto y espinoso como el del tino que acabo de bosquejar...].*

This idealized and nostalgic *raquero* is later immortalized in Pereda's 1894 naturalist-realist novel, *Sotileza*, considered his masterpiece, in which these half-naked orphaned or abandoned street urchins depend on the impoverished padre Apolinar for a roof, for what little sustenance he manages to scrounge for them, and for the few rags that clothe their filthy bodies (see figs. 30 and 31). In the updated version of this type, an article signed by de la Serna *¿Cómo se gana Ud. la vida?: El raquero del muelle,*" the narrative voice affirms that the *raqueros* portrayed by Pereda "have been evolving, confronted with the necessity of adapting to the demands of the times, and today we find them so modernized that we are hardly able to recognize them in the few who still remain" [*...han estado evolucionando, enfrentados a la necesidad de adaptarse a las exigencias de los tiempos, y hoy los encontramos tan modernizados que apenas se reconocen en los pocos que todavía quedan*"]. These changes lie essentially in the fact that they are now shod and fully clothed, if no cleaner, and how they make their living.



Fig. 30. Unknown photographer, historic photo of *raqueros* on dock in Santander (1890). Blog *Petercos*. Web. June 4, 2012.



Fig. 31. José Cobo Calderón (b. 1958), *Los raqueros* (2007), sculptural group on waterfront in Santander. Bronze. Blog *Petercos*. Web. June 4, 2012. Photo reproduced with the kind permission of Pedro Sánchez Cos.



While the *raquero* of yesteryear swept up any left over scraps that could be of use, the modern *raquero* has become more specialized, stealing coal, tobacco and automobile parts that sit on the docks waiting to be loaded or transported elsewhere, as well as money from inattentive passersby, or carelessly left in cabins on boats. “From all of this the *raquero* is making a living in our times, while he makes up his mind to abandon these practices to enter fully into civilization and devote himself to higher and more productive enterprises” [“... *de todo lo cual va ganando la vida el raquero de los muelles en nuestros tiempos mientras se decide a abandonar [estas prácticas para] entrar de lleno en la civilización y lanzarse a más altas y productivas empresas*”]. Here the graphic text functions with extraordinary economy as an antagonistic complement to its lexical counterpart, a satire of Pereda’s idealized version: wretched clothing, downcast facial expression and slumping posture, and the body fragmented with the head detached from the shoulder. To this end the *raquero*’s sins have been concealed: the empty background has erased the possibility of temptation and the sinning bodily instruments have been hidden from sight in ragged pockets. The ironic tone used in the lexical text suggests little confidence in the *raquero*’s possibilities for becoming a productive member of society, while its graphic counterpart isolates him from his story and even the story told in the article, focusing attention on a compassionate understanding of his plight. The artist’s chameleonic nature is again expressed by his signature, which appears here to take on the quality of threads from the *raquero*’s disintegrating clothes, a fusion of signs (see fig. 32).



Fig. 32. Francisco Rivero Gil, illustration of a *raquero* in pt. 63 of *¿Cómo se gana Usted la vida?*, Jan. 1, 1921. Print. Donna Southard, all rights reserved.

The inclusion of this marginalized figure and others, such as the bum, the beggar and the rag-picker, is a precedent for another collaborative project in which Rivero will participate later on for the magazine *Estampa*. The future series, entitled *The Others (Los otros)*, mentioned in the introduction, will shed the remnants of tradition to grow a new skin of investigative journalism. Its paradigmatic title hints that it is the theoretical heart of this study, in which Machado’s notion of cordiality and Ortega’s conception of circumstances converge in and are

materialized by Rivero's othering praxis. More will be said about this series in the next chapter.

On the whole, the types brought together in the articles just examined call to mind the multiplicity of characters that will later populate Camilo José Cela's *La colmena* (1951). The emergent model of collaborative journalism differs, however, from Cela's post-Civil War urban novel, despite its innovative fragmented journalistic/cinematic style and chronology, in the sense that Cela's novel adopts an authoritarian univocal narrative mode associated with the traditional book format with the intent to *recreate objective reality*. In contrast, the earlier graphico-lexical journalistic model channels a group of authors whose narrative voices *engage in conversation* with the many voices that constitute the city's modern social reality; here the objective of faithfully transcribing reality is proclaimed to *mock* realist pretensions and any vestiges of *costumbrista* melancholy are also lost to an animated process of collective self-observation. In other words, this group of graphico-lexical narrators constitutes a many-faceted seeing voice of ironic sensibility that accommodates itself through interactive social presence to the prismatic multiplicity of modernity.

It is highly likely that the graphic text in this series represented real people, who in large part would have been readily recognizable to the inhabitants of a small city like Santander. In this case the personalized nature of the series would also have contributed to this embodied intellectual reconfiguration of social categories by neutralizing the threatening quality "*los otros*" acquired in larger urban environments.

In May 1921 *El Pueblo Cántabro* incorporates a new offering to its readership, appearing simultaneously with the series just examined: serialized novels or *novelas por entrega*: first, *La vena del hierro*, by José María de Aguirre y Escalante and then, *El mote*, by Enrique Menéndez y Pelayo (see figs. 33 and 34). The first novel is illustrated by Rivero in a more realist style: numerous pen strokes and cross-hatching achieve greater detail and shading that suggests a real light source. This stylistic wobble is resolved by the time the second novel appears two weeks later, when the artist returns to his accustomed line drawings. These serialized novels might have continued, along with the "*Cómo se gana Ud. la vida?*" series, had the newspaper's priorities, and the artist's life, not been radically altered by events in Morocco.



Fig. 33. Francisco Rivero Gil, illustration of character from pt. 1 of serialized novel *La vena del hierro* by José María Aguirre (1877-1911), published in *El Pueblo Cántabro*, May 12, 1921. Print. Donna Southard, all rights reserved.



Fig. 34. Francisco Rivero Gil, illustration pt. 1 of serialized novel *El mote* by Enrique Menéndez y Pelayo (1861-1921) published in *El Pueblo Cántabro*, May 29, 1921. Print. Donna Southard, all rights reserved.

### *Morocco: Soldier and War Correspondent*

Spanish neutrality during the Great War did not save the country from a similar wartime catastrophe. Five years later almost to the day, in July of 1921, the disaster at Annual became Spain's equivalent, allowing for obvious differences, to the Battle of the Somme. The country's "Great Fuck-Up" catapulted young Rivero a few weeks later from the safe familiarity of Spain's northern periphery to the center of international colonialist power politics in Northern Africa (Fussell 12).

In 1912 the Treaty of Fez had divided up the Northwest tip of the African continent, giving Spain control over northern Morocco, while France was given authority over the larger portion of territory to the South, with Germany's approval in exchange for territories in today's Republic of Congo. The Treaty also conceded rights to the iron mines of Mount Uixan to the Spanish Rif Mines Company, along with permission for the construction of a railroad between the mines and Melilla. Spain's actual control over the territory, however, did not extend much beyond the urban areas of Tangiers, Larache, Ceuta, Melilla, Xauen and Tetouan, the capital of the Protectorate. Not only were the mountainous areas of the Rif uncharted, but the rise of Berber nationalism among the inhabitants of these regions constituted a growing problem for Spanish interests.

These tribes were represented in the northwest by El Raisuli, a feudal leader considered by many to be the heir to the Moroccan throne, and in the northeast by Abd el-Krim, a man of keen intelligence educated in Spanish schools, who had held the post of secretary for Arabic in the Bureau of Native Affairs in Melilla. Later he became a Bureau advisor and in 1914 was appointed Moorish Chief Justice of Melilla. After WWI France's increased activity in Morocco was also felt by Spain to be a threat, and the count of Romanones, now head of the Spanish government, wanted to secure the interior regions of the Protectorate, not only to compete in the "concert of Europe," but also to protect Spain's considerable mining and other business interests. Abd el-Krim, who had cooperated with the Spanish administration (and preferred them to the French, while he believed they posed no serious threat), became a formidable enemy when Spain tried to exert more control over the region (Payne 162).

On the peninsula public opinion was strongly divided over Morocco, however. Even though Romanones had the support of the Army and the king, the public at large generally felt the country was paying an excessively high price for its colonial exploits, both in lives and

government expenditure, the latter at an all-time high of 581 million pesetas in 1920 (Payne 154). Nevertheless, the unprecedented defeat of the Spanish Army at Annual during the summer of 1921 would rally support for the Spanish cause in Morocco. Gerald Brennan summarized the situation in 1947 as follows:

The disaster in Morocco was the last episode of the old parliamentary regime. The king was anxious for a striking success which would enable him finally to get rid of parliament. He was impatient at the slow methods of political penetration employed in the Riff and decided to direct operations himself over the heads of the War Office. His nominee for the work was a cavalry officer, General Silvestre, whose brusque, daring ways he admired. Silvestre was to march his column across the Riff from Melilla to Alhucemas, a distance of about forty miles. The date of his arrival was timed to coincide with a speech, which the king would make at the solemn translation of the remains of El Cid to Burgos Cathedral. This would also coincide with the day of St. James Matamoros, Kill-Moor, the old patron saint of Spain. But two days before this date (23 June 1921) Silvestre's column, which had advanced without precautions, was ambushed by a much smaller force of Abd-el-Krim's tribesmen at Annual. Ten thousand were killed, four thousand were taken prisoner and all the rifles, artillery, machine guns and aeroplanes were captured. Scarcely anyone escaped. Silvestre himself committed suicide. A week or two later the fortified position of Monte Arruit was compelled to surrender. The men, some seven thousand, were massacred: the officers were carried off in chains and held to ransom. Melilla itself was only saved with difficulty. (74-5)

Brennan's version is essentially faithful to the events, though he got the month wrong (it was not June but July) and there is disagreement over the number of casualties. Silvestre's body was never found, so his suicide could never be confirmed, nor was there ever any proof of the king's direct responsibilities. It took eighteen months and three million pesetas to liberate the prisoners who survived captivity, while Franco's part in the defense of Melilla, a Spanish garrison city held since 1497, played a significant part in forging his reputation as a military hero (Payne 184). The symbolic capital of Melilla should not be underestimated. Occupied during the reign of Fernando and Isabella, it was Spain's foothold on the northern tip of Africa, whence the imperial pretensions of the Catholic Queen, who left an express mandate in this respect to her descendants in her will, could be carried out (Márquez 123, n. 42). After Annual, the "flimsy indefensible Spanish outposts collapsed like a row of dominoes" and Melilla herself was seriously threatened by the Rifian forces led by Abd el-Krim (Payne 167-8).

The political fallout from this debacle was enormous as the incompetence of the army, cowardice of many officials, misuse of funds, the intervention of the king in military planning and outright corruption came under close scrutiny. The government resigned and Maura took up the reins again, amidst calls for an investigation, which was carried out by the respected General Juan Picasso González. The findings of his report, *el Expediente Picasso*, were ultimately only disclosed to a closed parliamentary commission because, on the eve of its scheduled debate in an open session of Parliament, Primo de Rivera staged a coup in Barcelona and was accepted by the king as military dictator of Spain. The king's acquiescence

would be taken generally as a confirmation of his responsibilities in the Moroccan fiasco and conspiratorial attitude against the parliamentary government, which would seal his fate and force him into exile when the Second Republic was proclaimed in 1931. In 1921 however, in the face of the slaughter of Spanish troops, support for the king and the army surged, especially in the industrial north. By September 12, thirty thousand troops—Rivero among them—were concentrated in Melilla in preparation to take back the lost territory (Payne 172) (see fig. 35).



Fig. 35. Francisco Rivero Gil dressed in the Valencia Battalion's uniform (1921[?]). González de Rivero family archive. Sepia Photograph. Reproduced with the kind permission of Elena González de Rivero.

The Valencia Battalion, in which Rivero served as a rank-and-file soldier [*soldado de filas*], departed by train from Santander in the first part of September to join the concentration in Melilla (*Album-Recuerdo* n.p.). The details of his tour of duty are sketchy. According to his son, he was assigned to work on aerial mapping because of his artistic abilities and he knew Franco's aviator brother, Ramón, but he also participated in the baser operations of war, such as the fighting against Abd el-Krim's troops at Tizza on September 29, described as the Battalion's "baptism in blood" [*bautismo de sangre*] (*Album-recuerdo* n.p.). During October he was among the troops who took back Monte Arruit, another Dantesque site of slaughter, "without firing a shot" [*sin disparar un solo tiro*]. In April of 1922 he suffered a serious respiratory ailment and had to be hospitalized in Malaga. He was sent home to recuperate, until August 21, when he was redeployed to Melilla. His second stint lasted almost a year (Carretero 34; 42).

Here we are concerned with the period of Rivero's first deployment in the immediate aftermath of the Annual Disaster, from September of 1921 to June of 1922, during which time the artist was caught up in an exceedingly nationalist moment that restricted his critical expression, which he resisted in subtle ways that come out in his work, as we shall see. According to Simón Cabarga, Rivero was called up despite his "exempt status as a *soldado de cuota*," but Cabarga must have been thinking of an earlier law, by which young men of sufficient means could legally buy their way out of conscription [*redención a metálico*] or pay for a substitute [*sustitución*] (Cabarga *Historia del Ateneo* 37). In 1912 a new law revoked these practices and required all able bodied males to serve in the military for three years, with a five year period in the reserve afterwards, although it allowed for a reduction of service in exchange for payment of 1,000 pesetas (to ten months) or 2,000 pesetas (to five months) (Cañete n. pag.). These reduced periods could also be split over two or three consecutive years. It follows from this that Rivero could have been performing his military service over



the summer months; or he could have been among the many young men from the middle class who enlisted out of a renewed sense of patriotic duty. In either case his attitude appears to have been in consonance with the prevailing nationalist sentiment. Another self-caricature before his embarkment depicts him dressed in uniform and smiling, in the company of two women, apparently receiving last minute instructions from one of them. The caption conveys the woman's dictate: "Be sure not to come back without the caricature of Abd el-Krim" [*Cuidado con volver sin la caricatura de Abd el-Krim*]. While this panel testifies to the naiveté of the moment, upon closer examination, it reveals greater complexity. The lexical elements of the title, "*Nuestro dibujante, expedicionario,*" have reduced the caricatured Rivero to a professional and military entity that now "belongs" to the army and represents the newspaper. In the caption he receives a professional assignment, while the graphic text emphasizes his role as soldier, depicting him in uniform and fully equipped for battle. He is sandwiched between two female figures, both of which constitute incongruous elements in the message. One woman gives him a professional assignment, instead of the newspaper's director, while the other is silent, but depicted with arms crossed defensively in front of her and an unhappy countenance. A Freudian reading of this panel might see a Rivero split in three and feminized in the face of co-optive pressures: the patriotic soldier is accompanied by a dictating female, a symbolic representation of his loss of agency as a professional, and a fearful woman, symbolizing his own "womanish" fears, on which he turns his back. Thus, humor would serve in this case to register conflicting psycho-social perspectives on military deployment not readily expressed in the prevailing atmosphere of enthusiasm for the war (see fig. 36).



Fig. 36. Francisco Rivero Gil, cartoon entitled *Nuestro dibujante, expedicionario*, published in *El Pueblo Cántabro*, Sept 9, 1921. Print. Donna Southard, all rights reserved.

After a massive popular campaign to raise money to supplement the troops' equipment (from cigarettes to water trucks and even a plane), Rivero's battalion travels by train to Almería, where they embark for Melilla. The next day a series entitled "*Notas de viaje de un*

*soldado expedicionario*” begins to appear, signed by Rivero. This chronicle details the emotions of the sendoff, which are multiplied at every stop along the way as the troops are received and bid farewell again by cheering crowds. The title of the series of approximately thirteen articles morphs into “*Cosucas’ de un soldado expedicionario*” and “*De nuestro corresponsal en Melilla,*” which appear very irregularly and normally without a graphic counterpart. An exception to the absence of graphic text is the article shown in figure 37, in which Rivero’s profile is recognizable behind that of another battalion mate, presumably a colleague from the newspaper, and which emphasizes the participation of *El Pueblo Cántabro’s* staff members in the war effort. In this rendition of himself, Rivero’s head is half-hidden by the figure in the foreground, while his signature grows to occupy the entire width of the column. This contrast between the more visible lexical self and the less visible graphic self is striking. One possible interpretation would be that his desire for recognition is displaced onto the signature, while the more immediate and lifelike graphic body recedes into the background, connoting perhaps his *esprit de corps* and/or a desire for protection in numbers.



Fig. 37. Page layout of article entitled “*Cosucas’ de un soldado expedicionario,*” illustrated by Francisco Rivero Gil, published in *El Pueblo Cántabro,* Sept 21, 1921[?]. Print. Donna Southard, all rights reserved.

During this period the documentary function of photography appears to take precedent as numerous photographic images populate the daily’s pages portraying the troops’ experience in Morocco. Rivero’s drawings only appear in a double page spread devoted to the bishop’s visit to wounded soldiers on December 8, the day of the patron saint of the infantry “*La Inmaculada*” (see fig. 38) Rivero kept a sketchbook during his tour of duty in which the original drawings may be found.



Fig. 38. Page layout, “El señor obispo visita a los soldados enfermos en Pedrosa,” article published in *El Pueblo Cántabro*, Dec. 8, 1921. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

In the photograph shown in figure 39 he is pictured, according to the caption, making a sketch for that article, in which two different styles of graphic text coexist: the artist’s typical line drawings are combined with a more realist depiction of a soldier helping a wounded fellow to safety with the additional assistance of a fantasmal virgin floating over their heads. None of these drawings is signed, although the caption attributes the caricatures to Rivero. The realist image is most likely his also, as several compositionally similar versions are conserved by family members. The one pictured in figure 40 suggests that the more traumatizing scenes (the wounded man here is missing an arm) were withheld from the newspapers. Rivero was emphatically not religious and it would not be surprising if he produced the religious drawing for the article on the condition that it not be attributed to him.



Fig. 39. Cuesta Jado (?), photog., Francisco Rivero Gil making a sketch in Morocco, photo published in *El Pueblo Cántabro*, Dec.1921-Jan 22[?]. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

Another of his chronicles entitled “El grito de un soldado enfermo” details the visit of a commission visiting infirm soldiers in Melilla to deliver gifts from Santander. The shout to which the title of the article refers is “¡Viva la tierra!” given by a soldier in his sickbed, before falling back onto his pillow, sobbing. Rivero’s chronicles are full of emotional moments acknowledging his own and other men’s vulnerability, which coexist with the macho discourse of the patriotic warrior: “In this bloody operation at Tizza the Valencia Battalion had its baptism in blood, leaving on the battlefield not a few comrades who heroically shed it,



shouting ‘Long live Spain!’” [*“En esta sangrienta operación de Tizza el Batallón de Valencia tuvo su bautismo de sangre, dejando sobre el campo de batalla a no pocos camaradas que la vertieron heroicamente al grito de «¡viva España!»”*] (*Álbum-recuerdo* n.p.). He also demonstrates a remarkable candor when he concludes that his sadness is forgotten little by little as he penetrates the streets of central Melilla, “where life palpitates with all its egotism, meanness and hypocrisy” [*“Pero la tristeza que nos invadió unos instantes fue poco a poco desapareciendo a medida que íbamos adentrándonos por las calles centrales de Melilla, donde palpitaba la vida con sus egoísmos, ruindades e hipocresías”*] (*El Pueblo Cántabro*, January 1922).



Fig. 40. Francisco Rivero Gil, untitled [Wounded soldier being helped by comrade] (1921-2[?]), , private collection. Gouache on cardstock. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

Rivero himself takes ill around March. He is shown in the photograph in figure 41, taken in April at the Marqueses de Urquijo Hospital in Malaga. Around the same time his “*Nota Cómica*” cartoon panels begin to appear again, though sporadically, in *El Pueblo Cántabro* with themes related to Morocco and army life. On June 4 the panel in figure 42 appears, announcing his return to Santander. The caption reads, “Three well-known soldiers from the Valencia Battalion will return soon to Santander” [*“Tres conocidos soldados del Batallón de Valencia que regresarán en breve a Santander”*]. Rivero’s familiar figure is in the center, holding the hands of his battalion mates. A Freudian interpretation of this panel would perhaps see in their boyish attire the wish to return to a state of prewar innocence. Rivero appears to lead the others, one stone-faced and the other, unsure, looks over his shoulder, perhaps not quite believing it’s over. In this reading the panel’s humorous rendering of local news would also function as an expression of psychic otherness. The artist’s Moroccan experience will find textual expression in the collaborative project to be examined in the next section: the *Álbum-recuerdo del Batallón de Valencia en Marruecos (1921-1922)*. First, however, and before turning to the last three panels in this section (figs. 43-5), which also contain dimensions of psychic otherness, some words on Orientalism are in order. While it is not my intention here to address this issue in depth, some historical notions will be necessary to adequately frame the analysis of the following cartoons, in which the conflicting pressures of modernity also allowed for the presence of a subtly inflected Saidian Other.



Fig. 41. José Garma, photog. Francisco Rivero Gil (first on right) convalescing in Málaga published in *El Pueblo Cántabro*, Ap. 26, 1922. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.



Fig. 42. Francisco Rivero Gil, untitled [Three boys in sailor suits], cartoon published in *El Pueblo Cántabro*, Aug. 13, 1922. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

The Iberian Peninsula is known historically for being a crossroads, inhabited for centuries by Jews and Muslims, as well as Christians. The Moorish conquest and the Christian reconquest led to alternating periods of war and peaceful coexistence, as well as changing political alliances and varying degrees of cultural exchange, intermarriage and integration. Once the Catholic Kings established their rule late in the fifteenth century, Jews and Muslims were expelled unless they accepted conversion to Christianity. Subsequently, as the Church went about consolidating its hegemony, ecclesiastical authorities became obsessed with racial purity, in an attempt to erase the reality of Spain's hybrid cultural heritage. With the rise of nationalism, this reality came into play again, generating an intellectual process that sought a conclusive resolution of the problem of national identity. During Rivero's time, Ortega proposed the "europeization" [*“europeización”*] of Spain, while Unamuno suggested the "spanishization" [*“españolización”*] of Europe (Viscarri 22). The Disaster of Annual, however,



Fig. 43. Francisco Rivero Gil, *Dos hebreos*, caricature published in *El Pueblo Cántabro*, Dec. [?], 1921. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

radicalized this debate in favor of Europe and the campaigns to recover lost positions “represented another chapter in Spain’s efforts to demonstrate its European identity and its rootedness in European ideals of technological superiority, cultural and institutional civilizing responsibilities and urbanization projects. At the same time, these conflicts reflect the Spanish concern with containing and delimiting Semitic influence, as well as the definitive resolution of the problem of national identity” (Viscarri 22-3) [*“(L)as campañas de Marruecos representaron un capítulo más del afán por manifestar la “europeidad” española, por demostrar su arraigo en los ideales europeos de superioridad tecnológica, cultural e institucional, con responsabilidades civilizadoras y proyectos de urbanización. Asimismo, estos conflictos reflejan la preocupación hispana por contener y delimitar la influencia semita, por resolver definitivamente el problema de la identidad nacional”*]. The ultra-nationalist discourse that proliferated in the aftermath of the Disaster would be permeated with Said’s sense of the Other as a hegemonic construction that mirrored Spanish concerns (Norton 1988). However, given the “hybrid nature of Spain’s cultural soul” [*“la naturaleza del alma cultural de España”*], this vision “oscillated between a receptive attitude, one which accepts the other as a facet of the Spanish cultural personality...and one of rejection, one that conceives of the other as something foreign, exotic and inferior” [*“la visión del otro oscilaba entre una actitud receptiva, una que acepta al otro como una faceta de la personalidad cultural española, y otra como algo extraño, exótico e inferior”*] (Viscarri 22-3). This duality may be observed in the next three panels.

The first (fig. 43) is entitled “*Dos hebreos*” (December 8, 1921). This simple caption replaces the dialog, which normally accompanied this type of panel. The absence of dialog connotes mute sub-alternity, but it may also allude to the unspoken presence of Jewish heritage in the Spanish psyche or in Rivero’s own background. Indeed, both Rivero and Gil are documented as Sephardic surnames (Stein n.p.). The treatment of these figures is similar to that of the *raquero*, where sinning hands are hidden in pockets. Here, however, there is no outline of the hand beyond the cuff, creating the effect that there *are* no hands, which constitutes a double erasure, suggesting a stronger need to hide these instruments of

stereotypical Jewish usury from view. At the same time and taking into account that this erasure takes place at the midline of the body, it could also be an allusion to circumcision, especially as the waistband on the figure to the right merges with the sleeves, as though the garment were made for some *different* sort of body. In fact, the upper half of the body appears to be floating over the lower half, only held to it where the hands should be. The effect of disconnected body parts is repeated in the treatment of the legs, including one of the left-hand figure's legs, which appear to be stubs floating over the boots. The head does not appear to be joined to the neck, but rather set upon it rather precariously, creating a strange overall effect of whole-yet-not-whole, which may refer to the body and/or to the psychic dimensions of a mutilated cultural heritage. At the same time the blank background implies an attempt to separate the figures from traditional narratives, which is reinforced by their individualized treatment. The strangely fragmented figure on the right is accompanied by a more solid-looking fellow in movement, perhaps a subtle identification with the Spanish soldiers on the march, clad in boots like the ones worn by these *hebreos*. Very few of Rivero's drawings are unsigned, like this one, which could indicate the artist's reluctance to "own" his conflicted identification with his Jewish heritage.

The next panel, entitled "At the Souk" [*En el zoco*], published on June 7, 1922, is accompanied by a dialog between two Muslims (see in fig. 44). The taller, fiercer-looking one standing on the right says to the smaller man: "Go get rifle" [*Vete a coger fusila*"]. The smaller man is squatting behind a recipient full of something we cannot identify from the graphic text alone. He replies: "I have to sell eggs" [*Tengo que vender huevos*"]. Thanks to the title, we understand that the curves inside the recipient represent the tops of the eggs he is selling at an open-air market. At the same time, the use of "egg" in the plural immediately brings to mind its colloquial meaning (balls, i.e., testicles) and we are set up for a joke about the cowardice of Moroccans: the fact that they must purchase the body parts generally thought to be responsible for the production of valor implies that they lack their own.



Fig. 44. Francisco Rivero Gil, *En el zoco*, cartoon published in *El Pueblo Cántabro*, June 4, 1922. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

Cowardice is a characteristic commonly ascribed to the Saidian Other, a major component of moral inferiority, which is complemented by a lack of intelligence, portrayed in this figure by the depiction of stereotypical racial characteristics, such as thick lips and a heavy brow. The fierce fellow responds to the vendor with an insult: “Pig,” followed by “eggs. Me think you chicken.” [*Gualo, huevos. Mi pensar que tú estar gallina*]. Beyond the profanity and the pidgin Spanish, the humor here depends on a play of linguistic competence and incompetence: the vendor utters the grammatically correct “*Tengo que vender huevos*” while the fierce fellow’s lines are full of grammatical mistakes: “*fusila*” instead of “*el fusil*”, “*mi pensar*” instead of “*yo pienso*,” etc. The fierce fellow’s insult, “*gualo*,” transcribes the incorrect pronunciation of “*guarro*,” increasing the degree of linguistic incompetence, which is intensified still further by the fact that he mistakenly understands the colloquial meaning of “*huevos*,” apparently unaware that the word also refers to eggs laid by chickens and too stupid to infer from the context of the souk that the other man literally needs to sell his eggs. His telegraphic “*Gualo, huevos*” is a pidginized asyndeton, by which we understand that the insult proffered is a recrimination in response to the vendor’s having uttered what the other understands to be a swearword. When the fierce one pronounces the final insult, “*gallina*,” what should be a punch line becomes a muddle: we realize that his limited understanding of the term “*huevos*” does not include its allusion to valor. His euphemistic “*gallina*” is both silly and redundant. At the same time confusion is created because it retroactively contrasts with the literal meaning of “pig” as he attempts some clumsy humor of his own, which depends on the accumulative effect of the insults, “pig” and “chicken.”

However, these Moroccans are also depicted in a positive light, as distinct individuals: not only are their facial features, clothes and footwear individualized, but so are their social roles. They also disagree about priorities and, although the fierce fellow insults the vendor for being a coward, the implication is that at least one of two is a man of mettle, even though this positive value is diminished by his stupidity, or that the vendor is at least an industrious fellow and tends to business. Thus, the humor is ambiguous, which we might attribute to the cartoonist’s lack of skill, or we might suspect that we have missed something. Some historical contextualization will be useful here.

The Annual Disaster led to a political debate about how to solve the Moroccan problem. The discussion was often reduced to a question of courage expressed in the same colloquial terms of the cartoon. Indeed, legend has it that Primo de Rivera, who initially favored withdrawal, made an official visit to Morocco, during which Franco, a major at the time, arranged to have eggs served at dinner, a gastronomical *communiqué* meant to encourage support for the military solution. In this light the panel may be seen as a displacement of this debate, masking the soldier/cartoonist’s criticism of the military. The cartoonist takes the side of the vendor, whose smaller stature is more than compensated for by his linguistic competence and his work ethic; the stupid warrior, representing the military, neglects the practical responsibilities of everyday life, along with his language skills.

The prickly pear, the central background feature of the panel, constitutes an incongruous element in the market setting indicated by the title. Taken with the low jagged horizon, it expresses the harsh material reality of the Riffian landscape in which the Spanish soldiers found themselves, which was both invasive of their personal sphere and far-reaching, involving the public sphere and the harsh realities of the colonialist adventure. The heads of the figures, separated from the body at the neck, may allude to the decapitations practiced frequently on both sides, but they also suggest the psychic fragmentation caused by the experience of war, bringing to mind Galdos’s soldier-turned-pacifist protagonist in *Aita*



*Tettaouen*. Juan Santiuste walks out of his military encampment to disguise himself as a native and, before being taken in by a Jewish family, wanders all night “moved by a mechanical restlessness[,] his will set out toward an abstract end... cloudy, like the promises of the afterlife” [*“una inquietud mecánica le movía; su voluntad se encaminaba hacia un fin abstracto, nebuloso, como las promesas de ultratumba”*]. Galdós situates this “will” in his protagonist’s head: a “mental state of ambulatory ecstasy” [*“estado mental de éxtasis ambulatorio”*]. Rivero expresses this separation between mind and body both anatomically and through the spatial compression of near and far in this panel (242). While Galdós updates in Santiuste the Cervantine figure of the renegade [*“renegado”*], Rivero remains a soldier, represented by his signature—under the foot of the warrior, he has been flattened into an unrecognizable sign.

In an untitled panel (see fig. 45), published earlier, he is shown “going native.” Here he reprimands a young unkempt-looking recruit: “Hey, why is your face so dirty?” [*“Pero hombre, ¿cómo tienes la cara tan sucia?”*]. His face smudged, and dressed in a rumpled and patched uniform with improvised broom in hand, the recruit answers: “It’s because I’m on cleaning detail” [*“Es que estoy de limpieza”*]. The visual pun depicts for those back home the soldiers’ reality at a few months’ remove from the patriotic fanfare of their departure. At the same time, the cartoon Rivero, older and presumably by now of higher rank, is not only unshaven, but also out of uniform, denoting a more serious breach of military regulations. Significantly, he is wearing regulation trousers and boots. It is the upper half of his body that incurs in the infraction, implying the same fragmentation suffered by Santiuste. The fact that these two figures are situated amid the dunes on the edge of the encampment identifies them with the renegade, who goes to live with inhabitants of the Rif, while the improvised broom links them to rural inhabitants of the peninsula, who often used (and use) dried branches for outdoor sweeping. The cartoon Rivero, facing away from the tents, simultaneously embodies the hypocrisy of military authority as he turns his back on it. The artist’s signature floats above the ground at a right angle behind his cartoon self’s leg, still under military authority, represented by the tents above it, paradoxically bracing this new duality in the air.

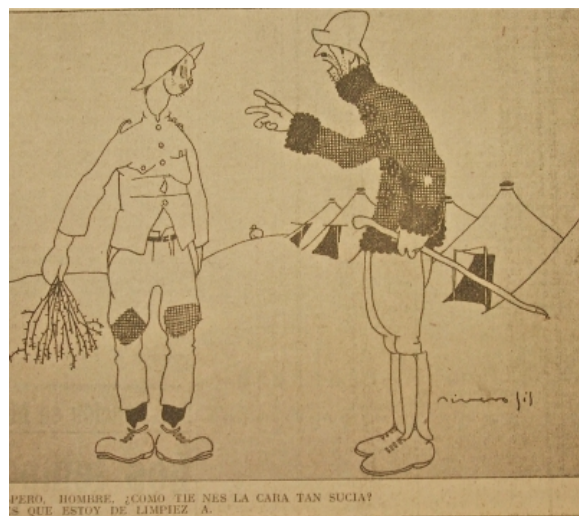


Fig. 45. Francisco Rivero Gil, illus., untitled [Two soldiers outside military camp], cartoon published in *El Pueblo Cántabro*, Jan-April 1922. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

From this analysis we may come to the preliminary conclusion that Rivero's experience of wartime reality provided him with first-hand knowledge about Spain's colonial adventure in Morocco, about the reductive, degrading and stupefying affects of war, which would have collided with any romantic ideas about fighting for one's country he may have entertained at the outset. This experience determined a major shift in his outlook, which will become apparent over the long term. Indeed, during the Civil War his anti-imperialist stance with respect to Germany's support of Franco will become an explicit theme in his cartoons. For now, suffice it to say that, as Rivero's pre-war certainties were reduced to rubble in Morocco, his graphico-lexical collaborations represent the paradox of modern subjectivity, a whole-yet-not-whole state that dialogs in a compressed and telegraphic Bakhtinian style with all that surrounds him, all that is past and present, expressing and learning (as opposed to fighting and conquering) his way, towards a still "cloudy" and "abstract" secular future in a process of self and other discovery. This dialogical process continues in a more concentrated collaborative/therapeutic way upon Rivero's return to Santander in June, after his first tour of duty, taking its form in the *Álbum-recuerdo del Batallón de Valencia en Marruecos (1921-1922)*, which will be examined in the next section.

«*Álbum-Recuerdo del Batallón de Valencia en Marruecos: Campaña 1921-1922*»

Touted as a chronicle of the Battalion's campaign, the *Álbum-recuerdo del Batallón de Valencia en Marruecos: Campaña 1921-1922* is a textual elaboration of the Moroccan experience that styles itself after the photo albums that were popular during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, adopting the same format of elongated "landscape" oriented pages. Initially, it appears to be a fascinating propaganda rag effectively detailing how the "propertied classes threw themselves into an orgy of support for the war effort" after the Annual Disaster (Carr 379). Its design concept, however, which requires the reassembly of fragments in a new aesthetic environment, opens the way to question the document's jingoistic, celebratory appearance and its presentation to King Alfonso XIII by Rivero at the inauguration of the artist's first monographic exhibition, held at Santander's Ateneo in August of 1922 (Carretero 26) (see fig. 46).



Fig. 46. Tomás Quintana (Samot), photog. King Alfonso XIII (fourth from left) with Francisco Rivero Gil (fifth from left) at 1922 exhibition in Santander at the Ateneo, published in *El Pueblo Cántabro*, Aug 13, 1922. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

To date only four copies have been located. Three are in Santander: one is conserved by Elena González, another is owned by a collector, and the third belongs to the family of Ezequiel Cuevas. The fourth, presumably the copy Rivero presented to the king, is conserved in the library of the Royal Palace in Madrid. The latter presents a significant alteration to its heavy, uncoated paper cover: a circular cutout, positioned to the right of a battlefield image, in which a soldier adopts a protective stance in front of stretcher-bearers carrying a wounded man to safety. The cutout allows the king's sendoff address, printed in a circular shape on the first page and relegated to a secondary position inside, to show through (see figs. 47 and 48). This move appears to have been an act of deference on Rivero's part, thought up at the last moment for the occasion, and indicates the constructivist principle of adaptability that informs its design concept. In any case the cutout effectively textualizes Alfonso's desire, as expressed in his lyricized, shaped-poem-like speech, to be next to his troops on the battlefield, the "sublime aspiration of all military men" [*"de todos los militares es ésta la más sublime aspiración"*]. The allusion to Annual is clear in his characterization of a Spain offended in her honor, which the Valencia Battalion is honor-bound to avenge. The irregular edges of the photographs, which appear to be torn, employ the *découpage* technique popularized by the magazine *Blanco y Negro* to distinguish it from high art publications (Charnon-Deutsch 70). The captions for both photographs are put together in a rectangular box with legs, like a signpost in front of photographic monuments, giving the page a Bauhaus-inspired architectural look. More will be said at the end of this section about this two-dimensional referencing of sculpture. The purpose of the *Album*, announced by the editors in the prologue, is to "refresh" the reader's memory of the heroic deeds performed by the "glorious" Valencia Battalion during the Rif campaign. However, the album's presentation to the world, that is, its cover, hints at a counter narrative, suggesting that this heroism was more about protecting and caring for one's comrades-in-arms than conquest and domination. Furthermore, Alfonso's wordy "presence" on the battlefield seems to float like so much hot air, contained in a blimp-like form and disconnected from the reality on the ground



Fig. 47. Francisco Rivero Gil, cover illustration for *Album-recuerdo del Batallón de Valencia en Marruecos: campaña de 1921-1922* (n.d. [1922]). Real Biblioteca, Madrid. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.





Fig. 48. Page design “Palabras de S. M. El Rey,” *Album-recuerdo*, n. pag. Print. Photo: all rights reserved©Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

It is assumed that the reader has previous knowledge of the events and probably relatives and/or friends who participated in the campaign. In this way the lexical text gives primacy to other channels of information, such as firsthand or newspaper accounts of the events. At the same time there is a strong regional identification in the *Album*'s declared purpose as an aid to memory. Like Pereda in his prologue to *Sotileza*, the editors assume that the readers are inhabitants of Cantabria, with no interest expressed in a wider circulation of the document. However, the last lines of the prologue reveal that there is room also for a sense of national identity as the editors address the reader, “who may recognize him or herself” in the pages of the *Album*: “If this is the case, more reasons you will have to save the album and to realize, as the days pass, that only our physical appearance changes, while our patriotic ardor does not grow cold, nor is it ever extinguished.” [*“Si es así, más razones tendrás para guardar el álbum y para darte exacta cuenta, al correr de los días, que sólo cambia nuestra fisonomía, pero que nuestro ardor patriótico no se enfría ni se extingue. Para eso nacimos españoles”*] (see fig. 49). The act of self-recognition, made possible by the *Album*, mediates between passing time and the eternal, located in emotion, expressed here as patriotism. This model, however, is simultaneously undermined by the anti-authoritarian modes of textuality adopted by the *Album*, which allow a self-recognizing subject moving easily between regional and national identity to inhabit liminality, setting up a precondition for the questioning of jingoistic forms of national sentiment.

As a tool for self-recognition, the *Album* mirrors duality, the principle feature of its conception and design. Magazines were commonly printed in blue or sepia to differentiate them from their plainer black and white newspaper competitors (Satué in personal communication); but the *Album* alternates these colors throughout its unpaginated sixty-three pages, boldly calling attention to its double nature. A scrapbook effect is achieved by differently shaped photographs, often with a look of torn edges or mounted on each other in extremely variable page layouts. In this way the photographs invade each other and the lexical text as well, even crossing the center column divide. Their captions, unlike the signpost captions shown above, are grouped together in a single separate rectangular space, at a remove from the photographs to which they refer, *almost* forming part of the main body of

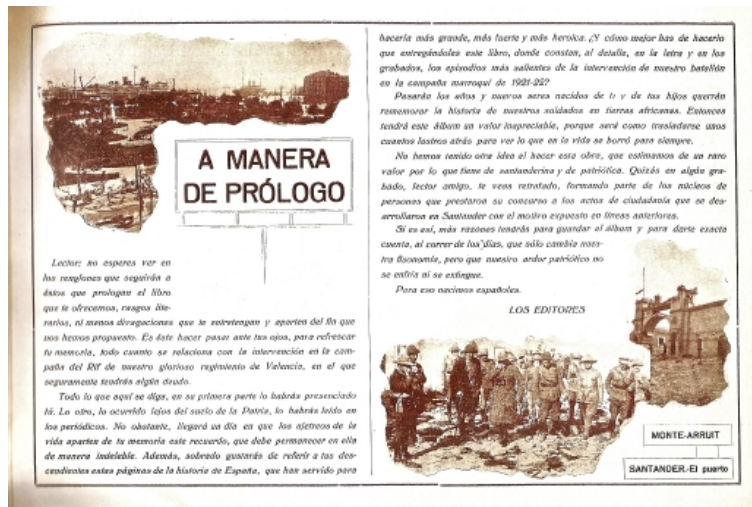


Fig. 49. Page design “A manera de prólogo,” *Álbum-recuerdo*, n. pag. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

lexical text, yet set off from it by differentiated type. This caption space is also bordered by a white space, like the photographs, giving the impression that they too, identified with both graphic and lexical elements, possess a double nature.

After the king’s sendoff address and the prologue, nineteen pages of the *Álbum* are devoted to the month and a half of fund-raising activities in Santander before the Battalion’s departure, followed by thirty-seven pages describing the action in Morocco and three addenda: a one-page tribute to the three Cantabrians who were killed at Monte Arruit; a page with photos of the members of the Junta Patriótica Montañesa, the board created to organize the pre-departure fund-raising activities; and a double-page tribute with the photos of the thirty-three members of the Valencia Battalion killed or missing in action. The body of the lexical text is divided throughout the document into short sections (approximately three per page), signposted with titles in larger type.

The *Junta* and the families of the troops, whose efforts to raise money for the campaign are the real protagonists in the first section, imply the military’s serious lack of preparation for the task: commissions were organized to raise money for water trucks (the troops at Annual had suffered enormously due to the lack of water) and planes (notably absent in the recent debacle); an office of information was organized to coordinate news of the wounded (another problem at Annual); hospitals in Santander were offered as campaign hospitals, but were rejected by the army due to their distance from the war theatre; even rain-proof ponchos and a flag were obtained by popular subscription. These activities also denote the higher level of sophistication of the families, whose sons were being mobilized in this campaign. As a result, these troops enjoyed superior conditions, though not better training, than previous mobilizations of working-class troops. The lexical text is glowingly jingoistic in its account of these activities and the chronicle of the trip by train to Almería, whence the troops were ferried across the Mediterranean to Melilla, with receptions, gifts and sendoffs by cheering crowds in every town along the way.

The second part of the album devotes its first pages to the Battalion’s reception on African soil, where the presence of the sons of “distinguished *santanderino* families” in Melilla is highlighted by a list of Cantabrian surnames. We learn that one of these distinguished sons was reprimanded for bringing a fashionable straw hat to the front and that a special cook was

hired. The troops finally see action on September 29, participating in the battle of Tizza. At this point the narrative voice is yielded to Juan de los Castillejos, one of *El Pueblo Cántabro's* correspondents in the line of fire. In his chronicle, published previously in the newspaper, the *Album's* patriotic rhetoric reaches epic heights: "every one of us carried a warrior inside without knowing it until that moment" [*Cada uno de nosotros llevaba dentro un guerrillero hasta entonces desconocido*]; "What pleasure we felt at sinking our knives into enemy flesh!" [*¡Con qué gusto sentíamos hundirse el cuchillo en la carne del enemigo!*]. The few casualties die with "¡Viva España!" on their lips and are dismissed with "such is war" [*Son cosas de la guerra*].

The narrative baton is passed often: a second lieutenant gives a more technical account of the battle; fragments of anonymous letters are included, as well as previously published newspaper accounts of the various operations carried out by the Valencia Battalion, one of which described the "Dantesque" scene at Monte Arruit. Rivero himself chronicles the occupation of the Iguerman plain. After the Battalion's "baptism in blood" at Tizza, the descriptions become progressively shorter, suggesting that the novelty of battle has worn off and that the drudgery and boredom of military life have set in. The photographs, which often bear no relationship to the lexical text at all, are extraordinarily innocent. Hardly portraying war at all, they may have served as a psychological barrier and/or consolation. Mostly posed shots of the troops, if it weren't for the uniforms, they would look like photos in a vacation album. The sole exception is the small widely reproduced image accompanying the prologue of decaying bodies at Monte Arruit, a counter-discourse that serves to illustrate the Bakhtinian style of double voicing that is an organizing principle of this document. Even the hyphenated denomination *Album-recuerdo* suggests a need to expand the traditional album format to accommodate modern duality.

Rivero's illustrations appear on eighteen of the *Album's* pages, mostly taken from his Morocco sketchbook. Like many fragments of the lexical text, several of them appeared previously in the newspaper, denoting their polyvalence and propensity for the constructivist design concept of the *Album*. The architecture of the double-columned pages incorporates the graphic text as an element that both frames the page and breaks with the frame, in a fusion of simple ornament and expression replete with an ironic self-awareness that presides over the vacation-type poses and heroic rhetoric. As the graphic text is reassembled with other fragments of photographic and lexical texts, the production of dialogic discourses is foregrounded. Like Spanish social reality, this new textual reality is inclusive and incorporates a wide range of perspectives gathered from the field and other print sources by narrator, photographer and illustrator, creating a new whole, which is greater than the sum of its parts.

The graphic text pictured in figure 50, examined previously in its original environment as a panel in the newspaper, has been severed from its original "daily" environment, just like Rivero and his fellow soldiers. After the experience of war on Moroccan soil parts are lost: the apprehensive woman in the original panel is gone, as is the caption, in which the demanding woman instructed the soldier not to return without a caricature of Abd el-Krim. In the graphic text's new role as frame-yet-not frame this orientalist mandate has disappeared and the caricatured Rivero has been distanced from the figure who uttered it. This reconfiguration of the original cartoon panel suggests that Rivero's Moroccan experience shifted his attention—it is now the Spanish army that should be caricatured. The fragmented graphic text encroaches on its jingoistic lexical counterpart and photographs follow suit, overlapping each other and split off from their captions. This disordered textuality not only replicates modern bodily reality of broken flesh and severed limbs, but it also constructs a new whole made of fragments of human textual experience.



Fig. 50. Page design with illustration of Soldier and woman by Francisco Rivero Gil, *Album-recuerdo*, n. pag. Print.

The obvious precedent for this work is Pedro Antonio Alarcón's *Diario de un testigo de La Guerra de África* (1860). The *Diario* provides an eyewitness account of the Moroccan campaign of December 1859 through March 1860, known as "The African War," which culminated with a resounding victory for Spain and the occupation of Tetouán. This "soldier's tale" was a bestseller by 19<sup>th</sup>-century standards: initially published in broadsheet form, its first edition sold fifty thousand copies. It was reprinted in 1889, 1917, and again in 1923 and 1924 (volumes one and two, respectively), evidencing its continued popularity during Rivero's time (Santiáñez 72). The collaborative nature of both projects and the protagonism given to their graphic text is remarkable. While a comparative study of these works goes beyond the scope of this project, a brief discussion in these terms will illustrate how the *Album-recuerdo* dialogs with this literary tradition while breaking away from it.

Alarcón was as an established journalist, novelist and friend of General Ros de Olano, not a rank-and-file soldier like Rivero. As a result, he enjoyed a privileged position in the field when he became the General's orderly to report on the War. He was even allowed to transfer to General O'Donnell's headquarters when the informational opportunities there became greater (Márquez 175 n. 11). The diary's adopted book format, with its hard cover and gold-edge pages reflects the elite status of its author, in contrast to the album's coarser pages and fragmented form, identified with popular modes of expression. Alarcón combined "romantic sensibility" with "complete submission to official government policy on the war" [*trata a su tarea una sensibilidad de base romántica, a la vez que una sumisión completa a los planteamientos oficiales de la guerra*] (Márquez 26). While he seems to have undergone an ideological transformation after his experience in Morocco, the sincerity of Alarcón's antiwar stance at the end of the book is suspect, as it may well have been a reflection of changed political priorities in Madrid.

Like the *Album-recuerdo*, the abundance of photographs and illustrations in Alarcón's work points to a de-emphasized lexical text. The author, however, maintains firm control of the narrative voice. Indeed, the proliferation of exclamation points throughout his narrative connotes a degree of anxiety about sharing the page with its spectacular graphic counterpart. Hyperbolic emotion seems to call the reader's attention back from the book's dramatic graphic text, which interrupts the narration frequently and often occupies half the page or more with sweeping panoramas of the landscape, portraits of both African and Spanish protagonists, as well as scenes of heroic action on the battlefield. The lithographical/engraving processes in use



at the time, however, as explained in the previous chapter, renders photographs and illustrations virtually indistinguishable, except to a practiced eye (see figs. 51-52). As a result, both types of graphic text worked together to “document” reality, also the lexical text’s self-proclaimed pretension, in their shared function of reporting news from the field, in response to the “desire or realism-naturalism to describe people and places in such a way as to make them representationally actual to the reader” (Miller, *Introduction* 283). While obviously an effective complement to the lexical text, such a team of graphic immediacy could also be perceived as a threat to the authority of the univocal narrator-witness announced in Alarcón’s title.



Fig. 51. Unknown photog. *El General Prim y sus ayudantes*. (*De fotografía*), engraving after a photograph, *Diario de un testigo de la Guerra de África* (1860) by Pedro de Alarcón (1833-1891), 88. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.



Fig. 52. Unknown artist. *Vista de la ría de de Tetuan*. (*De un croquis*), engraving after a sketch, *Diario de un testigo de la Guerra de África*, p. 89. Print Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

By contrast, the fragmented multiplicity of the album format chosen by Rivero and his collaborators replicates itself in the narrative voice, as a number of chroniclers succeed each other with apparent ease. The multiplication of perspectives is further aided by the development of photoengraving, which, by this time, allowed illustrations and photographs to be clearly distinguished. As a result, Rivero’s illustrations break away from a purely mimetic function to document a different type of knowledge through a seeing critical presence. The result is a striking, albeit mute counter-account of the campaign. While words and

photographs, seen to be more “real” in the wake of the realist tradition, were susceptible to censorship, whether official or self-imposed to avoid social disapproval, the chameleonic graphic text, hiding in plain view as ornament, resisted the jingoistic pressures of the moment and was able to express unspoken emotions and/or privately held reservations.

In sharp contrast to lexical references about the pleasures of sinking one’s knife into enemy flesh, the only battle scene depicted by the graphic text is the cover illustration, which emphasizes a different type of heroism, as mentioned earlier—protecting and caring for the wounded. The only other two illustrations even remotely approaching a battle scene offer an almost indifferent attitude toward the fighting and a complete absence of the enemy. In the first, two soldiers lie behind a parapet waiting for something to happen (figs. 53 and 54); in the other a lone machine-gunner shoots rather slow and limp-looking bullets into empty space (figs. 55 and 56). Other drawings, such as the one in figures 57 and 58, offer an eloquent graphic critique of army life, which involves a great deal of boredom and standing around.

Although Rivero was not a landscape artist, he was moved on one occasion to render the simple beauty of the Rif in a sketch (see figs. 59 and 60). Perhaps he was thinking something akin to what Hemingway would articulate three years later in *A Farewell to Arms*: “abstract words such as glory, honor, courage, or hallow were obscene beside the concrete names of villages...” (qtd. in Fussell 21). The only moment of triumphant celebration represented in the eighteen drawings of the *Album* are expressed, not about victory in battle, but about the arrival of letters from home (see figs. 61 and 62).



Fig. 53. Page design with illustration of two soldiers behind parapet by Francisco Rivero Gil, *Album-recuerdo*, n. pag. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.



Fig. 54. Francisco Rivero Gil, illus., untitled [Two soldiers behind parapet], *Album-recuerdo*, n. pag. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.







Fig. 58. Francisco Rivero Gil, illus., untitled [Soldiers standing around], *Album-recuerdo* (n. pag.). Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

batallas y combates de los dominios. Con todos los pagos recibidos, acordándose en cada día al efecto, se le pedían a la oficina de don P. Flores, esta unos días

obsequios que l obligaciones l asistir a la entr sustitución formación Campes, villa. En Melilla toz, 1, edad don P flores, esta unos días

El mismo denburg P de Hambu E. Erhuca cajar

prepara cía la e x de Málaga soldado c e s, al ga, reexpidiéndola ésta a Melilla dond el encargo para él recibido. Cuando, c hacerse el envío semanal de objetos

El mismo denburg P de Hambu E. Erhuca cajar

Los tanques algeribes

El mismo denburg P de Hambu E. Erhuca cajar

Fig. 59. Page design with illustration of Moroccan landscape scene by Francisco Rivero Gil, *Album-recuerdo* (n. pag.). Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.



Fig. 60. Francisco Rivero Gil, illus., untitled [Moroccan landscape scene], *Album-recuerdo* (n. pag.). Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.



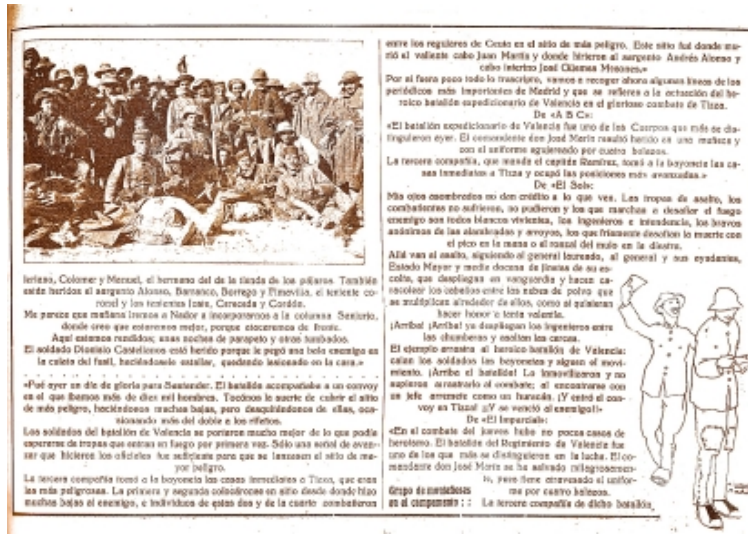


Fig. 61. Page design with illustration of soldiers receiving letters from home by Francisco Rivero Gil, *Album-recuerdo*, n. pag. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

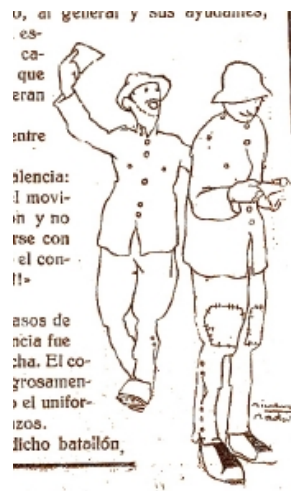


Fig. 62. Francisco Rivero Gil, illus., untitled [Soldiers receiving letters from home], *Album-recuerdo*, n. pag. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

The Moroccan experience is summed up by Rivero in another self-portrait, a two-dimensional reference to the figure presiding over Rodin's "The Gates of Hell" (see fig. 63). This reference is not coincidental. In 1922 Rodin's sculpture was in the news. That year the Hotel Biron in Paris, which had housed the sculptural group, was transformed into the Rodin Museum. *The Thinker*, which had been previously enlarged and installed as a separate monument outside the Pantheon, was moved to the Museum. Inspired by Dante's *Inferno*, Rodin's iconic figure is thought by some to be Dante observing characters of his creation; others see Rodin himself in contemplation of his work; still others believe the figure is Adam, who looks down on the destruction caused by his sin.

The architectural page of the *Album* incorporates Rivero's "print sculpture" over the "gates" of its columns (see figs. 64 and 65) This Thinker contemplates his contemporaries, who populate the *Inferno* of colonialist intervention, and he meditates on the drudgery, futility

and boredom of his service to his country, rendering a judgment on the war as a great anti-epic. The image offers at the same time a distilled meta-commentary on the function of illustration as thought: Rivero draws his way to new knowledge.



Fig. 63. Auguste Rodin (1840-1917), authorized cast of the *The Gates of Hell* (1880-1917). Sculptural group of 180 figures, presided by *The Thinker*. Kunsthaus Zurich, Switzerland. Bronze. Wikipedia. Web. June 5, 2012.



Fig. 64. Page design with self-portrait as soldier thinking by Francisco Rivero Gil, *Album-recuerdo*, n. pag. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.



Fig. 65. Francisco Rivero Gil, illus. untitled [Self-portrait as soldier thinking], *Album-recuerdo*, n. pag. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

As we have seen, Rivero's early career in the graphic arts is divided between the practical and the aesthetic, both of which garner for him a certain recognition in the public sphere. Inhabiting the slash of the text/image divide, his aesthetic concerns are linked especially to collaborative projects. The power of his drawings resides precisely in the recognition and cordial concern they enact in the press for society's others, whether marginalized by poverty (*raquero*) or subject to financial insecurity (seamstress) or embodying new technological values (photoengraver). These others include Spain's lost cultural and racial outcasts (Jews and Muslims), along with the internal dimensions of psychic otherness (not soldier, not correspondent, not adult, not renegade). Self-irony is the watchword for this new way of highly compressed and dialogic knowing that "announces its own relativity at each step," camouflaged in a highly adaptable skin.

## Chapter 3

### Tradition and Cultural Regeneration in the Heart of the Nation Madrid (1926–1930)

#### *Overview*

Rivero arrived in Madrid some time during the twenties, after his two tours of duty in Africa, looking to establish himself at the center of Spain's political and cultural life. There he cultivated an intense professional activity, aided, no doubt, by his timing. The field of the graphic arts, as discussed in chapter one, had been on the rise since the previous century and continued its ascendance, as did the number of illustrated magazines and popular collections being published in the capital. The demand for illustrations and graphic news commentary, also felt by other publications not strictly categorized as "illustrated," was such that Madrid must have been seen as the promised land by the aspiring young graphic artist.

The annual Salones de Humoristas inaugurated by José Francés in 1914 were an integral part of this intense activity in the field of the graphic arts. The significance of these exhibitions in the nation's cultural life grew steadily from the time of their conception and became consolidated in 1920 by the constitution of the Unión de Dibujantes Españoles. This professional association was created expressly to promote and protect graphic artists (Vázquez 419), giving formal structure to the *tertulias* (social gatherings in cafés) that informally vertebrated this body of cultural workers, hosted by the Hotel Nacional.<sup>27</sup> These encounters grouped "writers, painters, graphic artists and musicians under the generic advocacy of Humorists" [*que agrupaba[n] escritores, pintores, dibujantes, músicos, bajo la advocación genérica de Humoristas*] (Vázquez Astorga 12). It is of the utmost importance to note the "profound relationship" between writers and artists (González-Ruano qtd. in Summers 22). Indeed, as Rosa María Martín Casamitjana observes, "humor is a constant in the new avant-gardist aesthetic, whose chronological development may be established between 1909 and 1936" [*el humor es una constante de la nueva estética vanguardista, cuyo desarrollo cronológico puede establecerse entre 1909 y 1936*] (qtd. in Vázquez Astorga 413-4). As an emerging genre, modern *humorismo* was an aesthetic category under construction, whose novelty and particularity at the time is perhaps difficult for today's reader to imagine. The fact that Ramón Gómez de la Serna found it necessary to mediate between readers and this phenomenon with an article entitled "Gravity and Importance of Humor" [*Gravedad e importancia del humorismo*], published in 1930 in the *Revista de Occidente*, points to its newness, signaling the characteristic gap associated with modernity. It is important to note the use of the term *humorismo*, not *humor*, in the title, which has no equivalent in English. *Humorismo* is defined by the Dictionary of the Real Academia as a "way of presenting, judging or commenting on

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27. "This tertulia was founded in the first decade of the 20th century in the Lion D'Or, then it moved to the Café Jorge Juan in November of 1923, and finally it took up residence in the Hotel Nacional. All the most famous Spanish caricaturists passed through it, as did foreign artists, to celebrate the success of its members on holidays such as Fool's Day" [celebrated in Spain on the 28th of December]. [*Esta tertulia se fundó en la primera década del siglo XX en el Lion D'Or, luego se trasladó al Café de Jorge Juan, en noviembre de 1923, y por último, se instaló en el Hotel Nacional. Por ella desfilaron todos los caricaturistas y dibujantes más ilustres de España y recibió la visita de cuantos extranjeros pasaron por Madrid. Además de la tertulia semanal, se reunían cada mes para festejar los éxitos de sus asociados con motivo de fiestas como la de los Inocentes*] (Vázquez 12).

reality, emphasizing the comic, cheerful or ridiculous side of things” [*Modo de presentar, enjuiciar o comentar la realidad, resaltando el lado cómico, risueño o ridículo de las cosas*], but also as a “professional activity that seeks to entertain the public through jokes, imitations, parodies or other means” [*Actividad profesional que busca la diversión del público mediante chistes, imitaciones, parodias u otros medios*]. These definitions, however, elide the ideological implications of the suffix *-ismo* as it crossed over from politics and religion into aesthetics during this period. As Gómez de la Serna himself explains, *humorismo* overflows the category of aesthetics: “It’s almost not a literary genre, but rather a genre of life, an attitude towards life.” [*Casi no se trata de un género literario, sino de un género de vida, de una actitud ante la vida*] (qtd. in Vázquez Astorga 412).

The work of Spanish as well as foreign graphic artists came to the public’s attention thanks to the illustrated weeklies *Blanco y Negro*, *Nuevo Mundo*, *Mundo Gráfico*, *La Esfera*, *Estampa* and *Crónica*, among others. These publications, along with more purely humoristic magazines, including *El Mentihero*, *Buen Humor*, *Gutiérrez*, *Muchas Gracias*, *Gracia y Justicia*, *Bromas y Veras* and *La Ametralladora* formed a “network for the diffusion of the artistic ideology of the moment” [*malla de difusión de la ideología artística del momento*] (Vázquez Astorga 415-6). Many of these writers and artists worked simultaneously producing volumes for the enormously popular collections of illustrated short novels, such as *El Cuento Semanal*, *Los Contemporáneos*, *La Novela Corta*, *El Libro Popular*, *La Novela Semanal*, *La Novela de Hoy* and *La Novela Mundial*.

Rivero contributed to many of these magazines, and he illustrated and designed book covers for major publishers, among them Espasa Calpe, Cenit and Rivedeneyra. In 1933, during the Second Republic, he participated in the XVI Salon de Humoristas (Sáinz de Viadero in personal communication), and was also employed at Madrid’s principal daily newspaper, *El Sol*,<sup>28</sup> where his front-page satirical cartoons commented on the political life of the nation, substituting those of his famous mentor, Luísl Bagaría. An article in *El Heraldo de Madrid* in 1935 informs about a tribute made to Rivero for his “recent successes” [*sus recientes éxitos*]. The accompanying photo evidences the fact that the article is referring to a series of murals depicting the legend of the famous bandit, Luis Candelas, painted by the artist in the restaurant “El Púlpito” in the Plaza Mayor, which are visible in the background (*El Heraldo* May 6, 1935). In this chapter we will focus on two of Rivero’s professional accomplishments, alluded to in the above-mentioned article, with which the newspaper’s readers were presumably familiar: the illustrations included in the first edition of Valle-Inclán’s *Ligazón: auto para siluetas*, published in 1926 by Rivadeneyra as part of the popular collection *La Novela Mundial*; and the 1930 series of eight weekly illustrated articles entitled *Los otros*, which saw the light in *Estampa* between January 21 and March 3.

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28. *El Sol*, published between 1917 y 1939, was owned by the Basque engineer and businessman Nicolás María de Urgoiti (1869-1951). It was considered one of the primary newspapers in Europe and the best in Spain. With a clear agenda of journalistic, political and social reformation, it pursued economic benefits from a position of complete independence. Its twelve large-format pages did not contain information on bullfights or the lottery and there were few accident or crime reports, for which it was branded intellectual and elitist. It cost double the amount of other papers to compensate for the price of paper and lack of government subsidies. The publication was aimed toward a cultivated liberal bourgeois readership. It was directed by Felix Lorenzo (Heliófilo), but José Ortega y Gasset set to a large degree the editorial line of the newspaper, transmitting the intellectual concerns of the period. Urgoiti lost the newspaper after publishing the celebrated anti-monarchy article “*El error de Berenguer*” (15 Nov 1930). Manuel Aznar substituted him, but the newspaper languished after that. Urgoiti, Ortega y Gasset and Bagaría founded *Criol* and *Luz* (summarized and translated from the entry introducing *El Sol* on the Hemeroteca Digital of the Biblioteca Nacional de España).

«*Ligazón: auto para siluetas*»

Rivero's cover design and nine striking illustrations for Valle's dramatic *avant-garde* work, eliminated from subsequent editions, deserve our attention for various reasons. First, they draw attention to the new aesthetic regime put in place by the *humorismo* movement, which brought together a variety of cultural workers in new ways, with significant gains for the visual. Indeed, Rivero's graphic text appears at first glance to override the lexical text, and it must have done so for novice and experienced readers alike, given its compelling presence on the page. It also conditioned potential spectators of the play, which made its debut later. *Ligazón's* first edition inscribes Rivero clearly within the *avant-garde*, while at the same time associating him with a group of significant cultural agents. A job such as this had to be a significant milestone in the career of a young man of twenty-seven. Little more needs to be said in this respect except that further study is needed to establish Rivero more precisely within the cultural *milieu* of the capital during the period. More relevant to our concerns here is the fact that *Ligazón* is a little-studied *avant-garde* gem, whose subsequent editions, absent its original graphic component, render impossible an understanding of its original conceptualization. I want to revisit the moment of *Ligazón's* inception, the first edition of this hybrid work, whose graphic component—given its evident quality and power—actually competes with the lexical text of none other than Valle-Inclán. This graphic text truly jumps out at the reader/viewer, preceding Valle's very brief lexical text and establishing itself as a protagonist of the work. Besides the cover illustration, there are nine black-and-white interior illustrations that constantly distract our attention from reading. This visual protagonism calls for a careful analysis, not only for a better comprehension of the *auto's* genesis, but also to examine a relationship between text and image that tends to construct an authorial partnership, and the cultural dynamics that made a creative act like this possible. Finally, this work, situated in Galicia, establishes an interregional and intergenerational dialogue with Jose María de Pereda's novel *Las brujas*<sup>29</sup>. Rivero's drawings of Cantabria's mountain scenes (Cantabria was commonly referred to as "La Montaña") were well known during the period. He is the living nexus between the Cantabrian author of yesteryear and the Galician writer, a nod perhaps to the educated reader of the times. We will leave Rivero aside for a moment, as we establish these intertextual links with greater precision. Afterwards, we will return to the Riverogilian thread to examine his singular graphic contribution to the no less singular text of *Ligazón*.

*Peredian/Valleinclanesque Intertextuality*

Pereda's novel takes place in a Cantabrian village, and begins with the following description, which contains the intertextual keys we are looking for:

By saying that the landscape represented by this theater in this scene is *montañés*<sup>30</sup> it is understood that it is beautiful, in the most poetic sense of the word. Of its details, it is only important to know a group or "neighborhood" of eight or ten houses cut from so many different patterns; but all possess the peculiar character of the rural architecture of the region. We don't need to

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29. Pereda, José María de. *Las brujas en Tipos y paisajes*. Madrid, 1871.

30. *La Montaña* was frequently used as a synonym for Cantabria, thus *montañés* here refers to a Cantabrian landscape.

know the whole neighborhood either. For the necessary orientation of the reader, it's enough if he notices two houses in it: one with a gated front patio, wooden sun balcony and wide porch, and another opposite, separated from the first by a bit of field or a rustic small square, covered with fine grass, mallow, sedge and pennyroyal. This house, which barely deserves the honor of shack, only shows its side or main façade that faces the square; the other three are inside a small orchard protected by a high hedge of hawthorn, black berry and elderberry bushes. The treasures guarded by this enclosure are an ailing grapevine, with only one of its branches green, two consumptive apple trees and a few “*posarmos*” or tree cabbage, disseminated through the orchard, that barely measures half a *carro de tierra*<sup>31</sup> (Pereda, *Las brujas* n. p.).

[*Con decir que el paisaje que el teatro representa en este cuadro es montañoso, esta dicho que es bello, en el sentido más poético de la palabra. De los detalles de él, sólo nos importa conocer un grupo o “barriada” de ocho o diez casas cortadas por otros tantos patrones diferentes; pero todos del carácter peculiar de la arquitectura rural del país. Tampoco nos importa conocer toda la barriada. Para la necesaria orientación del lector, basta que éste se fije en dos casas de ella: una con portalada, solana de madera y ancho soportal, y otra enfrente, separada de la primera de un campillo o plazuela rústica, tapizada de hierba fina, malvas, juncias y poleos. Esta casa, que apenas merece honores de choza, solo descubre el lado o fachada principal correspondiente a la plazuela; los otros tres quedan dentro de un huertecillo protegido por un alto seto de espinos, zarzas y saúco. Los tesoros que guarda este cercado son una parra achacosa, verde de un solo miembro, dos manzanos tísicos y algunos “posarmos” o berza arborea, diseminados por el huerto, que apenas mide medio carro de tierra].*

The narrative voice situates us squarely in a theatrical *milieu* with the opening allusion to the mountain setting as the scene of a play. For Valle-Inclán this simple reference will constitute a challenge, to which he responds by creating an actual play. Bettering his literary father in this way, he chooses, further, the *auto*, ideally suited to ascribe maximum symbolic value to his feat as original. At the same time the *auto* propels stylization—a basic principle of the experimental theater of the period—condensing and intensifying all the symbolism of the play, as we shall see.

Pereda's description continues as though it were a cinematic zoom, focusing the reader's attention first on the rural Cantabrian landscape, then on a group of eight or ten houses situated in it, and finally on two houses in the group. The unhealthy state of the small orchard is a faithful reflection of the spiritual condition of the characters, who believe in witches. The sickly components of the natural setting also anticipate the physical state of one of the village dwellers, a young girl who suffers from a mysterious illness. The mother of this girl believes that the poor health of her daughter is due the fact that her neighbor, an old woman who lives in the opposite house, cast a spell on her. The old woman, after being hit with a stone thrown by the mother, briefly loses consciousness and falls into the arms of the priest, Don Perfecto, who happened by at just the right moment and in this way learned of the problem between the two neighbors. The old woman regains consciousness and continues on

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31. *Carro de tierra* is a measurement still used today in Cantabria, which varies from town to town. It is approximately equivalent to 181.9 square meters (Gobierno de Cantabria, n. pag.).

her way. Don Perfecto appears later at the house of Felipe Fantesía, a budding don Juan. Here we learn that seven months earlier Felipe had secretly taken a dead baby to the priest for a Christian burial. After the events earlier in the day Don Perfecto has realized that the infirm girl bore the dead child in secret. The priest tries to make Felipe see that, by not marrying her, he is not only responsible for her shame—the cause of her poor health—but also for the additional problem of an accusation of witchcraft and the stone-throwing incident, whose delayed effects have now caused the old woman to be in the throes of death. Unable to convince him, don Perfecto asks him to assist in delivering the last rites. Felipe agrees eagerly, thinking it the lesser of two evils. In the end the priest's clever plan succeeds: upon witnessing the spiritual pain of the old woman on her death bed, her Christian confession and reconciliation with her neighbor, and her peaceful passing afterwards, Felipe reacts, apparently moved by the Christian spirit, and accedes to marrying the girl, whose health problems disappear.

This moralizing story, based on the civilizing force of Christian rationalism, embodied by don Perfecto, in which the narrative voice distances itself from the village mentality to offer a criticism of superstition, suffers a radical transformation at the hands of Valle-Inclán. Let us compare the previous description to the opening lines of *Ligazón*, which take the form of stage directions:

Moonlight. The little inn traces its luminous doorway in the darkness of an arbor. At the edge of the garden wall the moon is mirrored in the waters of the trough where oxen are watered. In the illuminated doorway the shadow of a girl is outlined. She looks out at the little field of grasses, that spreads out before her, starlike, radiated by pathways. Another shadow—staff and cloak—is discernible against the wall, as though hanging from a thread projected by the roof tiles, moving in measured strides its tenuous relief. (3) (after Cunard 211)

[*Claro de luna. El ventorrillo calca el recuadro luminoso de su puerta en la tiniebla de un emparado. A la vera del tapial la luna se espeja en las aguas del dornil donde abrevan las yuntas. Sobre la puerta iluminada se perfila la sombra de una mozueta. Mira al campillo de céspedes, radiado con una estrella de senderos. Pegada al tapiado por el hilo que proyectan las tejas una sombra —báculo y manto— discierne con trancos compases su tenue relieve...*]

The two modest rural Cantabrian houses that set the scene in *Las brujas*, subject to the aesthetic principle of stylization, are replaced by an inn. The numeric reduction, together with the architectonic switch, concentrates and intensifies the symbolic value of the scene: this is not a site of a normal human dwelling, but rather an outlying area, a *locus* of shadows and chance meetings, news and surprises, a crossroads (*estrella de senderos*) that favors changes of course. The root word *venta* (sale) also announces the transaction that motivates the plot. At the same time it has been inflected by the use of a combination of suffixes: the despective *-orro* implies the lowly status of the establishment, as well as the immorality of the proposed deal, while the appreciative *-illo* elevates it through the affect—absent from Pereda's Cantabrian scene—that should be the sentiment driving these relationships. This affect extends to the natural elements (*campillo de céspedes*), as the sickly natural elements of *Las Brujas* are stripped down to a shadowy field of grasses and ennobled by an ordinary grapevine. The mention of



the trough where oxen are watered serves as a dehumanizing allusion to the human couple under the yoke of marriage. At the same time it provides a liquid surface in which to reflect the moon, foreshadowing death, as it bathes the scene in preternatural luminous effects, preparing the terrain for a performance of silhouettes. In this way Valle-Inclán begins his *real* theatrical staging, intensifying and redistributing Pereda's symbolic charge to create an identification with the rural environment of Galicia and suggest the possibility that witches do indeed exist.

In this inn *la mozueta*, daughter of *la ventera*, rebels against her mother, who tries to force her to prostitute herself for a necklace. *La raposa*, the young woman's aunt, opens the play. She appears as a shadow, bearing a gift—a necklace made of pearls and coral—from the *el pelele* or rag doll (a "rich Jew") [*"judío de mucha plata"*] from a nearby town (29). The aunt fails at getting her niece to accept the necklace, which the young woman refuses in no uncertain terms. The mother then takes over, but her daughter continues to resist, affirming her autonomy: "If I'm going to lose my flower, I'll give it to someone who pleases me" [*"Antes me doy a un gusto mío para perderme"*] (22). Finally, the mother resorts to the age-old approach: "You will do as your mother says" [*"Trás por donde tu madre te ordene"*], to which her daughter responds, pinpointing the fundamental issue and making her key claim: "My body is mine!" [*"¿Mi cuerpo es mío!"*]. She also warns her mother that if she lets this suitor into her bedroom, "*se encontrará lo que deba encontrarse*," which may be loosely translated as "he will meet with an unpleasant end" (23). However, the literal translation, "he will meet with what he *should* meet" removes this threat from the realm of simple violence, transforming it into a moral and ethical formulation, and situates it in the sphere of justice. We will return to this point further on.

We understand from the closing stage directions that the mother does indeed allow the suitor to enter her daughter's bedroom, whereupon the daughter acts: "Tumult of shadows. A scream and the thud of a body on the ground." The would-be lover only appears at the end of the play when two pairs of arms lower him from a window with scissors stuck in his heart. The second pair of arms belongs to a seductive traveling knife sharpener, whose help has been procured through a *ligazón* or witch's pact, which he and *la mozueta* have sealed by sucking each other's blood from a cut on each one's hand.

As Dru Dougherty affirms, the playwright made use of this "primitivist atmosphere" [*"ambiente primitivista"*] not to escape from the havoc of modernity, but rather to explore it from the perspective of feminine subjectivity (35). This primitive atmosphere of Galicia also becomes a palimpsest, in which traces of Greek tradition may be seen. The myth of the Three Fates has been condensed and reincarnated in the *mozueta*, who does not limit herself to cutting the thread of life with her scissors like Atropos, but rather she kills to protect a new autonomous subjectivity. In this way we see that Valle-Inclán, whose "sympathies always meet with the extremists... due to the idealist elements of their beliefs" [*"cuyas" "simpatías siempre se encuentran con los extremistas... por los elementos idealistas de sus credos"*], conceives of a Nietzschean style drama that not only presupposes the death of the old Christian god that operates in *Las brujas*, but also stages the death of the new bourgeois god at the hands of this Galician Überwoman (Sinclair 87). The *mozueta* establishes a new social order ruled by the truth of her own nature, not only as a woman, but also as a woman rooted in the regional environment of Galicia. In this way Pereda's realist/naturalist approach may be added to the list of traditions that Valle-Inclán subverts/transforms in the interest of modernizing the Spanish stage.

### *Contextual Keys*

*Ligazón* was written expressly for *El Mirlo Blanco*, the experimental theater group in Madrid directed by Cipriano Rivas Cherif, whose works were represented in the Barojas' home between 1926 and 1927, precisely to promote the modernization of Spanish theater (Gil Fombellida 66). The nexus with the Barojas links this work thematically to their ethnographic and anthropologic publications for the Museo del Pueblo Español (Rubio 31). At the same time, the connection with Rivas Cherif obliges us to go back to his stay in Paris from October 1919 until April 1920, inasmuch as this experience greatly influenced his ideas about theatrical experimentation, which motivated him upon his return to form various groups in collaboration with Valle-Inclán, among them *El Mirlo Blanco* (Aznar 21).

In Paris Rivas Cherif connected with *Clarté*,<sup>32</sup> Henri Barbusse's group (Aznar 23). Barbusse, as discussed earlier, is also relevant to our concerns here because of the debate he promoted about art, which included a renewed appreciation of the wood cut. We will return to this point further on. For now, suffice it to say that *Clarté* defined itself as a League for Intellectual Solidarity for the Triumph of the International Cause. This ideological position, assumed by Rivas Cherif, maintained him "outside of the socialist parties' political leadership, although within socialism as a doctrine and the Third International as a discipline [*fuera de los cuadros políticos de los partidos socialistas, si bien dentro del socialismo como doctrina y de la Tercera Internacional como disciplina*"] (24). The participation of Blasco Ibáñez in its central Committee, emphasized by Rivas Cherif (23), is a key to the latter's ideology.<sup>33</sup> The experience with this group "seduced him, especially since the new directors of the theatrical movement in all of Europe were setting an example of passionate poverty against the vacuous splendor of wealthy theater" [*le seducía tanto más cuanto que los nuevos directores del movimiento teatral en toda Europa daban el ejemplo de su pobreza*<sup>34</sup> *apasionada contra el vacuo esplendor del teatro rico*] (Aznar 21). This "passionate poverty" is materialized in *Ligazón*.

The year 1920 was "decisive" in the relationship between Rivas Cherif and Valle-Inclán, in that the two men had undergone "the same process of growing political and ideological awareness" [*un mismo proceso de sensibilización política e ideológica*] and they shared the desire for a "genuine and profound renovation" [*renovación genuina y profunda*] of the Spanish stage, "not only artistic, but also ideological" [*no sólo artística sino también ideológica...*] (Aznar 22-6). Upon his return to Madrid, Rivas Cherif founded the group Teatro de la Escuela Nueva with the intention of "breaking the identification between 'artistic theater' and 'experimentalist boredom'" [*romper la identificación entre 'teatro artístico' y 'aburrimiento experimentalista'*], counting on Valle-Inclán as the great hope of the Spanish stage (23; 36). Later he made a similar attempt, which crystallized in the group Los Amigos de Valle-Inclán. This group was significant, in spite of its failure, not only as evidence of the Galician playwright's position as a point of reference in this regard, but also because of the

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32. El manifiesto del grupo Claridad se publicó en la revista madrileña *Cosmópolis* en septiembre de 1919.

33. Aside from being "the most widely read Spanish author of his generation," Blasco Ibáñez was also an "antimonarchical and anticlerical agitator, social reformer... political jailbird and exile, six times representative in the national assembly...." (Day 17). A federalist republican, despite his reputation, he was not a "revolutionary" (17).

34. "Se usaba el término 'pobreza' es esta época para desafiar el gusto burgués por el espectáculo ostentoso. El director de teatro polaco Jerzy Grotowski (1933-1999) empleó el mismo concepto en su "teatro pobre" (Dougherty en comunicación personal).

participation of Luís Bagaría,<sup>35</sup> a figure who links Rivero Gil to the new ideas that impregnated the Spanish stage.

*Ligazón* made its debut on May 8, 1926, a few months before the publication of its first edition, number 24 of the popular collection *La Novela Mundial*. As Dru Dougherty observes, “the drawings of Rivero Gil constitute its second visual representation... after its staging by Rivas Cherif for *El Mirlo Blanco*” [*los dibujos de Rivero Gil constituyen su segunda representación visual... tras la puesta en escena de Rivas Cherif para El Mirlo Blanco*] (“Mi Cuerpo” 46,1). Thus, Rivero Gil’s graphic text recombined with its lexical counterpart for a completely new visual representation. Taking into account that there was a third representation of the play on December 19<sup>th</sup> of the same year in the Circulo de Bellas Artes, not only did Rivero’s drawings help fix the memory of the play’s debut in the mind of the spectators, but they also influenced the reception of later representations.

Rivero Gil’s visual proposal is incorporated into a Valleinclanesque text, which was “highly unstable,” not only due to the loss of aura associated with the complex technological, economic and cultural processes of modernity, but also because Valle-Inclán himself contributed to the instability of his own texts with his well-known concern for typographic ornamentation (Valle-Inclán Alsina 18). His influence on the art of the book was enormous, and undoubtedly contributed to the “profound relationship” [*profunda relación*] that existed between writers and artists of the period, which Ramón Gómez de la Serna expressed a few years later as a declaration of principle in his prologue to *Ismos* (1931): “I’m going to do that which is most prohibited by certain theoretical absolutists, which is mix the new art and literature: but from this heresy will sprout a general idea of how this reciprocal influence is more true than it seems” [*Voy a hacer lo más prohibido por ciertos absolutistas teóricos, que es mezclar el nuevo arte y la literatura: pero de esta herejía brotará una idea general de cómo es más verdad de lo que parece esta influencia recíproca*] (Summers 22). Valle-Inclán had already been putting this principle into practice for some time, applying it to his work as an editor. Don Ramón was his own editor: he ordered the paper, found illustrators, printed and finally sold the work to bookshop owners or publishing companies that took care of the distribution” [*Don Ramón fue su propio editor: encargaba el papel, buscaba ilustradores, imprimía y finalmente vendía la obra a librerías o casas editoriales que se encargaban de su distribución*] (Valle-Inclán Alsina, *Estética* n. p.). It follows from this that Valle-Inclán would have thought of an illustrator like Rivero, who was quite familiar with the peculiarities of the rural population of northern Spain, to “illustrate” *Ligazón*’s first edition, although it should be noted that the latter’s role extends beyond the role of mere illustration, understood in its “classical” sense of “figurative drawings

interspersed in the lexical text that have documental, narrative and interpretive functions” (Miller n. p.). We will return to this later on. For now I would like to mention a possible link between Rivero Gil’s graphic text and the experimental ideas of Federico García Lorca, who wrote to Fernandez Almagro between February and March of 1926: “In these days it has occurred to me to make a comedy whose characters are photographic enlargements... Can we stage it in Cipriano’s new theater?” [*En estos días se me ha ocurrido hacer una comedia cuyos personajes son ampliaciones fotográficas (...) ¿La podremos representar en el teatrillo nuevo de Cipriano?*] (García Lorca *Epistolario* 146). The density and quality of the illustrations in the first edition of *Ligazón* is striking in this respect. There are ten images, counting the cover, for

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35. According to his son, Rivero Gil always considered Bagaría his mentor (Rivero García in personal interview). 32 Valle-Inclán Alsina, Joaquín. *Ramón del Valle-Inclán y la imprenta: una introducción*. Madrid, 2006, p. 18.

a work of a mere thirty-five pages. In them the characters of the play are represented using a technique of photoengraving that gives the appearance of woodcuts, although many of them appear to be inspired by photographic negatives. Although Rivero's son affirms that his father knew Lorca, this relationship has not been documented to date, nor is it my objective here to demonstrate a link between the poet's idea and *Ligazón* (Rivero García in personal interview). I simply want to suggest that the protagonism of the image and the syncretism of media, explicit in *Ismos* and implicit in Lorca's letter, are fully realized in this first edition, in which the new ideas about art in general converge with the renovation of the stage and the art of the book. If Valle-Inclán, as his grandson affirms, conceived of the book as "an art object and not as a mere support" [*objeto artístico, no como un mero soporte*"], we must recognize that *Ligazón* is a sincretic, collective, circulating and mutable art object, materialized in a modest paperback edition destined for mass consumption (Valle-Inclán Alsina, *Estética* n. p.)

#### *Cover Illustration*

Vital socio-political issues of modernity are ably synthesized and presented to the world by the graphic text of *Ligazón's* cover (see fig. 1). Subjected, like the lexical text inside, to the principle of stylization, these concerns are expressed thematically in feminine, generational and peripheral terms. Framed by the double page border of black and white, the aunt (*la raposa*) and her niece (*la mozuela*) are portrayed in black, standing in a hilly countryside of dark bluish greens under a bright red sky, preternaturally illuminated by a full yellow moon and yellow stars, suggesting the magical essence of Galicia's rural environment. The old woman, supported by her staff, is behind her young red-lipped niece and slightly to one side, so that her face is in full view. Just above the horizon, their upper torsos stand out against the sky, focusing our attention on a play of faces, arms and hands, a bodily chiasm of sorts, in which the generational conflict is concentrated.

*La raposa's* hunched, sinister presence is emphasized by sharp, wrinkled facial features and the necklace held close to her body at waist level, dangling from her right hand like bait on a hook, while her left arm is raised to shoulder level and her left hand is closed in a fist around the black walking stick. Her knuckles appear to rest on the frame as the wrist forms an oblique angle with the stick, an inward-slanting line that brings the reader/viewer's attention back from the edge of the page. Its descent to the ground, however, is interrupted as it is drawn further inward by *la mozuela's* hand, which rests on her hip like a flesh-colored arrow standing out against the black dress, directing our gaze from her abdominal area to the necklace, graphically signaling the terms of the trade. Her vigor and uprightness is underlined, not only by her smooth features and frank expression, but also by her right hand, raised to shoulder level above the necklace, which appears to touch or perhaps push against the black frame. This gesture—imagined by the artist, as the lexical text gives no indication of it—suggests defiance and anticipates the central moment of the play, expressed later on in the following exchange between mother and daughter:

LA VENTERA:        ¡You will do as your mother says!  
                          [*¡Irás por donde ordene tu madre!*]

LA MOZUELA:      My body is mine!  
                          [*¡Mi cuerpo es mío!*]

The niece's resolve against the future planned for her by her elders is strengthened by her tree-like solidity and complemented by her gaze, directed ahead, beyond the frame, over the reader/viewer's shoulder. This expansion, emanating from her body, firmly rooted in the ground and supported by the dramatic equilibrium of contrasting cool and warm colors and harmonious lines, stresses the solidity of her ethical-moral demands. It is important to note that Rivero chose to depict these two characters in a full-length portrait, a format used from the sixteenth century on to depict well-known aristocratic/religious subjects, emphasizing their social standing. This move effectively subverts tradition by elevating *la mozuela* from her lowly social status into a visionary of sorts, a secular Saint Theresa perhaps, who hails not from the Castilian heartland of Ávila, but rather from an anonymous inn situated at an unknown crossroads of the Galician periphery.

The force of this image, based on a stylized lexical text from which many details are absent, contributes a *mise en scène* that would normally be the responsibility of the stage director. This, however, is the cover of a book, part of a popular collection, whose lexical elements are integrated into its overall design that boasts a syncretism of media made up of drawing, color treatment and simulated typefaces. For Gerard Genette, the cover illustration, along with the title, name of the author, name of the collection and price constitute the book's paratext, defined as elements that "... ensure the text's presence in the world, its 'reception' and consumption in the form...of a book" (1). Genette identifies these elements as a part of the commercial reality of the book, going on to characterize it as a "...threshold... that offers the world at large the possibility of stepping inside or turning back," although without registering the issue of their aesthetic potential (1-2). Rivero Gil's syncretic cover design is part of an emerging field structured by a new paradigm, in which utilitarian and aesthetic concerns converge to advertise an art object to the world.

The lexical elements of the cover design — fully integrated into the drawing by their colors — occupy the lower third of the page. Rivero's hand lettering simulates five different typefaces, which stand out from the black shadows at the feet of the two figures, repeating the same red and bluish-green used in the drawing. The name of the collection appears first in red, distributed in two lines: *La novela* is rendered in script, with the base of the capital *L* extending to the right underlining both words, while *MUNDIAL*, on the next line, appears in capitals and serified<sup>36</sup> typeface, the base of the letters describing a curve that suggests they are resting on top of a globe. Below this, *LIGAZÓN* appears lettered in bluish green sans serif<sup>37</sup> bold capitals. The author's name appears last in regular bluish green capitals of another sans serif type. To the left, the price — 50 Cts — is inscribed, simulating yet another style of sans serif typeface, in a red circle.

These lexical elements create a hierarchy, through the use of space and color, in which the price and the name of the collection dominate. The former, to the left, shares with the latter, at the top, spaces of privilege for the initiation of reading, strengthened by the strong contrast of red and black, while the names of the work and author are relegated, both spatially and by the weaker bluish green on black contrast, to an inferior position. These lexical elements represent the deterioration of the work of art and its relegation to the authority of

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36. A serif is a slight projection of a stroke that finishes off a letter, normally considered more old-fashioned.

37. A sans serif typeface means that the letters have a "cleaner" look with no serifs. Sans serif typefaces are normally easier to read and considered more modern. 48 Valle-Inclán, *Ligazón* 4, 8, 9, 15, 31, 33, 35, 36 and 60.

the printing industry, forming their own narrative that connects thematically with concerns treated five years earlier in *Luces de Bohemia*. These elements however, are operating within the aesthetic regimen of *Ligazón's* cover design, dependent on the drawing's formidable visual power. Rivero creates a sampler of traditional and modern typefaces, which is appropriated by his praxis as it is integrated into a visual regimen of graphic design. In this way the paratextual elements of the cover design constitute a faithful reflection of the work they present to the world, as they compress traditional and modern elements into a syncretism that contradicts one of the principle tenets of the avant-garde, as theorized by Walter Benjamin. Here we must return to the aura, whose loss as a consequence of mechanical reproductions is a key concept. Benjamin defines the aura as "the unrepeatable manifestation of distance, however close it may be" [*la manifestación irrepetible de una lejanía (por cercana que pueda estar)*"], referring to the original sacred character of the work of art, which is lost during the process of secularization; as it acquires an ostentatious character, the cult value is transferred to the artist in the context of tradition (1170). In this transference of value, aura confers upon the work of art the status of having been created by a specific artist, integrated into a specific tradition, turning it into a unique object. Thus, reasons Benjamin, upon multiplying the reproductions, its massive presence is put in the place of its unrepeatable presence," which entails its dissociation from tradition or the "liquidation of the value of tradition in cultural heritage" (1170). However, in Spain the loss of aura does not always entail the liquidation of traditional values, but frequently their transformation, as in the case before us, an "unstable amalgam of tradition and avant-garde" [*una amalgama inestable de tradición y vanguardia*], that serves as a "vantage point from which to critique and correct" [*atalaya desde la que criticar y corregir*] modernity's atypical process of development in Spain (Dougherty 34).

#### *Interior Illustrations.*

*Ligazón's* interior illustrations take advantage of the possibilities of black and white to suggest the silhouettes of the subtitle ("*auto para siluetas*"), while at the same time imitating the primitivism of the woodcut.<sup>38</sup> Unevenly distributed, these images make contact with the lexical text in different ways, both integrated into the narrative regimen and at the same time enjoying varying degrees of autonomy, which obliges us to consider both the internal effects of each drawing and those arising in relation to their reading in sequence, that is, to their narrative possibilities.

The first interior image (see fig. 66) is presented to us as soon as we turn the first page of lexical text. Occupying an entire page, it interrupts the just-initiated reading process, following its corresponding lexical text in the first paragraph of stage directions: "In the illuminated doorway the shadow of a young woman is outlined." [*Sobre la puerta iluminada se perfila la sombra de una mozueta*] (3). Valle-Inclán uses the vocabulary of drawing from the

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38. Elena Cueto refers to Rivero's illustrations throughout her exposition as woodcuts [*xilografías*]. However, José Antonio Alcácer —member of the group Estampa Popular and illustrator, intimately familiar with the history of the publishing house Rivadeneira— believes that the technique used is impossible to verify without examining the originals, lost or destroyed after the Civil War when Francoist authorities seized the printing works. At the same time, he affirms that because of the elevated cost of the woodcut during that period, when the reproduction of images was normally carried out through photoengraving, it is highly unlikely that the original images were elaborated as woodcuts, especially given the characteristics of the paperback edition that was sold for thirty cents. Alcácer believes it more likely that the drawings were created using india ink, imitating the technique of the woodcut, which had become fashionable due to the influence of the Japanese woodcut in impressionism (Alcácer in personal interview).

outset, instructing that his protagonist be “outlined” in the doorway of the inn, which Rivero does in a full length frontal outline of her in a full-length portrait (or medium long shot in cinematic terms). This type of composition is normally designed to show the subject in relation to his/her surroundings, but in this scene the surroundings, like the details of the subject herself, are reduced to a block of black India ink, against which her simple outline stands out in white, along with an oil lamp and the paving stones of the doorway, on which her shadow projects outward. This drawing at first glance suggests a photographic negative (in which light and shade are shown reversed) due to its predominating dark shade, which could be a link to Lorca’s photographic characters. In any case, the chiaroscuro effect, like that of a negative or of a woodcut, is dramatic. Drawing on this syncretism and taking control of the narrative, the large block of black pigment on the left not only dominates the double-paged visual field, but it also occupies the place of privilege for reading. The young woman’s silhouette interrupts the act of reading, replacing it with a representationally embodied presence, subverting the cultural practice associated with bourgeois liberalism in the turn of a page.

RAMON DEL VALLE-INCLAN



4

LIGAZON

LA RAPOSA

Podías ser más orgullosa. ¿Tú no te miras al espejo?

LA MOZUELA

Cuando voy a la fuente.

LA RAPOSA

¿Y el espejillo de tu alcoba, nada te dice cuando de noche, te acuestas?

LA MOZUELA

No me veo con el sueño.

LA RAPOSA

¡Qué pico tienes! Mira, sácame una copa de resolio.

LA MOZUELA

¿Grande, o pequeña?

LA RAPOSA

Si me la mides a conciencia, dámela mediana. ¿Por dónde pára tu madre?

LA MOZUELA

Dentro se halla.

LA RAPOSA

Ahora me veo con ella. No me saques la copa. ¡Tu madre, si le da la tentación, es capaz de convidarme! ¡Ven! Pongámonos en el claro de luna. ¡Ven! ¡Vas a pastmar con una gargantilla de aljófares y corales!

5

Fig. 66. Francisco Rivero Gil, illus, *la mozuela*, *Ligazón*, p. 3. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

Two pages later, we find two more drawings facing each other (see figs. 67 and 68), giving still greater power to the graphic text in detriment to its lexical counterpart, whose dramatic nature is revealed in a much less immediate way and only after the considerable



physical effort of focusing and tracking the eyes involved in reading. The image on the left occupies about three quarters of the page, overpowering the few lines of lexical text above and below it. Using the same technique based on a syncretism suggestive of both photography and printmaking, the aunt is depicted with her cloak and walking stick. Here, however, instead of using a rectangular black background to frame the figure facing, the stooped silhouette is outlined in profile against a great black shadow that stands out from the “wall” of the white page. In this way Rivero invokes yet another aesthetic medium, that of the shadow theater envisioned by Valle-Inclán. Seeming to walk with the labored gait of age, away from the center page divide, the absence of any other frame or situational details suggests that she inhabits the page itself, conjured up by the corresponding lexical text, which appears in the opening paragraph of stage directions: “Another shadow—staff and cloak—is discernible against the wall, as though hanging from a thread projected by the roof tiles, moving in measured strides its tenuous relief” [“Pegada al tapiado, por el hilo que proyectan las tejas, una sombra —báculo y manto— discierne con trencos compases su tenue relieve”] (3) (Italics in the original). At the same time this image precedes another line of stage directions that could just as easily describe it: “LA RAPOSA goes inside through the door of the inn, in the lurching stride of a greyhound, leaning on her walking stick” [“LA RAPOSA se mete por la puerta del ventorro, con galqueo trenqueleante, apoyada en el báculo”], increasing, through the impossibility of anchoring her to a single part of the lexical text, the sensation of tenebrous unreality and menace.

RAMON DEL VALLE-INCLAN

LA RAPOSA

Tu madre sabe lo que más te conviene.

LA MOZUELA

¿De negarme yo, qué puede mi madre? ¿Qué puede? ¿Meterme el cortejo en la alcoba? ¿Dormiré con las tijeras ocultas bajo la almohada!



LA RAPOSA

¡Loqueas! Tú estás encandilada por alguno que no te merecc. ¡Amor tienes, y con tales desvarios

8

Fig. 67. Francisco Rivero Gil, illus., *la raposa*, *Ligazón*, p. 8. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.



Fig. 68. Francisco Rivero Gil, illus., *la raposa*, *Ligazón*, p. 9. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

The image in figure 70 depicts *el afilador* with his sharpening wheel occupies the facing page. It is similar in technique to the first image of *la mozuela* and appears before its corresponding line of stage directions on the next page: “Dogs bark in the distances, and the shadow of the young knife sharpener projects over the star of moonlit roads” [*“Ladran remotos canes, y la sombra de un mozo afilador se proyecta sobre la estrella de los caminos luneros”*]. Rivero eliminates the symbolic auditory element—the bad omen of barking dogs—to concentrate on the drawing’s visual effects. His choice of technique, as noted above, allows him to maximize the lighting effects of chiaroscuro, aided by the literal presence of the full moon and puddles of light around the paving stones in the foreground. The path ends abruptly at the bottom of the frame, at the feet of *la mozuela*, who is positioned in the artist’s imagination in the place of the reader. In this way Rivero incorporates into his drawing the cinematic convention of the point of view or eye line shot. As Marilyn Fabe explains:

A POV shot is the shot that immediately follows a shot in which we see a character looking offscreen or beyond the borders of the frame. The camera is positioned where the character’s eyes would be. The use of POV shots can

establish powerful identifications between the spectator and the characters on the screen. Mentally, we merge with the characters, seeing the world as they do, from their point of view. Usually, the POV shots are from the viewpoint of a protagonist with whom we are supposed to identify. (261-2)

Rivero's POV drawing is displaced from the first image of *la mozuela*, whose eyes we are meant to see through in this drawing, establishing a more fragmented identification with her. Rivero also draws on reading technique by depicting *el afilador* in full frontal view in the upper left-hand corner of the drawing. Thus, what we see through the protagonist's eyes is her future accomplice and lover occupying the powerful place for the initiation of reading. At the same time he places the sharpening wheel at classical art's privileged center. Its star-shaped spokes ("*estrella de los caminos luneros*") represent Valle's metaphorical crossroads seen from above (10). This bird's-eye perspective acquires additional symbolic value in light of Valle's declarations to Cipriano Rivas Cherif before a trip to the Western Front in regard to the book he planned to write on the War: "Art is always an abstraction... War cannot be viewed as a few grenades falling here and there, or as the dead and injured that are reported in statistics: it must be seen from a star, my friend, outside of time and space." [*"El arte es siempre una abstracción... La guerra no se puede ver como unas cuantas granadas que caen aquí o allí, ni como unos cuantos muertos y heridos, que se cuentan luego en estadísticas: hay que verla desde una estrella, amigo mío, fuera del tiempo y del espacio"*] (qtd. in Dougherty p. 136). Later on, Valle had this to say about his attempt to represent the experience of war as an ahistorical abstraction: "I have failed in this endeavor... These pages now seeing the light are no more than a child's first faltering words about a dreamt of ideal" [*"He fracasado en el empeño... Estas páginas que ahora salen a la luz no son mas que un balbuceo del ideal soñado"*]. Rivero condenses these symbolic crossroads seen from above into one literal path, which stretches out before the protagonist's eyes (and ours), leading past Valle's failed theoretical formulation of a decade earlier. At the same time an itinerant knife grinder appears, hovering over the ground as though produced by *la mozuela's* song, just in time to help create a new love story. Thus, Rivero's drawing may be seen as a record of a key moment in Valle-Inclán's shifting aesthetic consciousness, his "conversion" from an isolating idealist abstractionism to what José Ortega y Gasset will formulate later as *raciovitalismo* (I will have more to say about this in the next section); and what Josep Renau will call during the Civil War *nuevo realismo* (I will have more to say about this in the next chapter).

After another five pages of lexical text, the visual dominance of the graphic text establishes itself again (see fig. 69), in spite of the image's smaller size, which occupies only half of the page. This drawing depicts *la mozuela* in a stylized half-length portrait, raising a small glass of anisette, whose distinctive herb is commonly associated with witchcraft, and corresponds to the last line in the stage directions above: "*Gracefully moving her waist, with the glass raised, now la mozuela was coming out of the inn*" [*"Garbeando el talle, con la copa en alto, ahora salía del ventorro la mozuela"*] (15). Surrounded on three sides by lexical text, this figure appears directly on the page with no shadow or frame, unless we consider the horizontal line at the bottom of the figure a partial framing element. In this case she seems to have broken out of the frame, thanks to her magical powers, to inhabit the page. This detail also suggests that she is inside behind the bar, in this way condensing two successive moments into one, indicated by the stage directions: she is only heard speaking from inside, while serving the glass of anisette, then she appears outside with the raised glass. In this way the drawing contributes to the altered spatial and temporal regimens of *Ligazón's* magical *mise en scène*. If we look at the



referencing of photography and printmaking. This image depicts *la ventera* in a full-length frontal view, holding a broom in her hand, in allusion to her conversation with *la raposa* twelve pages earlier:

LA RAPOSA: You are a flyer [*“Usted es volandista”*<sup>39</sup>]

LA VENTERA: At twelve o'clock on Saturday I get on the broom, and off to the skies [*“A las doce del sábado monto en la escoba, y por los cielos”*]. (19)

In this instance the artist represents *la ventera* as an old woman getting ready to perform a mundane household chore. But with the classical witch's symbol at her side, in light of the earlier conversation, we seem to have been transported to the moment in which she is preparing for flight. Thus the image contributes to the unreal spatio-temporal regimen of the work.

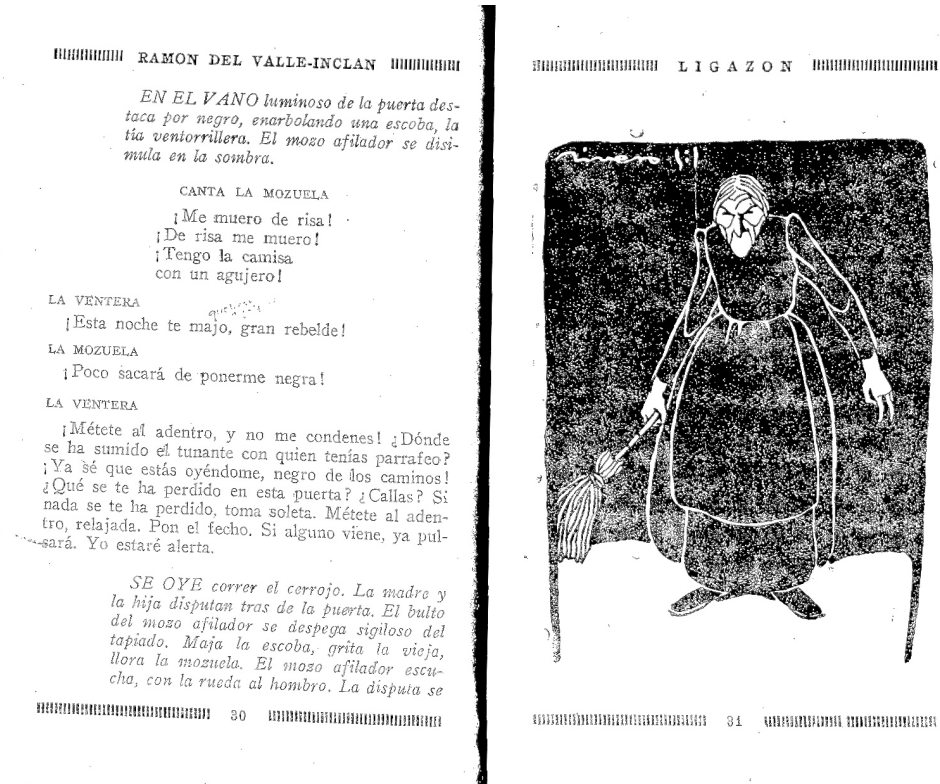


Fig. 70. Francisco Rivero Gil, illus., *la ventera* with broom, p. 31. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

39. Valle makes a pun here conflating witchery and religion, which is lost in the graphic translation. The neologism *volandista* is indistinguishable in spoken Spanish from *bolandista*, derived, according to the dictionary of the Real Academia Española the RAE, from the founder of the Jesuits, J. van Bolland (1596-1665) and defined an “individual forming part of a society integrated by members of the Society of Jesus to publish and critically purify original texts on the lives of the saints” [*“Individuo de una sociedad formada por miembros de la Compañía de Jesús, para publicar y depurar críticamente los textos originales de las vidas de los santos”*].

Two pages further on she reappears, this time accompanied by *la raposa* (see fig. 71). The two old women are depicted facing each other in full-length profile, outlined against their shadows like the previous image of *la raposa*, with no other surrounding details. The image corresponds to the conversation that took place twelve pages earlier, but it appears with a conversation between *la mozueta* and *el afilador*, creating a sensation of simultaneity and conspiracy, along with an increase of their witchy power, causing *la mozueta* to take action.

RAMON DEL VALLE-INCLAN

*aleja, se apaga, se encrespa, se extingue.  
Perdura el lloriqueo de la mozueta. Enju-  
gándose los ojos, sale a la ventana.*

LA MOZUELA

¿Has oído a la vieja?

EL AFILADOR

Alguna palabra me ha sonado.

LA MOZUELA

¿Y qué conjetura sacaste?

EL AFILADOR

Que busca dinero.

LA MOZUELA

¿Quieres tomarme para ti?

EL AFILADOR

¡No me pongas el agua a la boca si no he de catarla!

LA MOZUELA

Responde.

EL AFILADOR

¡No me encandiles, que desvanezco!

LA MOZUELA

¡Tú serás el primero que me tenga!

EL AFILADOR

¿A que me ciegas?

32

LIGAZON

LA MOZUELA

¿Ciegas por tan poco?

EL AFILADOR

¡Candela eres!



LA MOZUELA

Descúbrete el hombro, y muéstrame la sangre que te mana.

EL AFILADOR

Mírala.

33

Fig. 71. Francisco Rivero Gil, illus., *la raposa* and *la ventera*, p. 33. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

Turning the next page we find another, very different image of the knife grinder. It is a highly stylized outline that appears to have been elaborated directly on the page in India ink, a bust-length three-quarter portrait, in which the torso is turned slightly toward the center page divide, and the head is depicted almost in profile; *la mozueta's* hand—cut off just above the wrist very near the binding—is held up against his mouth (see fig. 72). This drawing represents the moment in which the witch's pact is sealed in blood and corresponds to the words of incantation appearing immediately below it: "Kiss! Bite! I bind you in this pact!" ["*¡Besa! ¡Muerde! ¡Ligazón te hago!*"] (35). The lexical text acquires an additional function as caption here, but given the extreme stylization of the image and total absence of any other details or framing elements, these body fragments seem to well up from the magic words themselves. The effect is immediate. Turning the page, the next image (see fig. 73) occupies

the entire left side of the visual field, revealing the resolution to the play's central conflict: pictured are two pairs of arms, lowering the suitor's body from a window, with a pair of scissors stuck in his heart—a lecherous savior lowered from the cross—finding not divine, but rather Nietzschean justice. We will return shortly to this subversion of religious iconography. For now, suffice it to say that the lexical text delays the dénouement, which is explained on the opposite page. The text that corresponds to this “illustration” is the final line of the play, the final line of the last paragraph of stage directions: “Four arms lower the rag doll of a man with the scissors stuck in his heart” [*“Por el hueco del ventano, cuatro brazos descuelgan el pelele de un hombre con las tijeras clavadas en el pecho”*](37).

RAMÓN DEL VALLE-INCLÁN

LA MOZUELA

Llega.

EL AFILADOR

¿Qué quieres?

LA MOZUELA

Bebértela quiero.

EL AFILADOR

¡Por Cristo, que bruja aparentas!

LA MOZUELA

Y lo soy. Beberé tu sangre, y tú beberás la mía.

EL AFILADOR

¡Vaya un sacramento! Perdona, niña, si me relajo, pero ya estoy con soguilla.

LA MOZUELA

¿Casado eres?

EL AFILADOR

Los Dichos tengo tomados en Santa María de Todo el Mundo.

LA MOZUELA

¿Te hallas capaz para beber mi sangre y darme a beber la tuya?

EL AFILADOR

Para cuanto ordenes.

LA MOZUELA

¿Sabes lo que es una ligazón?

34

LIGAZÓN

EL AFILADOR

Algo se me alcanza.

LA MOZUELA

¿Y estás propicio?

EL AFILADOR

La cabeza, niña, me has mareado.

*LA MOZUELA, con gesto cruel, que le crispera los labios y le aguza los ojos, se clava las tijeras en la mano y oprime la boca del mozo con la palma ensangrentada.*



LA MOZUELA

¡Besa! ¡Muerde! ¡Ligazón te hago!

EL AFILADOR

¡Vaya un arte de enamorar el tuyo!

35

Fig. 72. Francisco Rivero Gil, illus., *el afilador* sucking blood from *la mozuela's* cut hand, p. 35. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

The play concludes here. But its last image (see fig. 74) appears on page sixty, following two short works<sup>40</sup> that complete the volume. Displaced from the pages to which it refers, this drawing depicts a necklace-encircled heart, pierced by scissors and dripping blood with the lexical item “*fin*” below it. Above all, this “illustration” provides more evidence that Rivero Gil’s images do more than illustrate. First, it suggests that Valle was already thinking

40. *Tragedia de ensueño* and *Comedia de ensueño*.





LA MOZUELA

Descúbrete el hombro: ¡Me cumple beberte la sangre!

EL AFILADOR

¿Profesas de bruja?

LA MOZUELA

¡De bruja con Paulina!

EL AFILADOR

Pues no me arredro.

LA MOZUELA

Pues entra a deshacerme la cama.

EL ERRANTE se descuelga la rueda, y mete la zanca por el ventano. Apaga la luz en la alcoba la mozuela. Un bulto jaque, de manta y retaco, cruza el campillo, y pulsa en la puerta. Rechina el cerrojo. Se entorna la hoja, y el bulto se cuela furtivo por el hueco. Agorina un blanco mastín sobre el campillo de céspedes. Cruza la mozuela por el claro del ventano. Levanta el brazo. Quiebra el rayo de luna con el brillo de las tijeras. Tumulto de sombras. Un grito, y el golpe de un cuerpo en tierra. Tenso silencio. Por el hueco del ventano, cuatro brazos descuelgan el pelele de un hombre con las tijeras clavadas en el pecho

FIN DE LIGAZÓN

Fig. 73. Francisco Rivero Gil, illus., *el pelele* being lowered from *la mozuela's* bedroom window, p. 36. Print. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

in terms of a literary tableau—particularly in light of the fact that he included *Ligazón* in his *Retablo de la avaricia, la lujuria y la muerte*<sup>41</sup> the following year—and intended the image to stand as a sort of graphic epilogue. While it goes beyond the scope of this study to examine this image in terms of its likely relationship to a literary tableau, other aspects are pertinent to our concerns here. For one thing, the dot on the “i” has been displaced—apparently knocked off its stem—and lies on the baseline, where it assumes the guise of a misplaced period. The deconstruction of this grapheme and the disordering of the rules of punctuation constitutes a visual conceit that challenges lexical authority and asserts the power of the graphic text. At the same time religious authority is challenged by the appropriation of the emblem of the Sacred Heart. Traditionally represented by a human heart, wounded and crowned with thorns, Rivero infuses this medieval tradition with Greek mythology, as he transforms and updates it: Atropos’s scissors do the work of the thorns, while the necklace—symbol of a mother’s attempt to prostitute her daughter—replaces the holy aura. If Jesus appeared to Saint Margarete Mary Alacoque, promising, “My heart will reign in spite of my enemies” [*“Mi Corazón reinará a pesar de mis enemigos”*] (Iglesia n. p.), Rivero’s modern secular iconography seals the volume with a warning: “My enemy will get what is coming to him.”

41. For a thorough account of the genesis of the *Retablo*, see Rubio.

## LA NOVELA MUNDIAL

Manuel Abril, Francisco Acebal, José María Acosta, Juan Aguilar Catena, Alvaro Alcalá Galiano, Melchor de Almagro San Martín, S. y J. Alvarez Quintero, Felipe Arévalo Salto, Mauricio Bacarisse, Pío Baroja, Luis Belle, Jacinto Benavente, Manuel Bescós, *Silvio Kosstí*; José Betancort, *Angel Guerra*; Tomás Borrás, Manuel Buena, Carmen de Burgos, *Colombine*; Julio Camba, Rafael Causinos-Assens, José María Carretero, *El Caballero áudaz*; Cristóbal de Castro, Roberto Castrovido, Manuel Ciges Aparicio, Jesús R. Coloma, Juan Díaz-Caneja, Enrique Díez Canedo, Juan José Domenchina, Concha Espina, Luis Fernández Ardavín, José Francés, José Francos Rodríguez, Gregorio García-Arista, Victoriano García Martí, José García Mercadal, Federico García Sanchiz, Alberto Ghiraldo, Eduardo Gómez Baquero, *Andrenio*; Ramón Gómez de la Serna, Francisco Grandmontagne, Emilio Gutiérrez Camero, José Gutiérrez Solana, Juan Héctor Picabia, Alfonso Hernández Catá, Alberto Insúa, Sara Insúa, Alejandro Larrubiera, Manuel Linares Rivas, Luis López Allué, Rafael López de Haro, Mauricio López Roberts, Leopoldo López de Saá, Juan José Lorente, José Lampayas, Antonio y Manuel Machado, Ramiro de Maestu, Alberto Marín Alcalde, Eduardo Marquina, Augusto Martínez Olmedilla, Gregorio Martínez Sierra, José Más, José María Mather, Enrique de Mesa, Gabriel Miró, Roberto Molina, Bernardo Morales San Martín, Eugenio Noel, Eugenio d'Ors, José Ortega y Gasset, Rafael Pamplona Escudero, Pablo Parrellada, *Melitón González*; Valentín de Pedro, Dionisio Pérez, Ramón Pérez de Ayala, Huberto Pérez de la Ossa, Alejandro Pérez Lugín, Antonio Porras, Emiliano Ramírez Angel, Pedro de Répide, Joaquín Romero Marchent, Federico Carlos Sainz de Robles, José María Salaverría, Ramón Sánchez Díaz, Diego San José, Luis Santullano, Luis de Tapia, Ramón María Tenreiro, José Toral, Félix Urabaven, Luis de Val, Ramón del Valle-Inclán, Francisco Villaespesa, Santiago Vinardell y Antonio Zozaya.

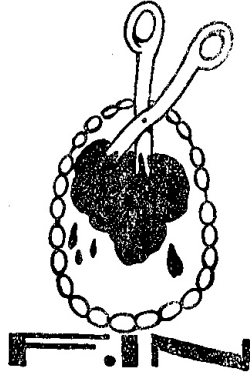


Fig. 74. Francisco Rivero Gil, illus., graphico-lexical epilogue, p. 60. Print . Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

By subverting the Christian message implicit in the Sacred Heart emblem and its tacit turn-the-other-cheek subjectivity, *Ligazón* conjures a double agency into being through the magic of collaborative partnerships. The innkeeper's daughter, in search of wider vital horizons, enlists the help of the knife sharpener to take control of her own destiny through a violent act that forces feminine desire — her otherness — into view. Valle-Inclán, in search of expanded aesthetic horizons, enlists the help of Rivero to control textual fortune, bringing his desire for a new type of textuality into view. The resulting modern graphico-lexical text is itself a performance of modernity. Impelling the reader's wanderings between expressive mediums, it disorders the act of conventional reading and linear access to knowledge, while summoning a new type of decentered identity, one which is not "identical to itself" (Lechte n.p), but rather requires an other to come into being. This partnership, inspired in Galician witchery, realizes itself on the page through the characters of the drama, through the artistic collaboration of author and artist, and through the relationship between image and text. It would be followed a few years later in Madrid by a more straightforward and explicit journalistic collaboration to acquire knowledge about the modern urban other in the nation's capital.

«*Los otros*»

On February 5, 1930, Madrid's leading daily, *El Sol*, published the following note on page three, under the heading of "*Banquetes*" ("Banquets"):

To Mistern Carral and Rivero Gil

To give an honorable and truthful account of Madrid's underworld, like the one *Estampa* is publishing entitled *Los otros*, Ignacio Carral and Francisco Rivero Gil spent a not very enjoyable month eating leftovers picked up at the doors of military barracks, sleeping under the arches of bridges. It is true that the feature, so alive, so dramatic, so full of emotion, is achieving a success that justifies this sacrifice and rewards it.

Friends, colleagues and admirers of Carral and Rivero Gil are going to celebrate that success, and also compensate them for the month of hunger they endured, with a dinner on the eighth of February, at nine o'clock in the evening, at the Gran Via Hotel.

[signed] Salvador Bartolozzi, Luis Gil Fillol, Manuel Fontdevila, Alberto Insúa, Antonio Machado, Luis de Tapis, Vicente Sánchez-Ocaña.

[*A los señores Carral y Rivero Gil*

*Para hacer honrada y verazmente un reportaje de los bajos fondos madrileños, el que con título de "Los otros" está publicando "Estampa", Ignacio Carral y Francisco Rivero Gil han pasado un mes poco ameno, alimentándose con las sobras del rancho recogido a las puertas de los cuarteles, durmiendo bajo los arcos de los puentes. Verdad que el reportaje, tan vivo, tan dramático, tan lleno de emoción, está logrando un éxito que justifica el sacrificio y lo premia.*

*Los amigos, compañeros y admiradores de Carral y Rivero Gil vamos a celebrar ese éxito, y también a indemnizarles del mes de hambre que han pasado, dándoles una cena el día 8 de febrero, a las nueve de la noche, en el Hotel Gran Vía.*

— *Salvador Bartolozzi, Luis Gil Fillol, Manuel Fontdevila, Alberto Insúa, Antonio Machado, Luis de Tapis (sic), Vicente Sánchez-Ocaña.*]

The signers of this note were all prominent figures in Madrid's cultural milieu: Salvador Bartolozzi would create the stage design later that year for the debut of Federico García Lorca's *La zapatera prodigiosa*; Luis Gil Fillol was a conservative art critic at odds with the avant-garde, who would toe the officialist line under Franco's dictatorship; Manuel Fontdevila ran the daily, *El Heraldo de Madrid*, while Alberto Insúa was a popular and prolific novelist; Antonio Machado's collection of poems *Campos de Castilla* (1919) had become synonymous with essentialist Spanish identity; Luis de Tapis was a poet, *humorista* and journalist; and Vicente Sánchez-Ocaña was at the helm of *Estampa*. These "friends, colleagues and admirers" organized a celebration that would bring together almost two hundred of Madrid's most active cultural agents in tribute to the two men (see fig. 75). While a feast in one of Madrid's best hotels to celebrate a journalistic encounter with the poorest inhabitants of the city may be seen as insensitive, to say the least, it nonetheless underlines the scale of the series' positive reception and its pivotal position in shifting the social consciousness of the elite.

Estampa  
El homenaje a Carral y Rivero Gil por el éxito de su reportaje LOS OTROS



El sábado se celebró en el Hotel Gran Vía el homenaje a nuestros queridos compañeros Ignacio Carral e Juanita Rivero-Gil por el éxito de su reportaje "Los Otros", que viene publicado en ESTAMPA. Asistieron al acto entre otros señores señores, y, con su admirable, calle de Precados, que de los señores se celebró a nuestro con orgullo, por el éxito que han sabido conseguir en el campo de la prensa de nuestro país y la conquista de los corazones de miles de lectores que ellos al servicio de la ley. Autor: foto nuestra a los señores/los después del homenaje, con un grupo de señores en estampa. El día sábado

Fig. 75. Illegible photg. Group picture taken at tribute celebrated at the Hotel Gran Vía in honor of Francisco Rivero Gil (seated left center) and Ignacio Carral (seated right center) published in *Estampa* Feb. 11, 1930. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

As far I have been able to ascertain, a critical analysis of this successful venture never appeared in print. The article reproduced above, which was reprinted in other dailies as well, seems to assume that the reader is familiar with the series and understands why it is characterized as “honorable and truthful.” Given Spain’s highly oral nature, it is likely that the analysis was carried out informally in *tertulias* all over the country and that this popular analysis had to do with issues of otherness percolating through Spanish society at the time. A closer examination of this editorial project will reveal that this perception of the series’ honorability and truthfulness is linked to an Orteguian sense of otherness. Before establishing this link to Ortega with more precision, however, I would like to refer briefly to Spanish socio-economic reality at the time.

The January 21 edition of *Estampa* containing the first installment of *Los otros* appeared on the nation’s newsstands just three months after the Wall Street Crash of October 1929, from whose global repercussions Spain did not escape. Although the extent to which both international and domestic factors resulted in the collapse of the Spanish economy is still under discussion today, it has been estimated that when Carral and Rivero made their epic descent into Madrid’s poor neighborhoods, seventy-three percent of the nation’s active population was barely subsisting (Broué 33–4). At the same time, the massive migration to Spanish cities in previous decades had made visible a new demographic reality of spatially concentrated humanity. The concept of “peasant masses,” which had emerged from the Russian Revolution spawning fear in the European elite, had now acquired an urban inflection.

Ortega treated this new phenomenon of the urban masses as an object of philosophical reflexion in newspaper articles and speeches during the twenties, which culminated in his most famous work, *La rebelión de las masas* (1930). In this treatise he develops his theory of *raciovitalismo*, in which he attempts to encompass and reconcile the philosophical currents of rationalism and idealism. He begins by observing and commenting on this new urban reality, which he terms the “fact of agglomerations” [*el hecho de las aglomeraciones*], and puts forth his notion that society is “always a dynamic unit made up of two factors: minorities and masses” [*siempre una unidad dinámica de dos factores: minorías y masas*]. He goes on to define “minorities” as “individuals or groups of individuals specially qualified” [*Las minorías son individuo o grupos de individuos especialmente cualificados*] and “mass” as “the group of people not specially qualified” [*La masa es el conjunto de personas no especialmente cualificadas.*], immediately clarifying that “masses should not be understood, then, as ‘the working masses.’ Mass is the ‘average man’” [*No se entienda, pues, por masas, sólo ni principalmente ‘las masas obreras’. Masa es el ‘hombre medio’*]. For Ortega, a “select” or “minority” man, to use the gendered terminology of the times, is he who demands more of himself. He is concerned with types of human beings, not social classes. The revolt of the masses refers to the “obliteration” of human mediocrity, which is central to his revolutionary project of liberating Spain from its institutions—the army, the crown, the aristocracy—which he believed could be achieved through education, not so much in an academic sense, but rather seeking “the involution of the book towards dialog” [*la involución del libro hacia el diálogo*] (qtd. in Marías). Ortega located contemporary ills in “the mass man’s loss of his sense of hearing” [*el hombre masa... ha perdido el sentido de la audición*], an essential component of dialog and effective communication (qtd. in Marías n. p.), and saw the media as the perfect conduit for this new type of education. To this end, he founded the cultural and scientific magazine *Revista de Occidente* in 1923. Ortega’s emphasis on dialog is central to his theory of *raciovitalismo* or the “radical reality” that is, as he put it, “my life.” In other words, he understands the world as *convivencia*, i.e. subject’s vital experience linked to the other,

understood as “formally and exclusively he with whom I coexist” [*...sino que es formal y exclusivamente aquello con quien yo coexisto*]. This social other is central to his formulation of *raciovitalismo*. I will come back to this shortly.

Miguel de Unamuno was also deeply concerned with the issue of otherness, treating it differently and most specifically in his dramatic work *El otro*, which debuted in 1932. In contrast to Ortega’s social other, Unamuno is concerned with “the mystery of personality.” Using the Cain theme to stage the murder of one twin by his brother, who then commits suicide, Unamuno’s other is “both a psychological projection and a component of a ‘bifurcated personality,’ the *yo* that in being aware of itself becomes both *yo* and *otro*, both subject and object... part of the radical reality that is the self” (Smith 378). Although Unamuno provides no solution to this intrapersonal conflict, he effectively registers the decentering effects of shifting consciousness. This new de-centered and multi-focal attention required a distancing from the self and promoted a new perspectivist sense of critical awareness, which was intimately related to caricature. José Francés’s work on the topic, *La caricatura* (1930), characterizes the ubiquitous drawings circulating in the public space as “eternal models of simplification, immateriality and expressive simplicity” [*modelos eternos de simplificación, de inmaterialidad, de expresiva sencillez*], whose purpose was “make [people] think” [*hace[r] pensar*] (Francés 16; 15). Francés’s account of caricature—I will have more to say about this later on—is intimately related to Ortega’s concept of the other.

In contrast to Unamuno, Ortega defines the *otro* not as conflict within the individual but rather as the individual’s problematical insertion into a social milieu: “We have then, that man, aside from the one who I am, appears to us as an other, and... the other means he with whom I can and must relate, even if I don’t want to, because even if I preferred he didn’t exist—because I detest him—the fact is that I irremediably exist for him, and this obliges me, like it or not, to consider him and his intentions with regard to me, which might be malicious” [*Tenemos, pues, que el hombre, aparte del que yo soy, nos aparece como el otro, y... el otro quiere decir aquél con quien puedo y tengo —aunque no quiera— que alternar, pues aun en el caso de que yo prefiriera que el otro no existiese, porque lo detesto, resulta que yo irremediamente existo para él y esto me obliga, quiera o no, a contar con él y con sus intenciones sobre mí, que tal vez son aviesas*] (qtd in Smith 379). Ortega envisions the possibility of overcoming the *yo/otro* divide: “As my knowledge of the *otro* becomes more intimate, the *otro* becomes a *tú*. The social relationship of *yo/otro* becomes an inter-individual relationship, *yo/tú*. The supreme example of this *yo/tú* inter-individual relationship is the love relationship” (qtd. in Smith 381). The social nature of knowledge is the key to bridging the *yo/otro* gap—the gateway to cordiality, the heart of *raciovitalismo*.

Ortega’s *raciovitalista* notion of social knowledge stems from his “anti-intellectual” view of philosophy, which “renoun[ces] any consideration [of philosophy] as an immersion in preconceived systems of thought” [*...renun[cia] a toda consideración de la [filosofía] como inmersión en sistemas preconcebidos de pensamiento*] (Varela n. p.), in other words, his challenge to traditional (isolated) metaphysics and his concern for affect, art and social relations: “Because it is about us making philosophy [...]. Philosophy does not mean for us what it has been, but rather it is the name of a task that is virginal and belongs to us.” [*Porque se trata de que hagamos nosotros filosofía [...] Filosofía no significa para nosotros lo que ha sido, sino el nombre de una tarea nuestra y virginal*]. It may be assumed that the first person plural used here refers to the select minority, in which Ortega includes himself, who distinguish themselves from the mediocre masses by practicing a task-based existence of active philosophy. Philosophy as a discipline, in Ortega’s view, is constituted by a reaction to the insecurity of secular existence in an unstable

reality. This problematic existence brings about a restlessness, turning human beings into philosophers. This restless philosopher/subject is what he calls “el hombre ejecutivo.”

In December of 1929 Ortega gave a series of classes at the offices of *Revista de Occidente*,<sup>42</sup> whose topic was “Life as Execution (The Executive Being)” [*“La vida como ejecución (El ser ejecutivo)”*]. During the course of these classes he expounded on his notion of “the executive being,” defined as “the effort to construct oneself, to find in the vacuum something solid on which to gain a foothold” (emphasis added) [*“el esfuerzo por construirse, por hallar en el vacío algo sólido donde afincar el pie”*] (qtd. in Varela, n. p.). Using a constructivist task-based model of subjectivity (“*el esfuerzo por construirse*”), Ortega identified the task as that of grounding the self in an unstable universe, the “genuine intention” of philosophy. This stable cosmic ground, in Ortega’s view, is truth; and its prerequisite is “simply being open to unlimited curiosity. Curiosity is the mind in a question mark. It is the question. Any concrete: What is this? It leads me, if I don’t cut its development off violently, to a question of universal and ultimate content” [*La genuina intención [de la filosofía] es sencillamente estar dispuesto a la curiosidad ilimitada. La curiosidad es la mente en signo de interrogación. Es la pregunta. Cualquier concreto ¿qué es esto? Me lleva, si no corto violentamente su desarrollo, hasta una pregunta de contenido universal y último*](Ortega, *Qué es conocimiento?* 25).

This unlimited curiosity unfolds in the social environment through “*usos*” or social customs: “We live... in an ocean of social customs... They are the first and strongest reality with which we find ourselves: they are, strictly speaking, our surroundings or social world, they are the society in which we live. Through this social world or world of *usos*, we see the world of men and of things, we see the Universe.” [*“Vivimos... en un océano de usos... Son la primera y más fuerte realidad con que nos encontramos: son sensu stricto nuestro contorno o mundo social, son la sociedad en que vivimos. A través de ese mundo social o de usos, vemos el mundo de los hombres y de las cosas, vemos el Universo”*] (qtd. in Smith 382-3). The social customs that structure and sustain the individual’s connection to the group, when infused with this unlimited dialogic curiosity will lead inexorably to a question “of universal and ultimate content,” the answer to which is a unproblematic truth, that is, a truth that does not lead to more questions. In Ortega’s words “looking for the truth about something leads to looking for the truth about everything/above all” [*“buscar la verdad sobre algo lleva a buscar la verdad sobre todo”*] (qtd. in Varela n. p.).

The double meaning of *sobre todo* (“about everything/above all”) brings home Ortega’s notion of unlimited anti-intellectual curiosity — “to say what needs to be said, the pure truth, and not limit oneself to simply emitting surprising and interesting words” [*“decir lo que hay que decir, la pura verdad, y no reservarse para emitir tan solo palabras sorprendentes e interesantes”*] — as a new stabilizing force in modernity’s godless universe (qtd. in Varela, n. p.).

Ortega’s pursuit of knowledge, understood as the task required of the *raciovitalista* subject, that is, the *hombre ejecutivo*, no doubt guided this graphico-lexical team of journalists. Rising to the Orteguian challenge, Carral and Rivero signified themselves as part of the select minority by devising a provocative editorial project in the pursuit of knowledge — now conflated with honorability (“to give an honorable and truthful account”) — about the urban other. Performing Ortega’s notion of el “*ser ejecutivo*,” this journalistic endeavor materialized the philosopher’s vision of the media as a new didacticist power.

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42. Madrid’s Universidad Central had been closed due to protests against university reform slated to go into effect under Primo de Rivera’s dictatorial regime. Ortega’s refusal to suspend classes motivated the change of venue.



My analysis will begin by examining the lexical text for cues about the role of the graphic text in the series. I will then provide a brief overview of Carral's written account of the two men's adventures. A description of the visual layout of the series will introduce an analysis following Kress and van Leeuwen, whose notion of "visual grammar" is defined as "the way in which depicted elements—people, places and things—combine in visual 'statements'... point[ing] to particular interpretations of experience and forms of social interaction" (1, 3). Their theoretical formulations are particularly suited to my aim here—to decipher visual statements made by the series about the social experience of its objects of study—because they consider these types of "multimodal" texts as an integrated whole, taking into account with considerable detail both the internal relationships established within a single image, as well as those created between images and words in the multimodal space of the page (or double page).

### *Lexical Cues to the Graphic Text*

An introductory note, authored presumably by Sánchez-Ocaña himself, appears under the subtitle of the first article—"How I became a criminal" [*Como me hice hampón*]"—set off from the main text by a black line that acts as a frame (see figs. 76-7). Strains of Ortega's pursuit of *raciovitalista* knowledge may be heard as *Estampa's* editor articulates the objective of the series: "to penetrate the lives and feelings of these people, to portray the moral type that corresponds to the physical one, to observe with truthfulness the atmosphere of the places they frequent..." [*...penetrar en las vidas y en los sentimientos de estas gentes, para lograr el tipo moral que corresponde al tipo físico, para observar con veracidad el ambiente de los lugares que frecuentan...*"]. The idea that knowledge of the other is attainable, not through the direct observation and detached perspective of the scientist, but rather through social connectedness and the shared social experience of marginality is also made explicit: "...it is necessary to become like one of them, appear to their eyes as just one more pariah, one more of the dispossessed, to live, in sum, their same life, day by day and minute by minute" [*es preciso hacerse como uno de ellos, aparecer a sus ojos como un paria mas, como un desheredado mas, vivir, en suma, su misma vida, día a día y minuto a minuto*"].

An attempt is made to justify a perceived lack of scientific rigor, due to the small number of photographs, synonymous with documental proof [*prueba documental*] of the real, included in the series. This insufficiency is justified by the impracticable field conditions of Madrid's underworld, poorly suited to the technical requirements by the more modern visual medium, which the reader is asked to understand: [*Pero ya se alcanzará al lector la dificultad de esta tarea, realizada, siempre en pésimas condiciones...*]. We are told that the lack of photographs is amply compensated for by the greatness of Rivero and his brilliant drawings [*...creemos haber compensado con creces la escasez de fotos, con los magistrales dibujos que acompaña al texto, hechos por el gran dibujante Rivero Gil, que ha vivido con Carral los emocionantes episodios de estas informaciones*"]. This effort to make up for the drawings' inferior documentary status by adding the modifiers "*magistrales*" and "*gran*" (no modifiers are applied to Carral) does little to mask the fall from favor of Rivero's chosen medium in its perceived ability to represent the real. I will argue, however, that the drawings are not operating under the tenets of realism. Indeed, representing the real is of little interest to the caricaturist, who is driven by Ortega's *raciovitalismo*, and its concern with truth ("to penetrate the lives and feelings of these people, to portray the moral type that corresponds to the physical one, to observe with truthfulness the atmosphere of the places they frequent").



Fig. 76. Francisco Rivero Gil. Illustrations in "Cómo me hice hampón" by Ignacio Carral and Alberto Benítez Casaux, photog., pt. 1 of series entitled *Los otros* published in *Estampa*, n. pag., Jan. 21, 1930. Hemeroteca Biblioteca Nacional de España. Web. Jan. 14, 2010.

This initial undermining of the graphic text is accompanied by a minimizing of Rivero's participation in the project, which is not mentioned until the penultimate line. The artist's second billing is echoed by Carral's own introduction to the series in the opening paragraphs of the first article. This lack of recognition by the lexical text, however, is at odds not only with the acclaim heaped on both men, but also with the sheer visual presence of the drawings.<sup>43</sup> This contradiction points again to the question of authorship, problematized by

43. This presence may be quantified, following Miller, by dividing the number of pages by the number of drawings to calculate an index of "lexico-graphical density" [*índice de la densidad léxico-gráfica*]. The density



Fig. 77. Francisco Rivero Gil. Illustrations in “Cómo me hice hampón” by Ignacio Carral and Alberto Benítez Casaux, photog., pt. 1 of series entitled *Los otros* published in *Estampa*, n. pag., Jan. 21, 1930. Hemeroteca Biblioteca Nacional de España. Web. Jan. 14, 2010.

Ortega’s *raciovitalista*, “anti-intellectual” (in Ortega’s sense of putting intellect at the service of social praxis) anti-institutional stance, and his de-centered multifocal executive subject, whose emphasis is on a praxis, the ultimate goal of which is to bring truth to light, as opposed

index of “*Los otros*” is quite low (0.8), meaning that density of lexico-graphical collaboration is quite high. Miller notes that numeric values of 2 or lower result in a reading experience of continual and successive collaboration between writer and artist (Esbozo 259–60). Miller, however, is working with 19th century texts alternating full pages of lexical text with full page images. The index indicated above would acquire fuller meaning in a comparative study of similar magazine publications of the period.

to taking credit for “emitting surprising and interesting words,” in his view, the function of the conventional “intellectual.” Indeed, Carral’s narrative voice, before settling into a predominant first person plural (“*Rivero y yo*”), undergoes a series of subject position changes that seem to be grappling with their own decenteredness. First he adopts a distanced perspective with the use of impersonal forms: “If one wants to really know these people who wander around at the margins of urban life, with no other objective than to subsist one more day the least badly possible, there is no choice but to appear to their eyes, to turn into one of them” [*“Si se quiere conocer de verdad a estas gentes que deambulan al margen de la vida urbana, sin más fin que el de subsistir un día más lo menos mal posible, no hay más remedio que aparecer a sus ojos, que hacerse, como uno de ellos”*](emphasis in the original). The following paragraph maintains this distance, shifting into the third person: “Only the close brotherhood of misery makes them show themselves the way they really are, even when their deliberate intention is to deceive” [*“Solo la estrecha hermandad de la miseria les hace mostrarse tal y como son, aun aquellas veces que tienen el propósito deliberado de engañar”*]. At the beginning of the third paragraph the narrative voice shifts again, this time radically, addressing the readers directly: “Of course you, those who eat every day at a fixed time, more or less to the minute, and always have a bed to lie down in, sheltered from the inclemency of the open air, will think that ‘the others’ are, precisely, them. It’s a matter of perspective!” [*“Claro que ustedes, los que comen todos los días a hora fija, minuto más o menos, y tienen un siempre lecho donde acostarse a resguardo de las inclemencias del aire libre, pensarán que ‘los otros’ son, precisamente, ellos. ¡Cuestión de punto de vista!”*].

The second person plural subject pronoun “*ustedes*” juxtaposed to the third person plural relative pronoun “*los*”, introduces the reader into the play of perspectives that structures the series. This switch between the second person and a third person that refers back to the former also points to a fluid subject position. In this way, although the reader is explicitly and consciously differentiated from Madrid’s marginal characters, the fixedness of his position is undermined by language. The narrative voice continues in first person singular:

I also, then, *wandering* around in the garbage dump in the slums, after a night of sleeping in fits and starts in doorways, *fleeing* from the relentless sting of the night watchmen, and *waiting* for the moment to turn up at the barracks for the mess leftovers, to try to placate a hunger of twenty four hours, understood perfectly that this designation referred to you; now that I have regularized my life again, I see that, in effect, “they” are “the others.” (Emphasis added).

[*También yo que, entonces, vagando entre los basureros de los suburbios, después de una noche de haber dormido a sorbos en los quicios de las puertas, buyendo del chuzo implacable de los serenos, y esperando la hora de acudir al cuartel por las sobras del rancho, para tratar de aplacar un hambre de veinticuatro horas, entendía perfectamente que esta designación se refería a ustedes, ahora, que he vuelto a regularizar mi vida, veo que, en efecto, “los otros” son “ellos”*].

In the passage cited, the subject pronoun is separated from the verb “*entendía*” with which it agrees by almost seven lines of type in its original print format. A clause beginning with the present participle “*vagando*” is then placed where the main verb would normally go, followed by two more clauses beginning with “*buyendo*” and “*esperando*,” such that “wandering,” “fleeing” and “waiting” seem to describe the subject position itself. Through this destabilized subject-verb relationship the reader is schooled in the mediating position adopted

by narrative voice. In other words, the reader experiences through language the destabilized subject position lived by the author as mediator. This position is made explicit two paragraphs later, when he adopts an authoritative first person singular to announce himself: “I have lived with them some long days and I believe I know a little about their lives, their customs, their ways of getting by, their diverse types... And I’m going to tell you what I know.” [*“Yo he convivido con ellos unos largos días y creo saber un poco de su vida, de sus costumbres, de sus modos de ir viviendo, de sus tipos diversos... Y voy a contarles a ustedes lo que sé”*]. Awash in its own dissolution, this singular authoritative voice is short-lived, yielding a paragraph later to the first person plural and an explicit reference to a double textual modality: “For this reason *Rivero Gil and I*, intending to offer, *with pen and pencil*, news about ‘the others’ of Madrid to the curiosity of Estampa’s readers, thought to reduce ourselves to their same miserable condition and throw ourselves into the places frequented by them” (emphasis added) [*“...Rivero Gil y yo, que pretendíamos ofrecer a la curiosidad de los lectores de ESTAMPA, con la pluma y con el lápiz, unas informaciones sobre ‘los otros’ de Madrid, pensamos en reducirnos a su misma situación miserable y lanzarnos a los lugares frecuentados por ellos”*]. This first person plural dominates the rest of the narrative, supported by the appearance in the second installment of two photographs of both men, one hunting through a garbage heap, the other standing around on a street corner, unshaven, hands in pockets, whose caption refers to them as “the authors” [*“Los autores del reportaje esperando en la Puerta de Toledo...”*]. This double authorship is reinforced visually in each subsequent article with photographs<sup>44</sup> documenting both men’s physical presence in various locations of the urban netherworld. The double authorship announced by the lexical author doesn’t go far enough, however. It is augmented by both the editor, who has introduced the scientific authority of the photographer, and the visual evidence of the photographs themselves. This multimodality will be considered further on, but first, a description of the lexical content will be useful to situate the reader.

Carral’s writing is fluid and engaging. An abundance of real place names and frequent monetary details ground his account in physical and socio-economic reality, as he describes a series of encounters with real people, some of whom are known by nick-names (*El Pincha, El Rubio, El Boni, El Chato, El Andoval*), two of whom are known by their real names (*don Nicolás, Juanito*), and many more of whom remain anonymous. We meet a boy who walks on all fours because of a broken back; a man who eats paper to calm his hunger pangs; a homeless mother with her three children, who intermittently receives money from her husband working elsewhere, allowing her to *sometimes* afford a bed indoors for herself and her children; a widower from Cuenca, who was supported by his engineer son, until the son was killed in an automobile accident, and who has now taken under his wing a mentally disabled young man. Moments of touching solidarity are expressly highlighted, when body heat is “evenly spread around” as people huddle for warmth, or the widower offers Carral and Rivero a bowl of cold leftover beans, believing they had no money for food. A great deal of attention is given to colloquial language, and an effort is made to transcribe the real speech of Madrid’s marginal figures, with the meanings of unfamiliar italicized terms either provided in parentheses or explained:

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44. Ten photographs are attributed to Alberto Benítez Casaux; two appear with no crediting.

There is now no doubt in our minds that we have fallen among these cheerful kids, who are known in these neighborhoods by the savory name of *los chorizos*.<sup>45</sup>

Don't think anything bad about them. They are boys in the flower of youth, a bit thoughtless, who while away the time without wearing themselves out too much, taking what they can where they can. You might possibly call this stealing, or at least pilfering. But they are more philosophical, and they call it *pinching*, and also *tasking*; and, more modestly, *earning*. (Emphasis in the original).

*[No nos cabe ya ninguna duda de que hemos caído entre estos alegres muchachos que son conocidos por estos barrios con el sabroso nombre de los chorizos.*

*No vayan ustedes a pensar nada malo de ellos. Son unos chicos, en la flor de la mocedad, un poco alocados, que, para ir pasando el rato, sin demasiadas fatigas, cogen lo que pueden y donde pueden. Posiblemente ustedes llamarán a esto robar, o, por lo menos hurtar. Pero ellos son mucho más filósofos y lo llaman afanar, y también hacer; y, más modestamente, ganar.]*

The lighthearted tone, which reflects Horace's maxim, "*prodesse et delectare*," adopted by don Juan Manuel in the fourteenth century as "*enseñar deleitando*" and whose spirit is modernized and recycled again by *humorismo*, serves as a delightful hook for the reader. Following the two men in their escapades, we learn that they have ventured into this world with literally nothing more than the clothes on their backs. They sell their clothes and buy older ones to make a meager profit so they can eat. They are befriended by a petty thief, who appears wearing their clothing; later they find themselves fleeing the police with him. We meet *El Boni*, who introduces himself with a pride of craft that resonates with Ortega's classless notion of select minority: "I'm a thief, but a real thief, you know? Not like those amateurs who devote themselves to *pleasing their fingers* when someone is careless" [*"Yo soy ladrón, pero ladrón de veras ¿sabeis? No como esos señoritingos que se dedican a darle gusto a los bastes (dedos), cuando uno se descuida"*]. The journalists learn new card games at which they are, naturally, cheated, and become embroiled in an armed robbery, ultimately foiling it.

As the series progresses, however, the tone becomes graver. It is likely that the novelty of their situation wore off quickly as funds ran out and the daily battle against cold, hunger and exhaustion began. Monetary calculations are a frequent feature of Carral's narrative and we read, for example, that they had enough money for a meal or a bed, but not both. We follow them to a cheap rooming house, where a bed with dirty sheets in a cramped six-bed room costs fifteen *céntimos*. We learn of nights they spend trying to sleep in doorways, only to be prodded awake by the night watchman and told to move on; or huddled under a bridge, waiting for the local bakery to fire up its oven in the early morning hours, so they can warm themselves, pressed against its outside wall. The exclamatory title of the seventh episode, "Have Pity, Ladies and Gentlemen!" [*¡Tengan caridad señores!* ], appeals to the humanity of the reader in a lexical crescendo. In the final episode they are rounded up by municipal employees with a group of their fellow indigents and hauled off to the refuge — *el Campamento* —, a place of universal dread, where, in exchange for food, shelter and clothing, freedom is restricted and one is forced to work and ... bathe. The series ends as the two journalists and a group of

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45. Chorizo, literally sausage, is used in its slang ascription for petty thieves.

indigents are taken away in a foul-smelling paddy wagon, jostled on narrow benches in its dark interior by the bumps and turns of the road “like a little pile of human garbage that dirtied the streets, and they were in a hurry to take it away so that urban cleanliness would not suffer, ... where other piles of human garbage, like ours, waited to get bigger. [“...como un montoncito de basura humana que manchara las calles, y tuvieran prisa por retirar para que no padezca la limpieza urbana, ... donde otros montones de basura humana, como el nuestro, aguardan a ser engrosados...”]. The lexical text seem to follow Francés’s dictates for caricature, whose modern embodiment seeks to provoke thought.

### *Visual Analysis*

Each of the eight articles comprising the series ranges in length from three to four pages, characterized by syncretism. Words, drawings, photographs, captions and advertising form “informational units,” to use Kress and van Leeuwen’s terminology, which interact with each other to varying degrees. The lexical text, drawings and photos are the most obvious ones, but the titles also constitute informational units, as do the captions, which appear with both drawings and photos. An ad for the series appears at the end of each article, forming another informational unit. Three of the articles also contain advertising for other products, constituting additional informational units that may or may not interact with the other units of the page layout. I will say more about this further on. Each article contains one to two photos and four to five drawings. The title of the series figures prominently at the top of the page, accompanied by the title of the article (see figs. 76-7). The two different typefaces used in these titles already present the reader/viewer with a visual statement about the social concerns driving the series. The modern shaded sans serif typeface of *Los otros* suggests the still shadowy presence of the urban poor in the shifting consciousness of the elite. At the same time the traditional serified typeface of the title has been modernized by contrasting thick vertical lines and thin horizontal ones, pointing to the relevance of tradition as a point of departure for innovation, while the presence and absence of serifs points to the unstable ground between tradition and modernity.

An ad for the series is included at the conclusion of each article (see fig. 78), semi-enclosed in a box. The title of the next installment appears, in large capital letters, along with the titles of the rest of the articles in the series, which are situated below it in smaller letters. The top line of the box is interrupted by the lexical item, “the second [third, fourth, etc] episode/lesson of this series” [*“la segunda episodio/información de este reportaje se titula”*](emphasis added). The line on either side of this lexical item ends in an arrow pointing at the words, which serves to call the reader’s attention to the concept of the article as a fragment in relation to its whole, indicating the metatextual function of this informational unit. A change in the terminology used—“*episodio*” switches to “*información*” after the second installment—reinforces its metatextual nature. According to the RAE, “*información*” was used to signify “education” or “instruction” (thus, my translation “lesson”). It follows from this that the association of the term “episode” with installments of fictional works—popular features of magazines at the time—was deemed inappropriate to denominate the didactic nature of the series at hand. Furthermore, this detail is suggestive of a learn-as-you-go fluidity implicit in Ortega’s *raciovitalista* paradigm.

As stated above, three of the articles also include one or more ads at the bottom of the concluding page, set off from the article itself by a horizontal black line. This line establishes the ad space as a separate informational unit. There are two half-page single ad units, and one much smaller unit, which occupies a fifth of the page and contains four ads. Due to the latter’s



offer en cuestión más  
de apaciguó al campo  
de la izquierda, que no  
se dejó aquí, cuando  
luchó con ellos.

— ¡Ahí está! — me la  
falta el Bost, bajándose  
por un lado, como  
si fuera el lado de sus  
enemigos.

Tras de una an-  
gustia larguísima. Miró  
con feo y a otro, como  
si fuera un hijo. Pero el  
Bost me tenía dentro  
de la boca con una de sus  
patas, y, con la otra,  
apretó su piñeta sólo  
por el café, diérselo a  
darme un colazo, como  
si fuera un hijo, y me se volvió  
a hacer el mismo intento  
de irse...

No he tenido el tiempo  
de decirle al señor qué  
me pasa de ser  
así. El Bost me lo  
ha ido haciendo hasta el  
fin, me pareció, en  
el saber que pedía los  
que. El señor no para  
de irse al dempués,  
y da un paso atrás. Oír,  
con voz de mi, la voz  
del hombre del Bost que  
me acompaña.



Carrol y Bost en un momento de su conversación. Asistido por D. Alberto Verdugo (A). Al lado del cuadro  
principal del Bost, D. Valeriano de la zona parana que muestra la evolución personal de los  
repartidos. (D. de la zona parana)

— ¡Pasa, señor! Te voy a poner los líbricos!  
Entonces me voy derecho hacia el señor, con  
el ojo izquierdo sobre el hombro izquierdo del parano  
lío, y lo digo, como de que tengo tiempo de cada:

— ¡Corra, apúrate, que quiero irme!  
Y echo a correr a mi vez, con todas las fuerzas que  
me da por el lado de Bost, que me meo con la  
voz. No sabemos lo que pasa tras de nosotros. El

paso está obscuro, hasta el punto de no distinguir  
nuestro día, que sabemos, así que me voy con una  
Pasa a darle que damos de nosotros con algunos  
líbricos. No nos preocupamos de comprobarlo y, por el  
otro, apretamos nuestros carreros cuando podemos...

JOSÉ CARVAL

El Bost de Bost en G.E.



Entonces me  
voy derecho  
al señor, que  
me está dando  
el hombro  
de la zona  
parana del parano.

— La nueva información de este repertorio se titula —

# LA CONQUISTA DEL PAN

y aparecerá en el próximo número de ESTAMPA

He aquí los títulos de sus interesantísimos episodios:

HAMBRE Y SUEÑO

LA CASA DE DORMIR

UN AMIGO CUALQUIERA

II. EL HORROR DEL TRABAJO

Y

CÓMO SE PUEDE ALMOZAR BARATO

## NUESTRO CONCURSO DE CUENTOS

El fondo otorgado de dicte los premios de nuestro Concurso de cuentos literarios muy adelantado  
al examen de los originales. El dono de cualquier cosa, por adelantado, en la que se tarda  
el fallo, que, de todos modos, ya no está muy lejano.

Lo, así mismo para calmar la inquietud, por otra parte muy explícita, de algunos concursantes.

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Fig. 78. Advertisement for *Los otros* on last page of "Mi amigo el ladrón," pt. 3 of *Los otros* published Feb. 4, 1930.

lack of salience, defined by Kress and van Leeuwen as features “made to attract the viewer’s attention to different degrees, as realized by such factors as placement... relative size...,” it would be difficult to establish any significant relationship with the other informational unit on the page (177). The opposite is true of the two half-page ads, however, each of which is conceptually related to the content of the accompanying article. In one instance, an ad for the stomach tonic “*Digestónico*” (see fig. 79) appears in the seventh article, in which we learn of the man eating paper (Rivero, “Tengan” n. p.). In the fifth article, an ad for automobile tires (see fig. 80) accompanies the article in which we are told the story of the widower, whose son, the reader will remember, was killed in an automobile accident (Rivero, “Un ex-hombre”).

Beyond this conceptual association, however, which relies on the lexical text, there are visual cues that establish this connection. For example, as just noted, both ads possess a high degree of salience, due both to their size and other compositional features, such as the presence of vectors. According to Kress and van Leeuwen, when compositional elements “are connected by a vector, they are represented as doing something to or for each other,” establishing “narrative patterns” (59). The ad for the stomach tonic contains multiple vectors, establishing a narrative tension with the article. The ad’s eight lines of lexical text are tilted, so that they all point to the lower right hand corner of the previous page, where the drawing of the man who eats paper is situated. Furthermore, these lexical vectors are placed inside a rectangle, whose oblique angle is parallel to them, strengthening their effect. In addition, the upper left corner of the rectangle points directly to the word “*Cena*” (“Supper”) in the last sentence of the column above it, referring to an image of the Last Supper in a dining room where Carral and Rivero received a free meal. The most obvious visual statement made by these relationships might refer humorously to the need for a stomach tonic after ingesting paper; a more subtle statement might have to do with spiritual indigestion associated with the anti-clerical sentiment prevalent at the time. The image of a man’s head is also situated to the right of the text, apparently the “Dr. Vicente,” who recommends the stomach remedy. This image includes his hand pointing upward, an additional vector, which intensifies still further the narrative tension between these two seemingly, at least at first glance, unrelated informational units. The visual statement made here suggests a recommendation to remedy the social situation presented to the reader/viewer in the pages of the article.

The tire ad interacts directly with one of Rivero’s drawings, situated on the same page above it. The page is divided in half horizontally, with the ad occupying the lower half, as before. A drawing of the widower is centered in the upper half, occupying the space of the center column and flanked on both sides by lexical text. This image, like the great majority of Rivero’s drawings, is a full-length portrait, in which the unfortunate old man is depicted in his rumpled and patched overcoat, hands in pockets, facing us at an oblique angle, making no eye contact. Directly under this drawing, there is an image of a tire standing upright, positioned narrowly inside a vertical black rectangle. The tire is also positioned at an oblique angle toward us, so its tread is visible. This time the effect of intense verticality established by the two images overrides the dividing line and indicates a narrative relationship between the ad and the article. Moreover, according to Kress and van Leeuwen, the information value of top and bottom correspond to the “Ideal and the Real,” respectively. Thus, the widower is presented as the “generalized essence of the information... also as its...most salient part” (187). The Real is opposed to the Ideal and presents “more specific information (e.g. details)...or more practical information (e.g. practical consequences...)” (187). In other words, this visual text makes a statement about the automobile’s toll on the life of this individual. This statement could be ironic or more in the line of an *exemplum* regarding the

Estampas

...recuerdo, también, a veces, conmovido por debilidad, en estos momentos, entre una y otra, cuando me encuentro de nuevo, pero que no perdamos momentos de ocio, así, hay una barquilla de ruidos. En la barra, también, de la mesa, un cigarrillo de la casa. Cuadrado. El sol se levanta en un momento preciso:

- ¿De dónde viene?
- De aquí, de aquí.
- ¿No sería...? ¿No sería...?
- ¿No?
- ¿Qué es eso?
- ¿Qué es eso?
- ¿No, a lo más así? ¿Tendría razón?
- No.
- ¿No sería...?
- No, ninguna.
- ¿No sería...?

Este libro es un libro de...  
- Bueno, bueno, ¿qué es lo bueno?  
- Bueno, bueno, ¿qué es lo bueno?  
- Bueno, bueno, ¿qué es lo bueno?  
- Bueno, bueno, ¿qué es lo bueno?



Después de un momento de la fuerza, en la fuerza de la mano. Después de un momento de la fuerza, en la fuerza de la mano.

...El libro es un libro de...  
- Bueno, bueno, ¿qué es lo bueno?  
- Bueno, bueno, ¿qué es lo bueno?  
- Bueno, bueno, ¿qué es lo bueno?  
- Bueno, bueno, ¿qué es lo bueno?

...Después de un momento de la fuerza, en la fuerza de la mano. Después de un momento de la fuerza, en la fuerza de la mano.

...Después de un momento de la fuerza, en la fuerza de la mano. Después de un momento de la fuerza, en la fuerza de la mano.

...Después de un momento de la fuerza, en la fuerza de la mano. Después de un momento de la fuerza, en la fuerza de la mano.

...Después de un momento de la fuerza, en la fuerza de la mano. Después de un momento de la fuerza, en la fuerza de la mano.

...Después de un momento de la fuerza, en la fuerza de la mano. Después de un momento de la fuerza, en la fuerza de la mano.

La acción y el libro de...  
cabe en el reportaje de...  
**Basura Humana**  
y aparecerá en el próximo número de **ESTAMPA**  
...  
**SUEÑO A SUEÑOS**  
**LOS SITIOS DONDE**  
**SE OPERA EL AIRE LIQUE**  
**LA JUBIA SOBRE**  
**EL SUEÑO**  
**LA HUEGIDA**  
**EL CARRO DE LA BASURA HUMANA**

"El estómago es el manantial de alegría de la vida."

Cuidelo usted, con una buena alimentación y algunas cucharadas de

**DIGESTÓNICO**

del Dr. VICENTE

© Biblioteca Nacional de España

Fig. 79. Advertisement for stomach tonic *Digestónico* with illustration above by Francisco Rivero Gil on third page of "¡Tengan caridad señores!", pt. 7 of *Los otros* published March 4, 1930.

—Y tenías que a veces tiene que ir a trabajar a guisa de (¿Dices que lo iba a hacer?)

—Eh, ¿cómo quieres que sea, ¿verdad?

—Tenía la culpa en su mala vida.

—Pero si tú eres el culpable, hijo. Porque cuando era solo Rosendo, y antes abel (¿Entonces que se...)

Como supiste, don Nicolás se le fue a caer encima la historia, una historia vulgar, que, sin embargo, lleva de maravilla a los lectores de hoy, que se dan por el hecho que la oportunidad se le dio, y forma parte de una de nuestras repeticiones. Pero la historia, también, es trágica en su desarrollo. Este hecho le servió de un punto de partida moral. Se casó y vivió con su esposa hasta que ésta murió, dejando un hijo, al que, desde entonces, se consagró por entero. El hijo, un muchacho encantador, llevó la herencia de su padre y obtuvo una hermosa educación en una escuela. Volvió un día con el título de hijo, el primer premio. Y un día, se casó el hijo con una muchacha que era hija de un rico.

Todo esto, la historia de este sujeto parece que se ha hecho para a los lectores de hoy, a los hijos de nuestra patria, para que se acuerden de lo que pasó a un tal Rosendo...

—Pero ¿cómo se llama de esta? ¿Tiene su apellido? Y con un hombre tan amable como yo, ¿cómo se le pudo pasar el hijo? Y claro, a los veinte y cinco, para el momento de la vida, luego que entró en la escuela pública.

—¿Qué usted tiene?

—Eh, ¿qué quieres que sea? ¿Qué quieres que sea de lo que fui, la parte de la vida?

—Pero si es una vida muy buena, ¿por qué ha sido así? ¿Por qué se le pudo pasar el hijo?

—No lo sé, no lo sé... ¿Qué quieres que sea, si se fue a él, como un muchacho. Pero para la historia que pasó.

—Vale tanto más, cuando se le fue a él, y al fin se casó, como que es un hecho muy interesante y real. Se casó con una muchacha que era hija de un rico y con un apellido. Le dio un hijo que era hijo de la Casa Real de Avellan.

—¿Pero cómo se llama?



—Hay que irse a eso. Todo se resuelve. Para un hombre tan amable como yo, ¿cómo se le pudo pasar el hijo?

—Eh, pero se le fue a él, como que es un hecho muy interesante y real. Se casó con una muchacha que era hija de un rico y con un apellido. Le dio un hijo que era hijo de la Casa Real de Avellan.

—Vale tanto más, cuando se le fue a él, y al fin se casó, como que es un hecho muy interesante y real. Se casó con una muchacha que era hija de un rico y con un apellido. Le dio un hijo que era hijo de la Casa Real de Avellan.

—¿Pero cómo se llama?

(FOLIO A ROSO Gil)

—La zona intermedia de este repertorio se trata

### Una noche de invierno a la intemperie

y aparecerá en el próximo número de ESTAMPA

He aquí los títulos de sus interesantes capítulos:

Bajo los arcos del Puente de Toledo

Calafín de noche

De madrugada

Una crítica del Compromiso

y

Una muchacha

Los neumáticos Englebert son antideslizantes, ligeros y resistentes.

Si usted quiere velar por sus intereses, calce su coche con neumáticos ENGLEBERT

Barcelona: Cortes, 457

Madrid: Felipe IV, 7

Fig. 80. Advertisement for Englebert tires with illustration above by Francisco Rivero Gil on last page of "Un hombre y otro que no llegará a hombre nunca," pt. 5 of *Los otros* published Feb. 18, 1930.

importance of maintaining one's vehicle. In either case, the very ambiguity of the statement suggests that it is up to the viewer—who, it must be remembered, is also a speaker immersed in a dense social *milieu*—to complete the meaning. The image of the tire, finally, is also superimposed on a vector—a close-up of a long black treadmark that crosses behind it at an oblique angle, the trace of a moving vehicle. The vector formed by this treadmark is a strong one, due to the close-up perspective, the salience of its pattern and the multiple diagonal lines this pattern forms. But, instead of pointing to a drawing or words in the article, it points to the series ad, indicating a narrative tension that extends beyond the single article to encompass the series as a whole. This visual statement has the capacity to constitute a meta-commentary on the toll modernization has taken on society. Both of these interactions between ads and the article content constitute examples of anonymous executive praxis. It follows from the above that the textual experimentation underway on the multimodal page of *Los otros*, under the influence of the *raciovitalista* paradigm, included a different approach to advertising, and how it might function to encourage thought and promote dialog.

The page itself or, as in this case, the double page is structured in three columns of lexical text, whose irregular margins are be governed by the needs of the graphic text, which even invades its lexical counterpart on occasion, overlapping it (see figs. 81-2). Figure 82 exemplifies both of these modes of interaction between Rivero's images and the lexical text, i.e., irregular margins and a hand that will not be contained by within the columns. Photos, with one exception, are set off from the lexical text by a double (sometimes triple) black line that acts as a frame, while drawings are unframed. The photo in the upper left-hand corner of figure 78 is the exception to the rule, having no frame, which further evidences the fluid textual conventions in play. In any case, as Kress and Leeuwen affirm, "elements of the composition may be strongly or weakly framed. The stronger the framing of an element, the more it is presented as a separate unit of information. The more the elements of the spatial composition are connected, the more they are presented as belonging together, as a single unit of information" (203-4). The double frame around the photos is evidence of strong framing and denotes an effort to establish their separateness from the graphico-lexical text, which, I suggest, stems from their identification with realism. For this reason I consider them as separate informational units. In contrast, the unframed drawings, which possess the ability to interact with the lexical text by overlapping it or displacing its margins, indicate a shared status as a single informational unit operating under the *raciovitalista* paradigm.

I do not mean to say that these are hard and fast boundaries, as the photo in the upper left-hand corner of figure 76 shows, but rather that framed photos and unframed drawings are tendencies in a highly fluid and experimental textual environment. Indeed, these fluctuating tendencies offer themselves as aesthetic expressions of de-centered identity in the midst of shifting subject positions. Similarly, most captions are excerpts from the lexical text, thus strongly identified with it; others take on their own documentary style and are more closely associated with the photographic documentary function: "In these hours of hunger, Carral and Rivero Gil have had the opportunity to appreciate the value of a nickel; with it they were able to buy hot chestnuts, which served them both as food and heat" [*"En estas horas del hambre, Carral y Rivero Gil han tenido ocasión de apreciar lo que vale una perra chica; con ella han podido comprar castañas calientes, que sirven al mismo tiempo de comida y de calefacción"*] (Rivero, "Tengan caridad" n. p.) (see figs. 83-4). Furthermore, while the excerpt type caption is mainly used for drawings, it also accompanies many of the photographs; and, although the documentary style is almost always used for photos, one drawing is also captioned in this way: "This is the man who eats paper" [*"Éste es el hombre que come papel"*] (see fig. 84). This lack of consistent

# LOS OTROS LA CONQUISTA DEL PAN

Una obra de una extensa información de alto espíritu en la edición de 1930. 227 págs. 10.00 y 20.00 de más y del 4 de México.

10

muerte y vida

U n día viernes emprendió hacia el Puerto de Soledad, Arica un camión para cargar azúcar. Y un viernes al amanecer, con amplitud en el perfil, la noche oscura.

El camión que estaba de salida, ingresó en la ciudad, se detuvo al lado de la casa de la familia que estaba en el camino. Y no fue sino hasta que el camión se detuvo que se pudo ver a los viajeros, y solo en un momento se pudo ver a los viajeros.

—¿Dónde van ustedes?  
—¿A dónde van?  
—¿Dónde van?  
—¿Dónde van?

Y en un momento se llegaron a un punto en el que se detuvo el camión. Y el camión que estaba en el camino, se detuvo en el camino. Y el camión que estaba en el camino, se detuvo en el camino.

Y el camión que estaba en el camino, se detuvo en el camino. Y el camión que estaba en el camino, se detuvo en el camino.

Y el camión que estaba en el camino, se detuvo en el camino. Y el camión que estaba en el camino, se detuvo en el camino.

Y el camión que estaba en el camino, se detuvo en el camino. Y el camión que estaba en el camino, se detuvo en el camino.



El camión que estaba en el camino, se detuvo en el camino. Y el camión que estaba en el camino, se detuvo en el camino.

Y el camión que estaba en el camino, se detuvo en el camino. Y el camión que estaba en el camino, se detuvo en el camino.

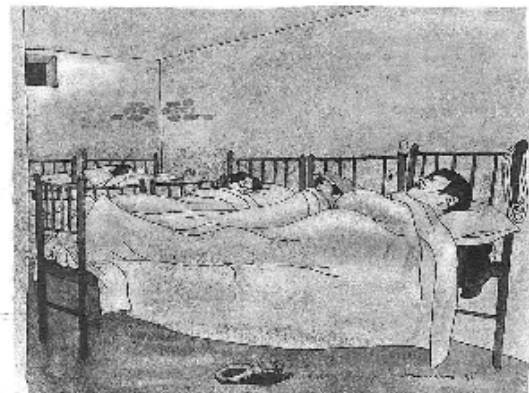
Y el camión que estaba en el camino, se detuvo en el camino. Y el camión que estaba en el camino, se detuvo en el camino.



Y el camión que estaba en el camino, se detuvo en el camino. Y el camión que estaba en el camino, se detuvo en el camino.

Y el camión que estaba en el camino, se detuvo en el camino. Y el camión que estaba en el camino, se detuvo en el camino.

Y el camión que estaba en el camino, se detuvo en el camino. Y el camión que estaba en el camino, se detuvo en el camino.



La primera noche en la Sierra de Arica, sobre un catre en el dormitorio del grupo. A la izquierda, un catre vacío; a la derecha, un catre ocupado por un viajero. En el fondo, el dormitorio de la noche y las sillas vacías.

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© Biblioteca Nacional de España

Figs. 81-82. Francisco Rivero Gil. Illustrations in "La conquista del pan," pt. 4 of *Los otros* published Feb. 11, 1930.





Algunos de los que se ven en el cuadro de la izquierda...

Una mujer que ha sido víctima de una enfermedad...

107

107

Conocidos los hechos referidos, se ve en el cuadro de la izquierda a un hombre que se ha enfermado de una enfermedad que le ha ocasionado una gran debilidad y que le impide trabajar. En el cuadro de la derecha se ve a una mujer que ha sido víctima de una enfermedad que le ha ocasionado una gran debilidad y que le impide trabajar. En el cuadro de la izquierda se ve a un hombre que se ha enfermado de una enfermedad que le ha ocasionado una gran debilidad y que le impide trabajar. En el cuadro de la derecha se ve a una mujer que ha sido víctima de una enfermedad que le ha ocasionado una gran debilidad y que le impide trabajar.

# LOS OTROS ¡TENGAN CARIDAD, SEÑORES!

En un momento de la vida de cada uno de nosotros, se nos presenta una situación que nos obliga a pedir ayuda. En un momento de la vida de cada uno de nosotros, se nos presenta una situación que nos obliga a pedir ayuda. En un momento de la vida de cada uno de nosotros, se nos presenta una situación que nos obliga a pedir ayuda.



Hay allí entre una multitud de mendigos...

En un momento de la vida de cada uno de nosotros, se nos presenta una situación que nos obliga a pedir ayuda. En un momento de la vida de cada uno de nosotros, se nos presenta una situación que nos obliga a pedir ayuda. En un momento de la vida de cada uno de nosotros, se nos presenta una situación que nos obliga a pedir ayuda.



Hay allí entre una multitud de mendigos...



Algunos de los que se ven en el cuadro de la izquierda...

Una mujer que ha sido víctima de una enfermedad...

107

107

Conocidos los hechos referidos, se ve en el cuadro de la izquierda a un hombre que se ha enfermado de una enfermedad que le ha ocasionado una gran debilidad y que le impide trabajar. En el cuadro de la derecha se ve a una mujer que ha sido víctima de una enfermedad que le ha ocasionado una gran debilidad y que le impide trabajar. En el cuadro de la izquierda se ve a un hombre que se ha enfermado de una enfermedad que le ha ocasionado una gran debilidad y que le impide trabajar. En el cuadro de la derecha se ve a una mujer que ha sido víctima de una enfermedad que le ha ocasionado una gran debilidad y que le impide trabajar.



Hay allí entre una multitud de mendigos...

Figs. 83-84. Double page design for "¡Tengan caridad señores!" with illustrations by Francisco Rivero Gil, pt. 7 of Los otros published March 4, 1930.



Returning to the analysis at hand, the full-length portrait (or long shot in cinematic terms) at eye-level predominates, indicating “a point of view of equality” (Kress 140). However, almost all of the figure/s face us at an oblique angle, without making eye contact, what Kress and Leeuwen call an “offer image,” that is, an image that offers the viewer “items of information, objects of contemplation, impersonally, as though they were specimens in a display case” (119). All but one of Rivero’s drawings adopt this perspective, in which, “there is an issue of communicative power or ‘entitlement’” (121). In this way the viewer is offered information about the others, which may be contemplated from a safe distance, but is not asked to identify with it, as with “demand” images, that is, images that make eye contact with the viewer (118). As in the celebratory banquet at the Gran Vía Hotel, this sense of entitlement is at odds with the declared intentions of the lexical text and most likely acts, to some degree, as a stabilizing element in the midst of shifting social attitudes and an experiment that threatens to undo consolidated social and subject positions. Conventions in the treatment of margins, images and captions constitutes additional evidence of the fluid textual environment in which Carral and Rivero were operating, Ortega’s “unstable ground” that promotes thought.

While the lexical text indicated an equal interest in acquiring truthful knowledge about the places frequented by Madrid’s marginal population, the drawings clearly privilege the human subject. There are thirty-five drawings in all, each depicting one or more human subjects, whereas distinctive place details, even as background, are extremely limited. Nine of the images are clearly situated indoors, while eight are obvious street scenes. The blank backgrounds of the remaining eighteen leave us dependent on their captions to situate them. The initial visual impression, however, is of a oneness with the lexical text, which the drawings seem to inhabit. Eleven depict three or more (usually more) people, while the remaining twenty-four represent only one or two people. This visual zig-zagging between single, double or multiple human subject constitutes a training session for the eye, as it learns to operate in the multi-focal visual regimen — a prerequisite of the perception of otherness. Iain McGilchrist makes a strong case for linear versus shuttling approaches to acquiring knowledge being functions of, respectively, left and right brain dominance. More specifically, he posits, drawing on Sass’s work, *Madness and Modernism*, an “overreliance on the left hemisphere in the West, which has accelerated in the last one hundred years,” a significant characteristic of which is linear and self-referential inflexibility (396). While it is not my objective here to carry out a neurological study of Riverogilian aesthetics, I would like to note the relevance of this right-brained holistic cultural production in terms of studies currently being carried out on the human brain.

These drawings serve to make grim urban reality visible, but in a measured fashion that takes care, consciously or unconsciously, not to press the viewer in ways that might evoke a fearful response. In this way the series contributes to the work afoot in the media dealing with the fear of the lower class masses, which, as mentioned earlier, once awakened by the Russian Revolution, came to pervade the middle and upper classes. Ortega capitalized on this fear with the title *Revolt of the Masses*, but he also diffused it by recasting the concept in terms of human, rather than class types. Similarly, these articles mobilize syncretism of media in this multimodal textuality in ways that are careful to lessen the possibilities of a fearful response in *Estampa*’s readership. But they also make a lateral move back to the issue of class. As we have seen, the lexical text initially adopts a playful tone to put the reader/viewer at ease and set the stage for the tragic individualized human stories that come later, ending with the delivery of a harsh *racionvitalista* truth. By this I mean a truth that emerges not through some abstract

process, but rather through actively sought-out lived experience, that is, executive praxis. The simple and essential truth the reader is asked to believe is that real human beings are treated like garbage. The graphic text uses a similar strategy to drive home the same point by adopting a distanced perspective as a restrained background against which the vital truth of human misery may be highlighted, cultivating reader/viewer's receptiveness to new information, which more confrontational approaches could easily have shut down. At the same time, it focuses on individuals, pairs or small groups. Indeed, the only drawing of a large group depicts a number of Goyesquely<sup>46</sup> shaped figures slumped in chairs, who have fallen asleep on the tables of Madrid's earliest opening café, safely contained indoors and reduced by cold and exhaustion after a night of wandering the city's wintry streets (see figs. 85-6).

Whether the images depict one or more individuals, they are all semi-individualized, meaning that we are only able to distinguish sex and approximate age. The absence of further distinguishing characteristics in most cases allows the artist to concentrate expression in the two visual aspects that most strongly convey the essence of human misery: faces, set in a scowl; and clothing, rumpled, frayed and patched. And while Rivero was adept at self-caricature, as we have seen in Chapter 2, the absence of detail in this series prevents us from identifying him and Carral in the lone drawing in which they appear huddled under a bridge (see fig. 85). As a result, the journalists are fused visually, matching their real life intentions, with the images of human misery found on these pages, which draw as much on Goya as José Gutiérrez Solana (1886-1945). The latter, an expressionist painter and writer, also from Santander, also established in Madrid, has been described as "the great anachronic Spanish artist of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the most anti-cosmopolitan, who transforms his personal cosmos of sordid realism into a protagonist" [*...el gran artista anacrónico español de la primera mitad del siglo XX, el más anticosmopolita, ...el que hace protagonista a un personal cosmos de realismo sórdido*"] (Carretero, *Templo* 111). One of Rivero's particularly effective Solanesque drawings depicts a group of twelve individuals, five men on the left and four women on the right, with three children of varied ages and indistinguishable sex in the right foreground (see fig. 87). Displacing margins to accommodate itself on the page, this drawing is offered to the viewer as information at some social distance, but using an eye-level perspective, thus denoting equality with the viewer, and situated in the place of the Real. Two vectors are formed, one on the left by the men's heads and one on the right by the tallest woman's head, scarf and shoulder, the middle child's head and the sleeve of the child next to him/her. These two vectors form an arrow that points to the text at the end of the column directly above it: "Mother-in-law! Step-father! Here are two eloquent denominations that express the concept that this poor girl has of two categories of people that all children refer to with affectionate terms" [*"¡La suegra! ¡El padrastro! He aquí dos elocuentes denominaciones que expresan el concepto que esta pobre niña tiene de dos categorías de personas que todos los niños designan con vocablos cariñosos"*]. In this way the graphic text, beyond the hunched, ill-clad figures and frowning faces we see, calls attention to its lexical counterpart, in which an example is given of the affective degradation suffered by children as an additional consequence of poverty. This point is supported visually by the composition of the drawing, which situates the men on the left, and the children on the right. According to Kress and van Leeuwen:

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46. Images of the starving populace during the French occupation of Madrid were famously rendered in Goya's series of eighty-two etchings entitled, *Los desastres de la Guerra* (The Disasters of War), produced from 1810 to 1815.

Estampa

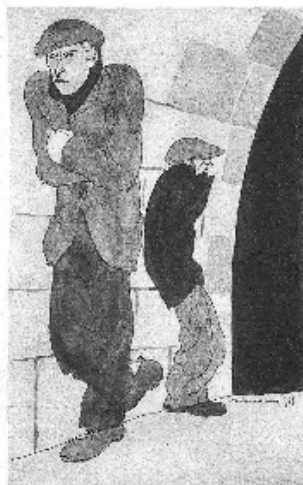
El día de ayer... (Title of the first illustration)

Y el tiempo... (Caption for the first illustration)

—Pero que ha pasado... (Caption for the second illustration)

—Pero que ha pasado... (Caption for the third illustration)

—Pero que ha pasado... (Caption for the fourth illustration)



El día de ayer... (Caption for the first illustration)

El día de ayer... (Caption for the second illustration)

El día de ayer... (Caption for the third illustration)

El día de ayer... (Caption for the fourth illustration)

que con los otros... (Text block in the top left column)

que con los otros... (Text block in the top left column)

que con los otros... (Text block in the top left column)

que con los otros... (Text block in the top left column)

que con los otros... (Text block in the top left column)

que con los otros... (Text block in the top left column)

que con los otros... (Text block in the top left column)

que con los otros... (Text block in the top left column)

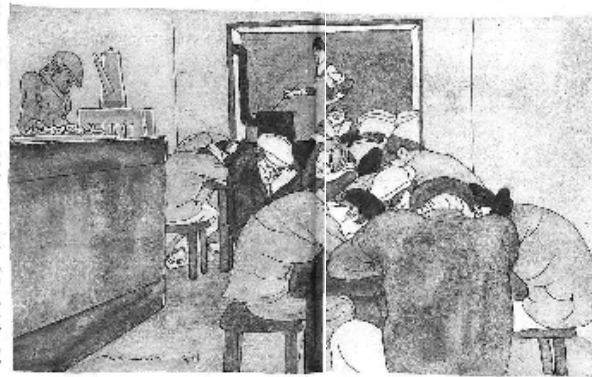
que con los otros... (Text block in the top left column)

que con los otros... (Text block in the top left column)

que con los otros... (Text block in the top left column)

que con los otros... (Text block in the top left column)

LOS OTROS UNA NOCHE DE INVIERNO A LA INTEMPERIE



Corral y Rivera... (Caption for the bottom left illustration)

Corral y Rivera... (Caption for the bottom right illustration)

que con los otros... (Text block in the top right column)

que con los otros... (Text block in the top right column)

que con los otros... (Text block in the top right column)

que con los otros... (Text block in the top right column)

que con los otros... (Text block in the top right column)

que con los otros... (Text block in the top right column)

que con los otros... (Text block in the top right column)

que con los otros... (Text block in the top right column)

que con los otros... (Text block in the top right column)

que con los otros... (Text block in the top right column)

que con los otros... (Text block in the top right column)

que con los otros... (Text block in the top right column)



El día de ayer... (Caption for the fifth illustration)

El día de ayer... (Caption for the sixth illustration)

El día de ayer... (Caption for the seventh illustration)

El día de ayer... (Caption for the eighth illustration)

Estampa

que con los otros... (Title of the ninth illustration)

que con los otros... (Caption for the ninth illustration)

que con los otros... (Caption for the tenth illustration)

que con los otros... (Caption for the eleventh illustration)

que con los otros... (Caption for the twelfth illustration)



El día de ayer... (Caption for the fifth illustration)

El día de ayer... (Caption for the sixth illustration)

El día de ayer... (Caption for the seventh illustration)

El día de ayer... (Caption for the eighth illustration)

Figs 85-86. Double page design for "Una noche de invierno" with illustrations by Francisco Rivero Gil, pt. 6 of Los otros published Feb. 25, 1930.



When pictures or layouts make significant use of the horizontal axis, positioning some of their elements left, and other, different ones right of the center, the elements placed on the left are presented as Given, the elements placed on the right as New. For something to be Given means that it is presented as something the viewer already knows, as a familiar and agreed-upon point of departure for the message. For something to be New means that it is presented as something which is not yet known, or perhaps not yet agreed upon by the viewer, hence as something to which the viewer must pay special attention. Broadly speaking, the meaning of the NEW is therefore 'problematic,' 'contestable,' the 'information at issue,' while the Given is presented as commonsensical, self-evident. (181)

This image clearly "makes use of the horizontal axis," as evidenced by the gender division and also the blank space in the center, occupied only by the caption. The fact that there are poor men in the city is something with which the viewer is assumed to be familiar; the fact that there are old women and pitifully thin-limbed children attached to these men, however, is a new idea offered for the consideration of *Estampa's* elite consumers. What Francés affirmed about modern caricature applies equally to these: "None of these caricatures make you laugh, because of how they sweat pain and because of how they stink of human misery." [*Ninguna de estas caricaturas hacen reír, por cómo sudan dolor y por cómo hieden a la miseria humana*] (Francés 29).

The double page spread opening the last article, "*Basura Humana*" (see figs. 88-9) culminates the series with a layout that makes use of an exceedingly familiar design in the context of Spain's religious heritage—the triptych—invoking yet again the principle of syncretism of media. Three panels have been created by altering the size of the columns and combining them with a photo and three drawings. The columns on the margins have been widened to form single-columned lateral panels, each of which is topped by a drawing of equal width, each depicting two subjects, one standing and one sitting; the columns in the center have been narrowed to flank a photo, whose frame, unlike the others in the series, is composed of a triple line and curved upper corners, creating the three-dimensional effect of a real triptych panel. The lateral panels contain "ancillary" or "dependent" elements, while the center panel offers the key element of the visual message (Kress 196). At the same time, in a triptych the "Given–New" (left and right) and "Ideal–Real" (top and bottom) can combine with "Centre–Margin" in different ways to form "symmetrical" or "polarized" compositions (197). Medieval triptychs were normally symmetrical, with "no sense of Given and New" (Kress). Polarized or narrative compositions evolved in the sixteenth century, in which the negative and positive aspects of the story were shown on the left and right respectively, while the center "represented Christ's role as Mediator/Saviour." According to Kress and van Leeuwen, "the triptychs in modern magazines and newspaper layouts are generally polarized, creating a narrative structure with a 'Given' left, a 'New' right, and a centre which bridges the two and acts as 'Mediator'" (197-8).

This double page layout is indeed a polarized composition. The center panel is comprised of several different informational units, containing the key elements of the visual message, which are, from top to bottom: the series and article titles; a photograph between two narrow columns of lexical text; its caption; a large drawing, equal in height to the photo and columns above it, but occupying the entire width of the bottom of the center panel, the place of the Real; and the drawing's caption. The photo, normally perceived as a document of



the real, here occupies the space of the Ideal, along with the titles. Its caption, which is entirely unrelated to what we see in the photo, denotes the photo's problematized association with the real in this case. I will say more about the caption shortly. The photo shows, on the right, Rivero and Carral standing on the steps at the gated entrance to what appears to be a church, facing an old woman on the left, who is seated on the steps. Rivero's back is turned obliquely toward the viewer, while Carral is behind him, mostly obscured. The woman's shrunken figure, wrapped entirely in a shawl, faces the viewer. Her eyes look down—she appears to be blind—, but her head is turned slightly, as though with difficulty, toward the two men, and her mouth is open. The journalists look intently at her and appear to be listening. The statement made to the viewer constitutes a visual *exemplum*, “Stop and listen, like we do.” In this way Ortega's concern with the mass man's inability to listen is addressed and the series' idealized role as mediator between social realities is highlighted, as is the executive praxis of the authors.

A large drawing of men sleeping on the street, another Goyesque image of crumpled humanity, occupies the place of the Real. The photo's caption above is conceptually related to the drawing: “It's the magic word they use with us to make us get up quickly and disappear: Camp!” [*Es la palabra mágica que usan con nosotros para hacernos levantar rápidamente y desaparecer: ¡Campamento!*]. Thus, the caption serves to let the reader know that even this moment of uneasy sleep on the cold streets will be short-lived. The drawing's own caption, calling attention to physical reality through irony, refers to Carral's experience of a night in a bed: “How wonderful this feels! How one notices the whole body warm up, almost burning the skin through the clothes! Oh, how long it's been, since one hasn't been able to let himself fall softly into the abysses of sleep! If only one would never wake up!” [*¡Qué bien se está así! ¡Cómo se va notando calentarse el cuerpo entero, con el calorillo que casi quema la carne, a través de la ropa!...¡Oh, cuánto tiempo hacía ya que uno no podía dejarse caer así blandamente en los abismos del sueño. ¡Si no se despertara nunca más!*]. In this way the narrator follows through on his initial promise (“I will tell you what I know”), articulating for the reader the desire for a warm bed these men surely feel.

The drawing on the left lateral panel, occupying the place of the “bad–Given,” depicts a night watchman poking another man awake, as though he were just down the street from the sleeping men below. Its situation at the top of the panel, however, disrupts the visual order of the Ideal. The reason for this will become apparent shortly. The drawing at the top of the right lateral panel (see fig. 91), in the place of the “good–New–Ideal,” depicts *el Pincha*, one of the few individualized subjects, who is standing, facing his girlfriend, who is seated on the street, with her head turned over her shoulder toward him. An internal vector formed by their heads establishes a narrative tension between them. This visual message carefully maintains the social *status-quo* of male superiority, like the photo in the central panel, but it establishes a closer, more personal though respectful distance between genders (and age groups in the case of the photo). Whereas the photo emphasized mediators' ability to listen, this drawing highlights a moment of *el Pincha's* spoken affect, reproduced by the excerpt-style caption: “Come on, my queen, don't be silly, I'm going to give you a comb that will make you look like a princess” [*Vamos, reina, no seas tonta, que te voy a regalar a ti una peineta que vas a dir (sic) como una princesa!*]. The thief's use of the terms of endearment, “*reina*” and “*princesa*,” not only humanizes him, but it also elevates the woman conceptually.

Finally, moving out from these details, we may observe that the double page layout makes a studied use of chiaroscuro, which will explain the contradictory placement of the negative drawing in the place of the Ideal. The three drawings depict two or three people



engaging in social interaction, which is highlighted by a background from which details of physical reality have been eliminated, stressing the Orteguian social reality. As a result, the blank space becomes a salient feature of the composition, situated in the layout—two lateral drawings at the top, one center drawing at the bottom—so that these blank spaces aid in forming vectors in the shape of a “V.” The inverse is true of the dark spaces: the heads in the photo—Carral’s and the woman’s to the left, Carral’s and Rivero’s to the right—form vectors with the corners of the columns on either side, which continue down through the wider column to their corners, forming an upside-down “V.” Taken together, the “V” and the upside-down “V” suggest the emblematic square and compass of Freemasonry. Though it has been suggested that Rivero was a Freemason, this has not been documented as yet, nor is it my purpose here to make a case for the Masonic inspiration of *Los otros*. Taking my cue from Valle-Inclán’s use of Gnostic symbols in his book designs, I would simply like to suggest the possibility of Masonic symbolism as an indication of the complex ideological environment in which these drawings were operating.

### *Conclusion*

Rivero came to Madrid following the same path traveled before him by aspiring young professionals from Santander looking to make their mark in the nation’s capital. As we have seen, his success often took the form of collaborative projects, characterized by an extraordinary syncretism of media, brought about by an executive praxis. His role in Valle-Inclán’s experimental and highly stylized theatrical work not only inscribed him as a new middle-class mediator in the socio-cultural elite of the nation’s capital, but it also made conceptual use of printmaking, photography, film and theater of shadows, creating a new type of textual experience that pushed against epistemological boundaries, including that of author. Indeed, Rivero’s intervention in *Ligazón* warrants consideration as a new type of authorial role in which aura gives way to decentered identities and creative partnerships. These partnerships generate a modern aesthetic experience that disorders the act of acquiring knowledge through conventional linear textuality and schools the reader/viewer in new reading strategies, which is itself a performance of modernity. Moreover, we have seen how loss of aura does not mean a liquidation of traditional values, but rather their mobilization and transformation for the construction of a secular regime rooted in feminine desire. Similarly, Rivero’s part in *Los otros* exemplifies the way in which authorship became more explicitly problematic as these new forms of textuality challenged the social *status quo*. Furthermore, we have seen how the artist’s role as a mediator and creative partner in this new editorial experience allowed him to mediate in a more direct way, through Orteguian executive praxis, in the process of shifting social awareness that was underway. He presented *Estampa*’s reader/viewers with the grim human realities of Madrid’s impoverished underclass, but in a measured fashion that allowed absorption of the information and reflexion, a prerequisite for social change brought about by consensus.

Wading into the capital’s swirling stream of cultural production, where traditional currents were flowing into new cross currents of cultural praxis shaped by *humorismo*, *vanguardismo* and *raciovitalismo*, Rivero contributed in significant ways to the search for suitable expressions of the fluid modernizing forces at work carving out Spain’s new socio-aesthetic landscape. Despite the artist’s measured efforts to effect change without causing knee-jerk reactions, these forces ultimately generated an atmosphere of extreme tension, at which point the military took up arms against the government of the Second Republic. For Rivero this meant, among other things, that a cultural praxis based on creative partnerships

would be lost. These collaborative editorial projects would be replaced by more succinct and telegraphic image/text formats of urgency. A selection of these very different works, of which he was the sole creator, will be examined in the last chapter.

## Chapter 4

### A Graphic War: Keeping the Civil War Civil (Madrid–Valencia–Barcelona 1936–1939)

#### *Introduction*

The military uprising against the Second Spanish Republic, initially under the leadership of General Sanjurjo, took place in July of 1936. By October, the “inexorable advances” of the Army of Africa under the command of General Francisco Franco had brought it to the outskirts of Madrid (Preston 94). Heavy bombing of the city began on October 29 and continued every day into early November. A Popular Front government had been formed in early September, comprised of republicans, socialists and communists, with Manuel Azaña as President of the Republic, Francisco Largo Caballero as both Prime Minister and Minister of War, and Indalecio Prieto as the Navy and Air Minister, all of whom believed the fall of the capital was inevitable (163).

The government had to be withdrawn, but there was disagreement over the destination, with Azaña and Prieto favoring Barcelona over Valencia. Largo had put off making the decision and ignored Prieto’s advice that the move should be prepared in advance with adequate publicity and psychological preparation of the population to avoid giving an impression of cowardice (Preston 165). Key outlying towns to the South began to fall and, on November 4, four anarcho-syndicalist representatives joined the Popular Front, “an indication of the gravity of the situation that the CNT should thus abandon its most sacred principles in order to help defend the beleaguered democratic regime” (163-4). After fighting heated up on the outskirts of the city on November 6, 1936, Largo abruptly decided that Valencia would be the new seat of government and put Madrid under military command (Thomas 470). On the highway to Valencia “great convoys of vehicles” set out, “taking with them the files, archives and other material of government,” giving the “appearance of flight.” A diplomat from the Russian Embassy advised a U.S. journalist, “Leave as soon as possible. There is no front. Madrid is the front” (qtd. in Thomas 475). In the meantime, the Condor Legion had been dispatched from Germany.<sup>47</sup> One hundred planes with support from German anti-aircraft and anti-tank units, four tank companies and 3,800 troops were now heading to Seville (469).

In the next days, under Madrid’s new military authority, over one thousand political prisoners were murdered in the city. These killings by the Republican side have been explained by the atmosphere of panic that was created after General Mola unwisely stated to foreign journalists that Madrid would be taken from within by the “Fifth Column” of nationalist supporters (Thomas 477-8; 470). At the same time, the army threatening the city’s southern flank—made up of Moroccans and Foreign Legionnaires led by experienced officers seasoned in the Rif—was famous for its brutality. Not yet four months into the war, it was clear that decades of colonial exploits on African soil had engendered a particularly ruthless type of military, which was now being turned on the inhabitants of the Peninsula itself, to systematically eliminate all opposition.

Federico García Lorca had been a recent victim of this “bloodbath,” despite the fact that he had never belonged to any political party. His association with the “literary Left” was

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47. In the face of what amounted to a reprimand from the German government, Franco had agreed that “the war would be more systematically conducted” and that these reinforcements would be under German command (Thomas 469).

enough to warrant his execution without trial, which had served to publicize the arbitrary excesses of the African Army (Thomas 267). Madrid's new military authorities, fearing a similar fate if the city fell, may have either sanctioned the killing of suspected nationalist sympathizers or looked the other way (477-8). Spontaneous popular outrage also played a part and, although Prieto appealed to the populace in a radio broadcast in an attempt to curb the violence, and Julián Zugazagoitia, editor of the daily *El Socialista*, did the same from the pages of his newspaper, "there was widespread terror for a brief period" that targeted supporters of right-wing parties and the clergy (Preston 231-2). This situation was exacerbated by the effective disappearance of the police force and the breakdown of the judiciary in the confusion, together with the fact that revolutionary crowds had opened the jails and released the common prisoners (232). In this atmosphere Rivero, who must have had vivid memories of his experience in Africa, also withdrew, although he continued to observe and represent the Spanish socio-political scene. His earlier proclivity for teamwork, however, now took a back seat to the contingencies of war, motivating a return to succinct image-text formats — war posters, single panel political cartoons and the comic strip-like *Alelukas de la defensa de Euzkadi* —, of which he was the sole creator.

To date, only three wartime posters designed by Rivero have been located. It is possible that he produced only these few, though likely that others were lost or destroyed when the Nationalists took over. As a result, it is impossible to assess the extent of his poster production with any precision. Nonetheless, this aspect of his professional activity is significant, for one can hardly consider the cultural production of the period without reference to this quintessential art form of wartime urgency. Rivero's contribution, although modest, attests to the polyvalence that was characteristic of graphic artists at the time. More importantly, the two posters examined in this section perform Ortega's *raciovitalista* "involution of the book towards dialog." The rise of this new type of aesthetic expression in non-book formats also bears a relationship to Walter Benjamin's disavowal of "the pretentious, universal gesture of the book" and his adoption of "inconspicuous forms" such as "leaflets, brochures, articles, and placards" in a search for "literary effectiveness" (qtd. in Moorey 607). Rivero's "unpretentious" forms, like Benjamin's "thought-figures," became "agent[s] of utopian transformation" able to "[overcome] the split between knowledge and action" (qtd. in Jevtic n. p.). More will be said about this later. It is also worth noting, although this obviously falls outside the scope of the present study, that these posters herald Rivero's post-war production of film posters as part of the Mexican film industry.<sup>48</sup>

The *Alelukas de la defensa de Euzkadi*, published as part of La Semana Pro-Euzkadi (Pro-Euzkadi Week), provide an additional opportunity to situate the artist in relation to an event of great historical significance: the first aerial bombing of a civilian population in Europe. Although experimental "terror bombing" by the Condor Division had been carried out in Madrid since 1936, Guernica is commonly associated with this dubious honor, thanks in part to the publicity afforded it by Picasso's *Guernica* at the Expo in Paris during July of 1937.<sup>49</sup> In addition, Rivero's *Alelukas* allow us to examine the convergence of early 20<sup>th</sup>-century socio-political and aesthetic concerns expressed by Renau and Benjamin and their materialization in another highly syncretic non-book format. After tracing the origins of the *aleluya*, which was competing at the time with other visual forms like photography and film, a close graphico-

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48. For a precedent for the art of the poster in an avant-garde context, see Dennis, 102-109.

49. The *Exposition Internationale des Art et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne* was held from May 25–November 25, 1937.

lexical reading of this document will show how Rivero adapted this popular broadsheet tradition to the institutional needs of the Second Republic. If the ideology of the Second Republic in peacetime based its authority on popular sovereignty, during the Civil War popular culture was mobilized to defend the Republic and educate a new citizenry in the values of respect for tradition, pluralism and solidarity. At the same time, Rivero establishes a dialog with his own political cartoons, which were circulating in many publications of the period. More will be said about this later. First, however, it will be useful to return to Madrid and situate Rivero, as well as the new aesthetic objects he created, in the historical context that led to the events of Barcelona in May 1937.

### *Biographical/Historical Overview*

Largo's decision to transfer the seat of government to Valencia would actually entail "three spectacular operations of evacuation" [*tres espectaculares operaciones de evacuación*] staggered over the next month. On the night of November 6, after charging General Miaja with forming the Defense Council of Madrid [*Junta para la Defensa de Madrid*] and leaving the capital under his command, Largo and his entire government set out for the eastern seaboard, escaping the first attack on Madrid the next day (Bolloten 284). A second expedition left on November 25, made up of "a group of intellectuals and artists of recognized prestige" [*un grupo de intelectuales y artistas de prestigio reconocido*]. This was followed, in early December, after fire bombs began falling very near the Prado Museum, by a convoy carrying Spain's art treasures, which was organized by Rafael Alberti and his wife, María Teresa León (Álvarez n. p.). It is likely that Rivero abandoned the capital during this first frenetic month of what would, in time, come to be known as the Siege of Madrid.

Rivero's Socialist identity, as noted earlier, was defined by his undying support for Indalecio Prieto throughout his years of exile. However, Prieto's vision for a radically different modern Spain, based on a fluid amalgam of tradition and modernizing energies, has received little attention, given that moderate positions have been eclipsed by facile interpretations of the Spanish Civil War. Indeed, as Anthony Adamthwaite affirms, the conventional view of the war as "global confrontation between democracy and fascism," misses the fundamental point that "diversity and complexity are the dominant features of interwar Europe" and that "the neat binary categorizations of democrats versus fascists projected by contemporary propaganda are misleading." Adamthwaite goes on to identify "at least" four Spains in 1936–1939: Republicans, Nationalists, "those who wanted to mediate" and "reluctant conscripts" (Adamthwaite 5). We may situate Prieto and Rivero in the third Spain of mediators, the former in the role of political broker vying for power, supported by the latter, a spontaneous cultural liaison officer of sorts. As global interests were brought to bear on the extraordinarily complicated and unstable national socio-political landscape, among the many tensions that ultimately caused the Second Republic to fail was precisely the conflict between the moderate Prieto and his revolutionary rival, Largo Caballero.

The minority Socialist leader disagreed with Largo's vision of a "proletarian Socialist revolution" and considered him to be an "irresponsible fool." Prieto did not support "the Spanish Lenin's" willingness to ally the Socialist cause with the Communists, who, at that time, were "a small [but] rapidly growing force" (qtd. in Bolloten 24; 25). Prieto held a restrained reformist position, favoring instead strengthened ties with the Republicans, which earned the disdain of Largo, who regarded him as nothing but a "republicanoid" (25). Prieto finally decided to back the party's majority leader, however, after becoming disillusioned with the Republican, José Giral, who had been the first prime minister under the Second

Republic.<sup>50</sup> Thus, at the time of the evacuation of Madrid, Prieto was serving in Largo's cabinet as Minister of Defense.

Prieto's minority position in the party was bolstered by his control of many local chapters of the party, including that of Madrid. He also held sway over *El Socialista*, the party's official news organ, where Rivero worked (Bolloton 25). It is likely that his authority over the Socialist weekly was due in part to the fact that he was a newspaperman to the core. He had learned the business from the ground up, selling newspapers as a boy in his native Bilbao and eventually working his way up to become editor and owner of Bilbao's daily *El Liberal*. An influential figure in Spanish public opinion, he had wielded his power during the previous decade to criticize the military's role in Morocco. These were undoubtedly components of Rivero's enduring loyalty. When the decision was made to evacuate the capital, Rivero was one of several illustrators — Aurelio Areta, José Bardasano, José Robledano Torres, Arturo Souto and Francisco Mateos — who worked at *El Socialista* under the direction of the Basque, Julián Zugazagoitia. This latter, when told by Prieto of the government's imminent departure, decided to stay in Madrid, fearing that a suspension of the newspaper's publication would spell an end to the Socialist party (Moral 30).<sup>51</sup>

At that moment there were two communist ministers serving under Largo, one of whom is pertinent to our purposes here. Jesús Hernández, Minister of Public Instruction, was known as the "Spanish Lunacharski" because he based his ideas about cultural politics on the Soviet model. Lunacharski had written: "all art encloses at least an embryo of propaganda, prejudicial or useful to us" [*todo arte encierra por lo menos un embrión de propaganda, perjudicial o útil para nosotros*], an idea that was widely shared by intellectuals at the time (qtd. in Álvarez n. p.). Hernández appointed two other Communists to key positions: Wenceslao Roces became the new Subsecretario and the Valencian graphic artist, Josep Renau, took over the Dirección General de Bellas Artes.<sup>52</sup> These three men would depend on a key organization — the Alianza de Escritores Antifascistas para la Defensa de la Cultura — to carry out the cultural policies of the Second Republic during most of the Civil War.

As its name implies, the Alianza brought together Spain's most recognized intellectual figures without regard for political affiliation to defend the Second Republic against fascism. Although predominantly made up of members and sympathizers of the Spanish Communist Party or PCE (Partido Comunista Español), other members included Catholic José Bergamín, Republican Ricardo Baeza, along with Socialists Emiliano Barral and Gabriel García Maroto (Álvarez n. p.). Hernández was also responsible for appointing Pablo Picasso as the new director of the Museo del Prado and the philologist and historian Menéndez Pidal as President of the Consejo Nacional de Cultura, "two moves meant to bestow prestige upon the new artistic direction" [*dos actos destinados a prestigiar la dirección artística nueva*] and that clearly reflected his intention to mobilize the Second Republic's intellectual life in a double pronged approach to defense, using *armas y letras*.

Shortly after Hernández became Minister of Public Instruction, press releases began to appear articulating the new policies, which focused on "popularizing and conserving"

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50. The Republican Salvador de Madariaga went so far as to say "What made the Spanish Civil War inevitable was the Civil War within the Socialist Party" (qtd in Bolloton 25).

51. Later on, when the government took up residence in Barcelona in October of 1937, two different versions of *El Socialista* under different directors would be published simultaneously in Madrid and Barcelona (Moral 31). Rivero would also work later on for the Catalán edition.

52. Official organism created in 1915 charged with the construction and administration of national monuments, museums, art schools and music conservatories, etc.

Spain's rich cultural heritage, and transforming La Dirección General de Bellas Artes from a "purely archeological organism" into a "vital and creative center," devoted preferentially to "tasks of agitation and propaganda" (Álvarez n. p.). Around the same time Rafael Alberti reported that the Alianza's "different sections [were] starting to function and, in agreement with the Ministry of [Public] Instruction, the Alianza w[ould] carry out the tasks of agitation that correspond[ed] to these times, and later, the serious and persevering artistic renovation that peacetime w[ould] demand" [*las diferentes secciones empiezan ya a ir actuando, y, de acuerdo con el Ministerio de Instrucción [Pública], la Alianza realizará la labor de agitación que a la hora presente corresponde, y, luego, la seria y perseverante renovación artística que la paz exigirá*] (qtd. in Álvarez n. p.). Thus, a core group of twenty-three intellectuals — Antonio Machado and *El Socialista's* Aurelio Arteta among them — were evacuated to Valencia with this mission in mind. They were housed in the old Palace Hotel, referred to by Valencians as the "Casal deis Sabuts de Tota Mena" (the "House of the Wise Men of All Kinds"). Here the magazine *Madrid* was published; Rivero's close friend, León Felipe, participated in conferences organized in conjunction with the Universidad de Valencia; while sculptor Victorio Macho and painter Gutiérrez Solana worked in an improvised studio (n. p.).

As the nation's capital was displaced eastwards, the gravitational pull of this new cultural ground no doubt exercised an influence on Rivero. It is not clear, however, whether he went first to Barcelona or Valencia. Carretero interprets that, following Francisco Rivero García's recollection of his father's version, the artist went first to Valencia and arrived in Barcelona around October 1937 (58). However, material published in Barcelona in August and September 1936 suggests that he may have moved to the Catalan capital shortly after the uprising. Also, taking into account the strength of Spanish family ties, an aunt residing in La Barceloneta could have made Barcelona a more logical destination. It is important to note at this juncture that the uncertainty over Rivero's biographical details is symptomatic of what I consider to be the artist's paradigmatic status. His movements become more difficult to trace as the modernizing forces that motivated them grew more complex and as his activity was subsumed into the collective effort of defending the Second Republic. In any case, traces of his artistic production in Valencia are extremely limited, suggesting that his presence in the city, whether he lived there for a time, visited or passed through on his way to Barcelona, was brief.

The Catalan publications to which Rivero contributed, much more numerous, include *La Batalla*, *La Fragua Social*, *Euzkadi Mirador*, *Norte*, *Armas y Letras*, *Criticón*, *Treball* and *L'Esquella de la Torratxa* (Carretero 54). He also decorated a restaurant in Barcelona owned by Indalecio Prieto's brother, Luís, with murals depicting life-sized fishermen with their fishing nets, which have not survived (Carretero 58). According to Rivero's son, his father and Luís Prieto were close friends. In July 1938, Rivero married Rosa María García, also a native of Santander (González n. p.). The artist's mother, five brothers and sisters and a nephew made their way to Barcelona from Santander, though it is not clear if they came for the wedding or later, as refugees. A family member relates that Rivero also started a mural in his aunt's dining room, the completion of which was made impossible by the bombings and subsequent evacuation of La Barceloneta during January of 1939 (Alcácer in personal interview). This same family member — Rivero's aunt's grandson — reports that after the evacuation, when entry into the neighborhood had been prohibited for safety reasons, Rivero, through his contacts in the Generalitat, managed to obtain a safe conduct pass and a car to rescue devotional objects belonging to his aunt's church, Sant Miquel del Port, which the parish priest had buried on the beach as a precaution against the possibility of an anarchist assault on



the church (Alcácer in personal interview). This anecdote attests to Rivero's family loyalty, but also, to some degree, to his religious tolerance, despite the biting anti-clericalism expressed in many of his cartoon panels, evidencing his steadfast commitment to *convivencia* (coexistence), a fundamental principle of Ortega's *raciovitalismo*.

The Nationalists took Tarragona on January 15, 1939, "without a fight." At this point the "panic stricken," but also war-weary and underfed population of Catalonia, almost "one-half million human beings[,] began trudging toward the French border" (Jackson 463). One February morning, however, when the Nationalist troops were just hours away, Rivero was still in the offices of *El Socialista* with the newspaper's director, Manuel Albar, and another journalist, the rest of the staff having already left the city. At this point the three men, along with the doorman, abandoned the building (Albar 14). From there Rivero joined the "mass of humanity trudging towards the border" with his new wife, his mother, five of his nine siblings and a young nephew (see fig. 90).



Fig. 90. Unknown photog. The road to exile in France (Feb. 1939). Rivero García family archive. Black-and-white photograph. Reproduced with the kind permission of Francisco Rivero García.

### *Poster Art and New Spanish Realism*

In 1937 the new director of *Bellas Artes*, Josep Renau, published a seminal work entitled *Función social del cartel publicitario* (The Social Function of the Advertising Poster). This treatise on poster art provides a contemporary theoretical grounding for the social purpose that infused some avant-garde art forms, what Renau termed "new realism" (28). Without being a political manifest, it is imbued with the Second Republic's commitment to the dignification of human life—the fundamental value at stake in the Civil War. Although Rivero's earlier work expresses the same kinds of concerns, this articulation of the artist's experience as resistance to the dehumanizing forces of modernity must have made an impact on him. The telegraphic image-text formats that become his mainstay during this period allow him to control both graphic and lexical aspects of the creative process and express his

humanist realist concerns—frequently in the form of civic values—in a forceful new seeing-saying voice of social conscience.

Renau uses an organic model to provide an account of the genesis of the Spanish war poster and its origins in advertising, “indelibly linked to the history and development of capitalism” [*“unida indeleblemente a la historia y desarrollo del capitalismo”*]. I will say more further on about his mobilization of familiar religious tropes (i. e., the stain of original sin implicit in his language here). He describes the advertising poster’s evolution from its “decorative elitist” infancy at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which comes to an end in WWI, when the “vacuum left by the vertical descent of social and human values” [... *“vacío que dejaba la caída en vertical de los valores sociales y humanos”*] gave rise to a perverse “tendency of sexual exacerbation” [*“una tendencia a la exacerbación sexual”*]. According to this account, the advertising poster’s “plastic personality” [*“personalidad plástica”*] matured during the post-war period, when it succeeded in “incorporating and developing for itself the values and speculative experiences of abstract art” [... *“incorporar a su función y desarrollar por cuenta propia los valores y experiencias especulativas del arte abstracto”*] (18). As capitalism perfected its ability to “dematerialize objects and industrial products” [*“desmaterializar objetos y productos industriales”*], it created around them a “certain kindly atmosphere of idealization, sometimes of poetic unreality” [*“cierta atmósfera de idealización amable, a veces de irrealidad poética”*] (emphasis in the original) (20).

This simultaneous process of dematerialization and idealization of objects led to a frontal collision with human reality, precipitating an ethical crisis: “...the lack of moral unity in the totalitarian whole of... commercial propaganda exposes the true sarcastic viscera of those thousand posters that shout at every passerby, ‘If you are poor it’s because you want to be,’ next to those others who paint with bright colors the comfortable life of a bourgeois home...” [*“Pero la falta de unidad moral en el conjunto totalitario... de la propaganda comercial denuncian la verdadera entraña sarcástica de esos mil carteles que gritan a todo transeunte, ‘Si usted es pobre es porque quiere,’ junto a esos otros que pintan con vivos colores la vida comfortable del hogar burgués...”*] (20-1).

In this situation, according to Renau, the artist found himself turned into an “instrument of a great social fraud” [*“instrumento de una gran estafa social”*] (21) and began to feel “uncomfortable” [*“incómodo”*] because his creative freedom was “conditioned by the supreme interests of capitalist utilitarianism. The access to superior ideas that emanate from reality [was] prohibited” [*“La libertad de creación... esta[ba] condicionada a los intereses supremos del utilitarismo capitalista”*] (26); the “function of art loses its universality and its exercise degenerates into pure dilettantism—at the service of a special mechanism of the *select minorities*” [*“La función del arte pierde su condición de universalidad y su ejercicio degenera en puro dilettantismo, en estrecha servidumbre a un engranaje especial de minorías selectas”*] (33) (emphasis added).

Renau, by his own account a poor student with a distaste for reading (Pérez Rojas 55), seems not to have understood Ortega’s notion of *minorías selectas*. Whether or not this was the case, this unsubtle put-down serves to distance him from the philosopher (who was also vying for power in the political arena) in order to establish his own political credibility as a member of the Communist Party. It also disguises the extent of Ortega’s influence. Not only is Renau’s complaint about the “dilettantism” of artists strikingly similar to Ortega’s objection to philosophers’ isolation from social reality, but his description of the artist’s desire to express universal truths about human reality also evokes Ortega’s executive praxis, transferring it to the aesthetic plane. Even his ideas about the artist’s “full exercise of creative freedom” [*“pleno*

*ejercicio de [la] libertad de creación*”), whose only limit is that imposed by “social and historical conscience” [*conciencia histórica y social*], echoes Ortega’s *razón histórica*, that is, the historical nature of human identity. However, while Ortega adopted the secular language of the educated liberal elite to address his peers, Renau elaborated a messianic discourse, perhaps in the hopes of broadening the appeal of his ideas, which reached its height when religion and science were conjoined:

The pains of the world have given birth to a new man who emerges with geological prowess, laden with destiny in his immaculate uncertainty. And this man is he who is born every day in the trenches of the fight against antihistory, who falls bleeding to death with no more glory in the afterworld than having felt history flow through his veins.

*[Los dolores del mundo han alumbrado a un hombre nuevo que emerge con potencia geológica, cargado de destino en su albur immaculado. Y este hombre es el que nace cada día en las trincheras de la lucha contra la antihistoria, es el que cae desangrado sin más gloria ultraterrena que la de haber sentido correr la historia viva por sus venas.]* (Renau 30)

This remarkable feat of syncretism recasts the mythical notion of the Immaculate Conception in geological terms to create an allegory of the birth of modern man based wholly on historical consciousness wedded to physical reality. Bypassing the moment of conception, the Virgin Mary has been replaced by Mother Earth, whose seismic contractions of battlefield trenches bring forth the ideal soldier, willing to shed his blood for the cause of history coursing through his veins. Even this overt mobilization of the very new science of geology is implicit in Ortega’s philosophically unstable ground on which the executive subject attempts to gain a foothold.<sup>53</sup> The theory of restless tectonic plates must have seemed to Ortega a fitting metaphor for the shifting consciousness of modern man. Renau, taking things a step further, conflates the revolutionary nature of Wegener’s theory with the longed-for social revolution.

Renau’s idealized, socially conscious and seismically constituted warrior is a key component of Republican poster art aesthetics, one that Rivero will exploit. Other critical aesthetic elements of wartime poster art are also explained by Renau: “The German structural skeleton is filled in with new values of spirit and humanity, renovated with sensual and fragrant colorings of French impressionism and the juiciest and most vital values of cubist and surrealist experience” [*La osamenta estructural alemana es rellenada con valores nuevos de espíritu y de humanidad, remozada con las coloraciones sensuales y fragantes del impresionismo francés y con los valores más vivos y jugosos de la experiencia cubista y surrealista*] (24). The Director of Bellas Artes uses a skeleton and flesh metaphor (was he thinking of Lorca’s lecture on Góngora?) as he refers to German advertising, which, buttressed by the excellence of its graphic arts tradition, incorporated “the exact play of volumes and cold equilibrium emanating from mechanical forms” [*[e]l juego exacto de los volúmenes y el equilibrio frío que emanan las formas mecánicas....*] (23).

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53. Wegener’s theory of continental drift had been news in Spain since 1922, when the article, entitled “Los continentes a la deriva” by Lucas Fernández Navarro, appeared in the magazine *Ibérica* (Ordaz n. p.). The following year Ortega’s own *Revista de Occidente* published an article explaining Alfred Wegener’s theory of continental drift, entitled “La génesis de los continentes y los mares, según la teoría de Wegener” by Juan Dantín Cerceda, and the year after that, the magazine’s publishing house brought out the Spanish translation of Wegener’s *Die Entstehung der Kontinente und Ozeane* (n. pag.).

In Paris the dehumanized and purist cubist skeleton, perfected by German graphic artists, is covered by the humanizing flesh of French impressionism and surrealism. As these international currents flow across the Pyrenees, they meet with the realist tradition of 18<sup>th</sup> century Spanish painting: “The martyrs and apostles of Ribera, the monks of Zurbarán, the courtesans or the idiots of Velázquez are on their canvases to make us feel the eternity of these human beings, their incorruptible spiritual autonomy, their perennial right to their own ego and to their own personal and definitive salvation” [*“Los mártires y apóstoles de Ribera, los monjes de Zurbarán, los cortesanos o los idiotas de Velázquez están en sus lienzos para hacernos sentir su eternidad de criaturas, su insobornable autonomía espiritual, el derecho perenne a su propio yo y a su definitiva salvación personal”*] (Renau 44). Appropriating these cultural icons in a performance of ekphrastic othering in the Orteguian sense, Renau describes how a series of “not so pretty” individuals [*“(que) no sean demasiado bonitos”*] pop into human relief in the mind’s eye of the viewer, acquiring subjecthood, thanks to a Spanish plastic tradition that mobilizes “individualizing realism” [*“realismo individualizador”*] in the interest of capturing the truth of human reality: “Art is not the exclusive patrimony of dead ideologies. Its vital dynamism cannot be realized outside of social relationships, of the productive forces of humanity” [*“El arte no es patrimonio exclusivo de las ideologías muertas. Su dinamismo vital no puede realizarse al margen de las relaciones sociales, de las fuerzas productivas de la humanidad”*] (Renau 45). And just as Ortega complained of philosophy being carried out in isolation from social reality, Renau also objects to “flabby academicism” [*“fofo academicismo”*], that is, to aesthetic praxis that ignores “social relationships” and the “productive forces of humanity” [*“las relaciones sociales, de las fuerzas productivas de la humanidad”*], an obvious allusion to the Marxist modes of production that determine economic organization. In this way the Director of Bellas Artes Marxifies Ortega as he brings the philosopher to bear on the public poster, the modern aesthetic genre he calls “new realism” [*“nuevo realismo”*].

Today’s specialists in the field have remarked on the reigning climate of creative freedom that frequently resulted in highly original renderings of this stylistic syncretism. Enric Satué affirms that “despite the remote control exercised by the anarchist and leftist union associations to which poster artists belonged, the margin of individual liberty was so great that it allowed... poster artists... to design Republican and Nationalist posters in succession” [*“A pesar del control remoto que ejercían las asociaciones sindicales anarquistas e izquierdistas en las que se encuadraron los cartelistas, el margen de libertad individual fue tan amplio que permitió, entre otras cosas, que cartelistas... diseñaran, sucesivamente, carteles republicanos y nacionales”*]. Furthermore, the atmosphere of crisis created by the military uprising lent itself to what he calls “amateurism” [*amateurismo*], which resulted in a remarkable boldness—Ortega might have called it executive praxis in the sense referred to in Chapter 3, of an active philosopher/subject embarking on a “virginal task”—, contributing to the originality of the poster art aesthetic of the period (47).

Similarly, poster collectors Robert Chisholm and Lucas Prats observe that “from the beginning, artists acted with absolute freedom, without the bureaucratic conditioning factors of organizations that inhibited individuality. Every artist painted or drew whatever he wanted; for that reason posters expressed such spontaneity, both in image and text” [*“Desde el principio los artistas actuaron con absoluta libertad, sin los condicionantes burocráticos de las organizaciones que coartan las individualidades. Cada artista pintaba o dibujaba como le parecía mejor; por eso los carteles expresaban tanta espontaneidad en la imagen como en el texto”*] (qtd. in Satué 51). In light of Renau’s exposition, however, these contemporary assessments require some qualification, as they tend to de-ideologize the creative act as it was understood at the time. Renau, along with a great

many of his contemporaries, subscribed to the notion that the concept of artistic freedom operated beyond the binary oppositions of freedom/enslavement [*“libertad/ servidumbre”*], by engaging humanistic values latent in the human condition itself, generating the higher aesthetic order of “new humanist realism” [*“nuevo realismo humano”*], materialized by poster art (Renau 41).

### *New Realist Posters of the POUM*

The posters represented in figures 91 and 92 serve as examples of Renau’s reinvented realism. Operating in this space that contemplates both creative freedom and the limitations imposed by social reality together, Rivero designed them for the Worker’s Party for Marxist Unification or POUM<sup>54</sup> (Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista), despite his Socialist political affiliation. The POUM was the same party, incidentally, in whose militia George Orwell fought.<sup>55</sup> According to the Spanish Ministry of Culture’s website, both posters were published in 1936. However, other sources question or contradict this date in the case of the poster represented in figure 93. The University of Barcelona Library, for example, includes an interrogation mark after the year 1936, while Stanford University’s online poster exhibition entitled *Revolutionary Tides* lists its publication date as 1937.

This lack of consensus obviously has to do with the absence of dates on the posters themselves, but it is also a reflection of the turbulence lived in Barcelona in the aftermath of the military uprising, which would have been accompanied by the loss or destruction of records. As the Second Republic attempted to gain a foothold on the shifting socio-political ground of the nation, Minister of War Prieto was a principal figure attempting to mediate the revolutionary drive unleashed by the military rebellion, which was seen as both a threat and a boon to the war effort. Rivero’s posters for the POUM participated in this process of mediating revolutionary energy.

This party was formed in September 1935 when Andrés Nin’s Communist Left (Izquierda Comunista) and Joaquín Maurín’s Campesino Worker and Peasant Bloc (Campesino Bloque Obrero) joined forces. Falsely represented as Trotskyist by the Communist Party because of its anti-Stalinist position, the POUM was a small party with little organization outside Catalonia. The military uprising in July 1936 failed in Barcelona thanks to the combined efforts of the Civil Guard and anarchist militia. The euphoria that followed in the wake of this success no doubt contributed to a groundswell of revolutionary sentiment, which allowed the anarcho-syndicalists (CNT-FAI) to take over the city and much of the region. The revolutionary POUM supported this takeover and managed to increase its membership dramatically in the months following the uprising.

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54. “At that time each of the parties still had its own militia units, although these were in the process of being absorbed into the People’s Army. Because his letters of introduction were from the people of a certain political group in England, the I.L.P., which had connections with the P.O.U.M, Orwell joined a unit of that party in Barcelona. He was not at the time sympathetic to the views of his comrades and their leaders. During the days of inter-party strife, the P.O.U.M. was represented in Spain and abroad as being a Trotskyist party. In point of fact it was not, although it did join with the small Trotskyist party to oppose certain of the policies of the dominant Communist Party. Orwell’s own preference, at the time of his enlistment, was for the Communist Party line, and because of this he looked forward to an eventual transfer to a Communist unit.” (Trilling xix).

55. *Homage to Catalonia* (1938).

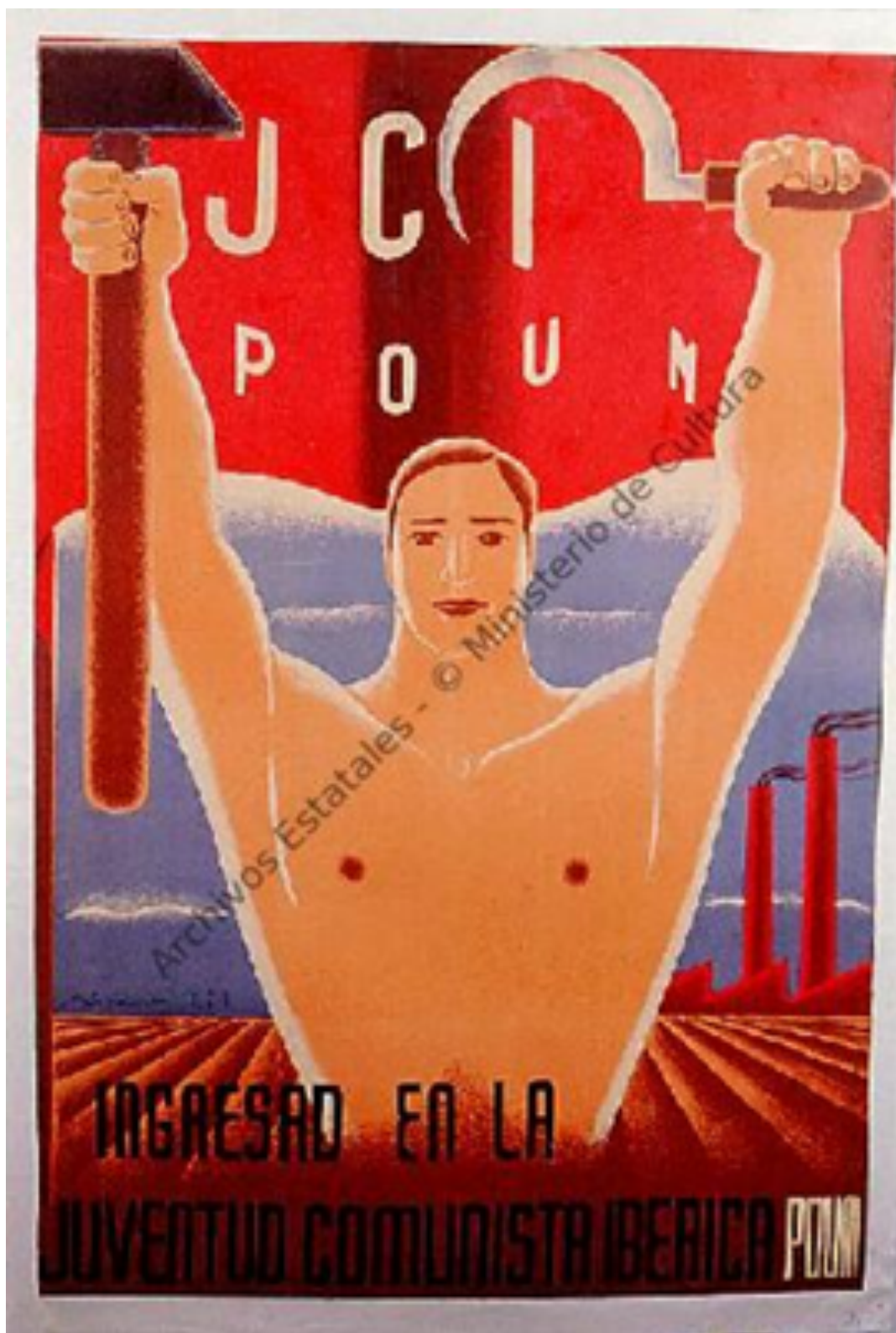


Fig. 91. Francisco Rivero Gil. «JCIPOUM» (1936[?]), color poster published by the Comisariat de Propagande de Catalunya. *Gobierno de España: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y deporte*, "Carteles de la Guerra Civil española." Web. Dec. 13, 2011.





Fig. 92. Francisco Rivero Gil. «¡Hasta el fin!» (1937), color poster published by the Comisariat de Propagande de Catalunya. *Gobierno de España: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y deporte*, "Carteles de la Guerra Civil española." Web. Dec. 13, 2011.



At the time, Catalonia was governed by the Generalitat, a coalition of political forces, dominated by the ERC (Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya, the left wing of the republican middle class) and headed by Republican Lluís Companys, with the participation of socialists and communists of the PSUC (Partit Socialist Unificat de Catalunya) and the POUM. After the uprising, the CNT-FAI, imposing its authority, seized businesses and factories, post offices and telephone exchanges, taking control of “most of the economic life of the region” (Bolloten 405). Companys opted to cooperate in an effort to retain some influence and curb anarchist excesses, offering the Generalitat as the administrative arm of the revolution.

In December 1936, the POUM was excluded from the coalition, after championing policies completely contrary to those of the Popular Front and making increasingly provocative public declarations (Viñas 205-6). The party maintained that the Soviets were behind this political maneuver of exclusion, believing it was part of a plot to suppress the POUM because of its anti-Stalinist position. This was not an unreasonable supposition, given the hegemonic pressure being exerted in Spain by the Comintern. At the same time, however, Prieto was increasingly concerned with revolutionary activity undermining the war effort. The Second Republic had been left in the lurch by Great Britain and France, whose attitude of appeasement resulted in the Pact of Non-intervention, the ineffectual enforcement of which allowed war material and military personnel from Italy and Germany to flow into Nationalist hands. In these circumstances Prieto needed to procure arms from the Soviet Union.<sup>56</sup> As a result, despite his earlier frontal opposition, he cultivated a closer relationship with the PCE, who at least shared his anti-revolutionary position and his antagonism to Largo Caballero (Bolloten 382). This uneasy alliance meant that “the ‘proletarian content’ of the initial revolutionary stages of the struggle” would be seriously reduced in favor of the PCE, the Republicans and the reformist Socialists, who were increasingly “taking command of the political and military structures of the Republic,” while in Catalonia “the Generalitat was systematically recovering the powers lost when the military coup undermined the apparatus of the state” (Preston 252).

All of this was happening as the Nationalists, having met with unexpected resistance in Madrid, decided to turn their attention to Spain’s industrial stronghold in the Basque country. The bombing of Guernica had taken place on April 26, 1937, and Bilbao was the new objective. The revolutionary situation in Barcelona, particularly the POUM’s “call for a revolutionary workers’ front with the CNT” was seen as a serious threat to the war effort, especially taking into consideration that continued Soviet aid had recently been made contingent on the removal of “obstacles to a unified war effort” (Preston 253–4). In this situation, on May 3 the Catalanian police attempted to take back the CNT-held central telephone exchange. This action met with resistance, which resulted in five days of street fighting — “a small-scale civil war within the Civil War” (256). On May 7 Prieto sent reinforcements from Valencia, but he did so in exchange for the Generalitat transferring control of the regional police force and the Army of Catalonia to the central government (257). The POUM, which had “far exceeded the CNT in the militancy of [its] revolutionary pronouncements during the crisis,” became the “sacrificial goat” (257). Its leaders were

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56. Prieto asserted after the war, “The western democracies, fearful of communism, did not realize that this movement grew in Spain as a result of their own lack of assistance. To the extent that these countries denied us help, popular sympathy went openly to Russia when it learned that she was supplying us with the means of defense” (qtd. in Bolloten 384).

arrested, among them, secretary Andrés Nin, who was taken to a secret prison near Madrid run by Soviet secret police and was never seen again (Bolloten 503).

These events were related to issues of “Discipline, Hierarchy and Organization,” the communist mantra that clashed with the egalitarian ideals of the revolutionary militia groups. The communist Fifth Regiment was the heart of the Popular Army, whose organization and effectiveness was in the process of becoming legendary, thanks to the practice of these virtues, which also conferred enormous prestige on the PCE (Preston 250). Largo had refused to dissolve the POUM, causing the communists to withdraw their support, which left him no choice but to resign, after which Prieto proposed the moderate socialist Juan Negrín as the new president, who was accepted by the communists (257–8). This change in leadership, along with the centralized control of the Catalonian police and army, spelled an end to “the revolutionary achievements of the initial stages of the struggle,” which would be “steadily dismantled, leaving the war to follow the direction dictated by the republicans and moderate socialists...,” the coalition to which Rivero belonged (258).

The posters included in this section correspond to these initial months of the war, when revolutionary spirits were running high. It is likely that the poster shown in figure 93 was designed during the second half of 1936, taking advantage of the general euphoria, as part of a campaign to recruit new members for the POUM’s youth association, the JCI (Juventud Comunista Ibérica). It was printed both in Spanish and Catalán, clearly to maximize its appeal. A vertical triptych, its top, middle and bottom portions correspond to the Ideal, the Mediator, and the Real, respectively (Kress 201). The poster’s most salient feature is Renau’s seismic warrior, who emerges naked and fully formed from the earth, occupying the ground of the Mediator.

His upraised arms form vectors, pointing to his telluric origins in the neatly tilled soil, whose troughs also evoke the battlefield trenches of Renau’s lyrical account. These vectors also form a “V,” as he embodies the recent victory over military rebels in the Catalonian capital. His body, and the mountains or perhaps clouds behind him, are illuminated by a preternatural light, which, through the use of color, may also be identified with the party acronyms in the upper and lower portions of the poster, suggesting their almost mystical unifying force. The warrior’s expression of jubilation is tempered by an even countenance that conveys the steady resolve that will be required for future military and revolutionary triumphs. In this way, time is visually collapsed, imbuing him with a sense of the eternal. The space of the Mediator is also enlarged by his body, which occupies most of the poster, conferring symbolic power on his executive role, which is further strengthened by the geological force of the earth, in the place of the Real, from which he springs, and the red sky, in the place of the Ideal, on which he draws ideologically.

The upper portion of the poster re-elaborates communist symbolism in ways that distance the JCI – POUM, from the official Communist Party line. The hammer and sickle, normally overlapped to represent the unified forces of industrial and agricultural workers, are separated. This separation is emphasized by the dark vertical stripe in the center of the sky, which divides the top portion of the poster into two clearly delineated halves. In addition, these instruments of industrial and agricultural labor, highly abstracted in yellow on the Soviet flag, are given a more realistic treatment, both by the colors used and their placement in human hands. The concrete realities they symbolize – the factory and the field – are represented as well. At the same time, the party acronyms in white sans serif capitals appear to float out of a fold in the red sky, connecting them and suggesting another ideological space that escapes homogeneity. An alternate reading might identify the blue portion as sky and the

red top section as the Soviet flag, where the party acronyms are the joining force of the hammer and sickle, vying for legitimacy.

In either case, the positioning of the acronyms in relation to each other also denotes an inverse hierarchical relationship between POUM elders and the youths it hopes to recruit. In the lower portion of the poster, in the space of the Real, a command is issued, using the informal form of address, *INGRESAD*, universally adopted at the time precisely to undo the hierarchy implicit in the formal *Ud.* form, in the imperative. The slogan reads, “Join the Iberian Communist Youth Association POUM.” The explicit message is accompanied by an implicit one that dignifies youth with the symbolic authority conferred upon it by this graphic inversion, along with the executive praxis of the seismic warrior with whom young people are meant to identify. Thus, joining the JCI—being part of this ennobled collective—may also be seen as strategy of self-dignification.

The poster pictured in figure 94 is quite different. For one thing, its slogan, “Orders from the POUM: Until the end!” [*Consignas del P.O.U.M.: ¡Hasta el fin!*] is intended for those who are already members of the party. Moreover, its commanding language is more dramatic and its iconic force more combative in nature. All of this suggests a later stage of the war and gives credence to the spring 1937 publication date, suggested by Stanford. The fascist enemy is also clearly defined as German, represented by the black swastika on a field of green, whose curved upper edge lends it the appearance of the globe seen from above, perhaps from an airplane. Like the previous poster, the space of the Mediator dominates over the Ideal and the Real. It is occupied by a red flag, whose frayed edge suggests the passage of time and physical presence in battle. The tatters match the torn flesh of the body fragment below it, an arm, whose hand is closed in rigor mortis around the staff, from which the flag flies. The flag staff’s lower end is stained with blood, the only human trace of the mechanized enemy represented iconically, suggesting that the arm’s flag-bearing owner gave his life to pierce the Nazi attempt at world domination, fulfilling the poster’s explicit message: “Fight to the end!”

Implicit in this partisan message, however, is a broader one contrasting the inhumanity of the enemy—a general perception fueled by the bombing of civilian populations, the killing of a poet, etc.—with the dignified, albeit fragmented humanity of the warrior.

In another Rivero cartoon of the period (see fig. 93) Hitler is depicted, standing next to a stump of wood dripping with blood and leaning on a bloodied medieval executioner’s axe. If eyes are windows to the soul, this cartoon Hitler appears to be lacking in this regard: one eye cannot be seen because of his odd hairstyle and the other is completely shuttered by its eyelid. The inhumanity of this figure finds another locus in the mechanical Nazi salute, in which the hand—symbol of executive praxis—forms a vector with the head of the axe, a final graphic dehumanizing touch. The caption, “The Colonizer” [*El colonizador*] alludes to the public perception of the German presence in Spain as an attempt at colonization. The missing victim may easily be supplied by the reader/viewer, who either knows personally or has heard of victims of the German intervention. The Nazi symbol spread over the globe in Rivero’s poster connects to this cartoon and others like it, establishing an intertextual link. Given Spain’s own colonial past, these representations of Germany taken together may be seen as circulating cognition, aesthetic objects whose physical handling in the public space transforms them into agents for the rethinking of the concepts “colonizer” and “colonization” within a new frame of mobile decentered identity and embodied thought, both individual and national. I will say more about this further on.

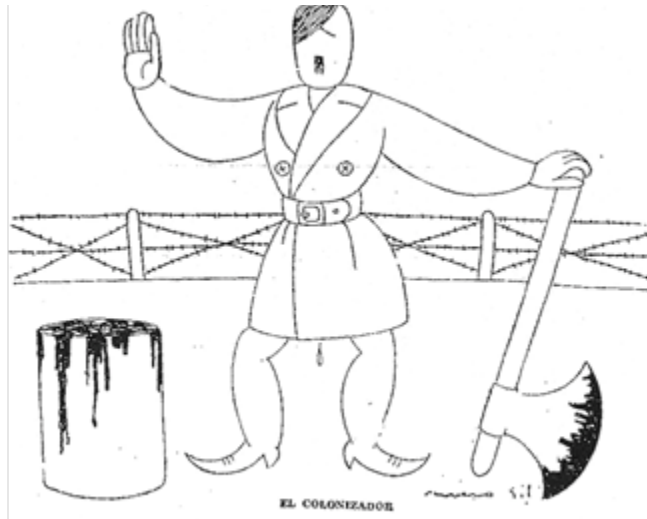


Fig. 93. Francisco Rivero Gil. *El colonizador*, cartoon depicting Hitler with executioner's ax published on the front page of *La Batalla*, Dec. 6, 1936. Microform. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved

Returning to figure 92, the communist hammer and sickle, now overlapping, appear in white in the upper left corner of the flag, while the POUM's acronym is situated in the lower right corner. Periods are included after each letter, lending them greater visual power, and alluding to their nature as language. In contrast to the previous poster, which makes no use of punctuation at all, the conventions of language seem to be called upon to join in the fight. From their position over the earth, the flag and the arm take on gigantic proportions. The former, although ragged, flutters above the ground with its severed arm in a secular heaven — a visual *exemplum* of the fight 'until the end' ordered by the POUM. As mentioned earlier, this poster is included in Stanford University's online exhibition in a section entitled "Modern Totems." As modern totems these placards "confer identity" on the POUM "within the framework of a secularized sacred," establishing an immortal relationship "between the collectivity" and these aesthetic objects, to inspire, but also "to quell dissent and division, and to provide comfort" while "represent[ing] promises... [of]...the future" (*Revolutionary Tides* n. p.). Just as important, the inspirational, unifying and comforting functions of Rivero's war posters also serve to counterbalance the destabilizing effects of the fierce interrogation of conventional knowledge brought about by modernity itself.

#### *Civic Cartoons*

If Ortega questioned the sphere of philosophy and Renau that of art, finding them lacking of real human content, Benjamin spoke for literature:

The construction of life is at present in the power far more of facts than of convictions, and of such facts as have scarcely ever become the basis of convictions. Under these circumstances, *true literary activity* cannot aspire to take place within *a literary framework*." (Qtd. in Moorey 608) (Emphasis added)

Opposing "a literary framework" to "true literary activity," Benjamin adopts a constructivist cognitive model to challenge literary realism and its Cartesian underpinnings distanced from lived human reality to advocate a way of practicing literature that immediately calls to mind Ortega's *raciovitalista* executive praxis. While the status of the image for Benjamin is not

entirely clear, it does appear that “he sees language as the primary space of images” (Jevtic 3). Rivero’s concerns, however, did not revolve around the theoretical. He was concerned with lived human experience and executive praxis, channeled through the new literary activity of journalism, in which his questions, often expressed in the image-text format of single panel cartoons, were the basis of his convictions. Perfectly suited to wartime urgency, Rivero used the precepts of *humorismo* to transform the cartoon panel into a vehicle for the delivery of scathing criticism that was not an end in itself, but rather meant to present the reader/viewer with a re-elaboration of conventional meanings that were changing under the pressure of new wartime socio-political realities. These new meanings—infused with common-sense human decency and civic values—made use of biting irony and gruesome sarcasm.

The panel in figure 94 depicts a mutilated war veteran in terms that would be unthinkable today. The literal meaning of the title, “Useless!” [*¡Inutil!*], in English would be better rendered as “Invalid!”; the implication that an invalid is useless to society is more strongly expressed in Spanish. The veteran muses, “I suppose they won’t deny me a spot on the Non-Intervention Committee,” alluding this group’s lax enforcement of the Non-Intervention Agreement, which allowed the Germans and Italians to aid the Nationalists, and expressing the growing perception on the Republican side of the Committee’s uselessness. Although today this insensitive metaphor for political ineptitude would be deemed reprehensible, in the context of the times it is more important to note that it is precisely the veteran’s humanity that is made visible here. Moreover, his wholeness is made graphically explicit by the terms of his mutilation, which include missing limbs and scarred flesh, but also its internal dimensions, represented by his forlorn facial expression. Thus, this veteran stands not only as an indictment of the Committee’s ineptitude, but also as an embodied human presence, whose disfigurement, both internal and external, attests to the inhumanity of the implicit enemy.



Fig. 94. Francisco Rivero Gil. *¡Inutil!*, cartoon depicting mutilated veteran published by *La Batalla*, Jan. 15, 1937, n. pag. Microform. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved

The panel entitled “Gratitude” [*Gratitud*] (see fig. 95) depicts a woman and child being blown apart by an explosion. Her face is lifted and her arm is raised, as though gesturing thanks to someone in the distance, but she is missing her hand and her other arm, an eye and part of her skull, while drops of blood splash from her head. Only part of the child’s face is visible behind her, obviously being thrown outwards from the cloud of smoke resulting from the blast. The caption reads, “Long live the League of Nations!” [*Viva la Sociedad de Naciones!*], an allusion to the policy of appeasement promoted by Great Britain and reluctantly followed by France (Frank 384), which found its expression in the Non-Intervention Agreement and the ineffectual role of the League of Nations, which ultimately favored the military rebellion. The grim irony of this panel is greatly intensified by the symbolic import of its date of publication—December 31, 1936—after the Spanish Republic’s demand that Germany and Italy be condemned for recognizing the Nationalists was ignored (Thomas 335–6).

Through this new literary activity and the creation of these new realist art objects, Rivero’s voice of social conscience mediated in the cognitive processes that underpinned the construction of a modern civil society. His art fostered the creation of a new type of secular social conscience, in which the moral compass of Spanish society was being wrested from the hands of the Catholic Church and reclaimed for the citizenry of the Second Republic. For example, the cartoon pictured in figure 96 represents a portly monk in the foreground with arms outstretched and head bowed in a gesture of humility. However, in one hand he clutches a rifle and there is a bayonet in his belt. Another monk, also a stout fellow, is lying face down on the ground behind him, observing from afar how a building in the distance with a large cross on its roof is becoming engulfed in clouds of smoke. The panel is entitled, “Humility” [*Humildad*], and its caption reads, “We’ll settle for bombing hospitals” [*Nos conformamos con bombardear los hospitales*]. The cartoon obviously alludes to the Catholic Church’s support of the Nationalists, who, aided by the Italians and the Germans, were bombing all kinds of non-military objectives, attacking its hypocrisy, while critiquing the false virtue of members of this religious institution, which is a general feature of the Church’s historical role in Spain. The monks’ obesity suggests that they regularly commit the sin of gluttony, while, distanced from the battle, they are also depicted as cowards. More importantly, and here language is key, the monk in the foreground is too stupid to understand what is meant by the virtue of humility, despite the Church’s traditional association with knowledge and its custodianship of its vehicle—the book. Echoing Ortega’s and Benjamin’s concerns, implicit in this cartoon is a challenge to conventional book learning. In light of the anarchist attacks on the clergy and church property that were prevalent during the period, Rivero’s scathing anticlericalism could be seen to support this violence, but this would be to miss the point of Rivero’s role as a mediator in the construction of a secular basis for social organization. As a new realist aesthetic expression, this cartoon performs a new type of access to civic values based on common sense and human connectedness.

«*Aleluyas de la defensa de Euzkadi*»

Rivero’s cartoon strip-like *Aleluyas de la defensa de Euzkadi* frequently establishes intertextual relationships with cartoons like these that were circulating in the public space, the space of human dialog and social connection. This popular traditional art form—updated and imbued with Renau’s humanist realism—was published as a large poster, composed in its normal format of eight rows of six frames with rhyming couplets under each frame. Related to



Fig. 95. Francisco Rivero Gil. *Gratitud*, cartoon depicting woman and child being blown up published by *La Batalla*, Jan. 31, 1936, n. pag. Microform. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.



Fig. 96. Francisco Rivero Gil. *Humildad*, cartoon depicting bombing of Red Cross hospital published by *La Batalla*, Aug. 20, 1936, n. pag. Microform. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.



the street ballad (see fig. 97) in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, José Gutiérrez Solana attested to its popularity:

In Spain the street ballad is widely cultivated; there is not a town or village in which the celebration of a saint's day does not include the singing of couplets about a crime, the feats of a bandit, the life and death of a bull-fighter or even public disasters: floods, hunger, wars, earthquakes and plagues. The reciter begins by invoking the heavens or a miracle performing Christ as witnesses and by asking for strength to recount what happened. The banner on which the scenes are painted completes the illusion. (Gutierrez-Solana 77)

[*En España se explota mucho el romance callejero; no hay pueblo ni aldea que en día de romería no se canten las coplas de un crimen, las hazañas de un bandido, la vida y muerte de un torero y hasta las calamidades públicas, las inundaciones, el hambre, guerras, terremotos y pestes. El romancero empieza por invocar a los cielos o a un Cristo milagroso para que les sea testigo y les dé fuerza en esta empresa de relatar lo ocurrido. El estandarte en el que aparecen pintadas estas escenas, se encarga de completar la ilusión.*]



Fig. 97. Unknown photg. *Streethawker*, published in *Spain from Within*. Rafael Shaw. London: 1910. p. 263. Black-and-white photograph.

Joan Amadés traces the *aleluya's* origins in print to Cataluña, linking it to the popular Game of Goose, in Spanish el “Juego de la Oca” (see fig. 98), thus the name in Catalan *auca*, pl. *auques* whose history is intimately tied to the diffusion of the printing press in Europe (Amadés 3; 6). In Catalonia, where the graphic arts flourished, the board underwent changes: its sixty-four numbered squares in the form of a spiral were reduced to forty-eight, distributed in rows, although the number of frames could vary. The first *auques* were used for cabalistic purposes, like the *Auca del sol y de la luna* (see fig. 99), although later they reverted to their original nature as games of chance (6–9). During the Enlightenment they took on encyclopedic and didactic functions, incorporating a condensed caption, like the *Auca de las*





Fig. 100. Unknowns artist. *Auca de las aves*. Amadés.

Toward the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, during a period of intense migration to Madrid, the Catalonian printer Jose Maria Marés y Roca established himself in the capital, publishing the first broadsheets of this kind in 1845, which adopted the name of *aleluya* (Botrel, “La serie” n.p.). According to the dictionary of the Real Academia Española, *aleluyas* are pages with the word *aleluya* printed on them (see fig. 101). They were cut up so that, when the officiating priest intoned the Hallelujah, they could be thrown from balconies as the procession passed. Afterwards, children would pick them up to collect and use them in games they invented. Thus, it is clear that both the *auca* and the *aleluya* grew out of very old, deeply rooted traditions and were remarkably adaptable.

This format is often discussed in relation to its role in the socialization of reading, thanks in large part to Botrel’s influence, focused on literacy studies, discussed in Chapter One. Indeed, he has dubbed the *aleluya* the “zero degree of reading” [*“el grado cero de la lectura”*] (Botrel, “La serie” n.p.). My focus, however, is on the role of this broadsheet form, like posters and cartoon panels, as an aesthetic materialization of the new type of graphic literacy being formed in the public space, which was intimately tied to orality, as the maximum exponent of Spanish sociability informed by Renau’s humanist realism. Despite the *aleluya*’s humble nature and the limitations imposed by its small drawings and simple couplets, it was the perfect vehicle for an aesthetic recodification that actively engaged modern life. Indeed, it presented significant communication advantages: it was a popular, low cost, *circulating* art form, easily accessible and within reach of everyone; it could be produced rapidly and was therefore capable of responding to the dynamism of modernity; its was a condensed and minimalist format that mobilized the capacity of the reader/spectator to complete the message with previous knowledge drawn from other non-book formats and from social experience, a cognitive collage. Thus, although the *aleluya* may indeed be the “zero



Fig. 101. Unknown artist. *Alelukyas*. Amadés.

degree of reading” for literacy scholars, Spain’s high rates of illiteracy<sup>57</sup> are also the material expression of a *different type of graphic literacy* gestating within a dense social matrix of an extremely active and cohesive type of sociability associated with a vibrant orality, about which I will say more further on.

In the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century these popular formats were recycled in a conscious effort to recodify aesthetic practices that were actively constructing modernity. Unlike film, this modernity was not envisioned as a rupture with the past, but rather as a renewal of traditional modes of expression that could channel the socio-political and aesthetic tensions of the moment. Natasha Staller observes that “traditional folk forms like puppet shows and shadow puppets” became “identified with Catalan nationalism” (540). This mobilization of popular tradition, which included *auques* and *aleluyas*, was not limited to Barcelona, however, nor was it circumscribed to Catalanism. In the wake of the bombing of Guernica, the search for new forms of expression based on popular culture received a strong impetus, resulting in a more literal use of the *aleluya* as a generic emblem of resistance on the left. Pablo Picasso produced his *Sueño y Mentira de Franco* (see figs. 102 a and b) at the same time, clearly inspired in the *aleluya*. Taking advantage of the traditional variability of the number of frames, Picasso reduced them to nine, undoubtedly to increase their artistic potential. José Antonio Alcácer, member of the artistic movement founded in 1959 known as *Estampa Popular*, followed suit with his hybrid poster entitled *El cartel del crimen* (ca. 1964) (see fig. 103) an emblem of resistance to the dictatorship from within Spain. It’s clear that these two *aleluyas* have artistic aspirations at some remove from what was happening in Barcelona after the attack on Guernica.

57. Martínez Martín supplies the following illiteracy rates in Spain: 72% in 1877; 63.8% in 1900; 44% in 1930. Compare to the US: 20% in 1870, 10.7% in 1900 and 4.3% in 1930 (“Lecturas para todos” 473).





Fig. 102a. Pablo Picasso (1881-1973). *Sueño y mentira de Franco* (1937) I. Moma. Web. June 6, 2012. © 2012 Estate of Pablo Picasso / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.



Fig. 102b. Pablo Picasso, *Sueño y mentira de Franco* (1937) II. Moma. Web. June 6, 2012 © 2012 Estate of Pablo Picasso / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

As mentioned earlier, the unexpected strength of the Republican resistance in Madrid, supported by the International Brigades, motivated the change of strategy by the Nationalists, who now set their sights on the industrial area around Bilbao. Guernica was a town with no defenses and no military objectives. It did provide, however, an opportunity for an “experiment in terror.” Monday April 26, 1937 was market day. Just when the town was filled with people, high explosive bombs were dropped, fleeing civilians were machine gunned down, and the town was set on fire using incendiary bombs in several waves that lasted two hours and forty-five minutes (Jackson 381). At this point Barcelona, which had already



Fig. 103. José Antonio Alcácer (b. 1939) *Cartel del crimen* (c. 1964). Alcácer family archive. Woodcut. Photo reproduced with the kind permission of José Antonio Alcácer.

received an influx of refugees from Malaga and other Andalusian areas in the South, from Zaragoza in the West and San Sebastian in the North, now became the destination for many more civilians fleeing from the northern regions of Asturias and Cantabria, as well as the Basque country. Its total refugee population reached nearly four hundred thousand, among them the entire Basque government (*Atlas* 306). Food shortages abounded, the revolution had been undone, the Generalitat had recovered the reins of its autonomous authority, but losing some ground to the central government, which now controlled the police force and the army.

Pro-Euzkadi Week was organized in a climate of alarm and urgency, but also with a spirit of hopeful militancy, given that Bilbao had not yet fallen. The seven days of political acts and cultural events in solidarity with the Basque people were celebrated in all of Catalonia from May 29 to June 6, 1937. The *Aleluyas de la defensa de Euzkadi* (see fig. 104) was published as part of these activities in poster-sized broadsheet format, displayed, as was customary, hanging as though on clotheslines in streets and plazas. Rivero controls the narrative space by establishing the familiar sections of introduction (frames 1–12) (see fig. 105), body (frames 13–36) (see fig. 106) and conclusion (frames 37–48) (see fig. 107), distributed in the usual format of eight rows of six frames, resembling a comic strip or the frames of a film. A comic strip, however, is either enclosed in a magazine or dominated by text in a newspaper, while the separate elements of a film disappear when it is projected within the closed space of the theater. The *aleluya*, in contrast, *exhibits* its nature as a composite form, while its mobile and active presence in the public space is integrated into dynamic social networks. Herein lies its radical nature: it is displayed, for all to see, it is bought, read out loud to those who cannot read, sounded out, passed around, remembered, recited, cut up and reused in children's games. The artist takes advantage of the *aleluya's* radical nature to present a paradoxically moderate political program, based on a respect for authority and tradition capable of embracing pluralism.

The couplet in the first frame reads “defend the ancient laws of Euzkadi from dimwitted foreigners” [*Defiende Euzkadi sus fueros/contra torpes extranjeros*]. *Fueros* were privileges conceded to different regions by the monarchs during the middle ages, which, over time, acquired the status of laws. The graphic text represents the ideal Basque, a regional incarnation of the seismic warrior. He is a strong fellow in traditional dress with his fist raised, holding something with his other hand that could be a work implement. We see him in his mountainous environment, ready to defend his home, visible in the background, where we imagine his family. Thus, the public legal domain, to which the lexical text refers, is joined with the private sphere depicted in the graphic text, setting the stage with a need for self-defense on two fronts. The Basque's gaze is directed extra-diegetically, outside the frame, mobilizing the imagination of the reader/viewer, activating the memory of the experience of being under attack lived by Barcelona's refugees. Given their contact with the stable population, indirect knowledge of their experience, acquired especially by personal contact through oral channels, is also stimulated.

In the second frame, another Basque, again perfectly integrated in the mountainous regional environment, presents a solid defense of the homeland, pointing his gun outside the diegetic frame. The lexical text affirms that “the same as in other wars” Bilbao defends her territory [*Lo mismo que en otras guerras/Bilbao defiende sus tierras*], with “other wars” alluding to the Basque people's traditional resistance to colonization, which dates to the Romans. His gun, pointing at an indeterminate enemy, allows the viewer to imagine those invaders of other wars and step out of the historical moment into a temporal regimen of simultaneity and connect with the universals of human experience.



The third frame declares that “the regionals respect their ancestral regional customs [*Respetan los regionales/sus costumbres ancestrales*”]. Although the possessive adjective *sus* refers to the Basques, the use of *los regionales* generalizes the subject, making it inclusive of all of Spain’s regions and extensive to large sectors of Barcelona’s population, who have immigrated from many regions of the country. The political bywords “Democracy and Socialism,” capitalized to emphasize their import, are presented next, as objects of regional desire [*Y desean asimismo/Democracia y Socialismo*”]. Here we see a city type cordially greeting an agricultural worker. The fact that these citizens are both male is another aspect of the *aleluya*'s relatively conservative ideological agenda. I will come back to the representation of women further on.

Frame four is key to a fundamental aspect of Spanish modernity, often ghettoized with discourses constructed from northern Europe centering on Spain’s “backwardness” or “confusion.” The edge of the city can be seen in the background on the left, which situates us clearly on the outskirts of the urban environment. Rivero mobilizes the binary opposition city/country to undo it. Assigning protagonism to the rural environment, an agricultural worker occupies the foreground, while the citified man behind him waves his hand in greeting as he passes, a gesture that may be read as the welcome extended by Barcelona to its large population of peasant immigrants. More importantly, it also constitutes a salute to the renewed social values and fortified collective practices of agrarian society that were the focus of an intense programmatic campaign carried out in rural areas by the anarchists during the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Bookchin 3–5). The massive emigration of peasants brought this revitalized pre-industrial sociability to urban centers, where it was assumed and promoted by the left as a whole. Thus, urban populations in Spain were—and still are—characterized by this unique type of sociability that underpins Ortega’s *raciovitalismo*, which was quite resistant to the depersonalization of industrial society.

Frame number seven continues to present a moderate position as it describes the president of the Basque government, Jose Antonio Aguirre, in positive terms: “upright, noble and brave” [*Entero, noble y valiente/Aguirre, su Presidente*”] promoting respect for authority, particularly significant in light of the recent challenge to the authority of Companys. The introduction is completed by opposing these positive values to negative ones, attributed to the rebel forces, described especially in terms of their associations with foreigners. This theme is personified by General Mola, whose defects are accumulated in frames eight through twelve: his support of the “*hermanos de Loyola*” [*Van apoyados por Mola/los hermanos de Loyola*”], a reference to the Basque religious order known as La Compañía de Jesús (the Jesuits) dissolved by the Second Republic in 1932 due to its refusal to renounce the authority of a foreign power, that is, of the Pope.

Frames nine through twelve perform a graphic-lexical crescendo, affirming that Mola attacks with war material obtained from abroad, spreading terror with the monstrous complicity of the monarchy. It may be noted that the general is represented in the graphic text not with individualized characteristics, but rather with the face of a monkey. This detail may be seen as a graphic intertext with other cartoons created by Rivero during this period, which in turn draw on his mentor, Luís Bagaría, who began elaborating a modern bestiary in 1916, which “carried with it a clear moral connotation” [*lleva consigo una clara conotacion moral*”], to represent political figures during the Restoration (Elorza 91). Connecting with this medieval tradition and subjecting it to the pressures of modern innovation, Rivero’s beasts—a lion, a cow and a snake—are depicted as innocents looking upon the new freak of nature represented in the foreground. This malformed creature appears to be part human, part monkey and part

# ALELUYAS DE LA DEFENSA DE EUZKADI

N.º 10



EDICIÓN DEL COMISSARIAT DE PROPAGANDA DE LA GENERALITAT DE CATALUNYA

Precio: 10 céntimos

MOO, 55

Fig. 104. Francisco Rivero Gil. *Aleluyas de la defensa de Euzkadi* ((1937), facsimile, Barcelona: Centro de Estudios de Historia contemporánea de Barcelona, 1979. Print. Image courtesy of Salvador Carretero Rebés.

# ALELUYAS DE LA DEFENSA DE EUSKADI

N.º 10



1  
Defiende Euzkadi sus fueros  
contra torpes extranjeros.



2  
Lo mismo que en otras guerras  
Bilbao defiende sus tierras.



3  
Respetan los regionales  
sus costumbres ancestrales.



4  
Y descan asimismo  
Democracia y Socialismo.



5  
Y que se mantenga sano  
el régimen republicano.



6  
Toda la región sin miedo  
vá a la lucha con denuedo.



7  
Entero, noble y valiente  
Aguirre, su Presidente.



8  
Van apoyados por Mola  
los hermanos de Loyola.



9  
Mola ordena a su gente  
que ataquen en amplio frente.



10  
Con gran material guerrero  
traído del extranjero.



11  
Fusiles, tanques, cañones,  
lanzabombas y aviones.



12  
Quiere el general traidor  
imponerse por terror.

Fig. 105. Francisco Rivero Gil, frames 1-12 of *Aleluyas de la defensa de Euzkadi*.



Fig. 106. Francisco Rivero Gil, *Ilusiones*, cartoon of malformed creature frightening other beasts published in *La Batalla*, n. pag. Aug. 21, 1936. Microform. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

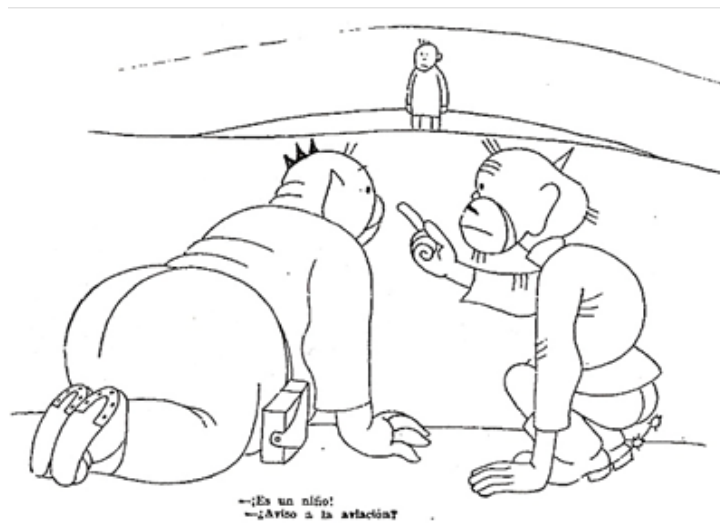


Fig. 107. Francisco Rivero Gil, untitled cartoon depicting a pig-like and a monkey-like creature spying a child in the distance. *La Batalla*, n. pag. Nov. 29, 1936. Photo: © Donna Ann Southard, all rights reserved.

reptile, clasping its clawed hands next to its face in a gesture of longing. Below, the caption reads, “The beast: ‘I wish I could be a fascist!’” [*“La bestia: ‘¿Quién fuera fascista!’”*]. If Bagaría used the animals in his bestiary to criticize the moral fiber of politicians, Rivero includes them here to provide a baseline of human normality, in which even the snake, a symbol of Satan in the Christian tradition, can be accommodated. This humanized beast slithers fearfully into the vegetation with mouth agape and eye turned backward upon the freak, driving home the artist’s graphico-lexical pronouncement about the inhuman nature of its desire (see figure 108).

The panel shown in figure 109 represents the fascists in a similarly dehumanized fashion. The two figures in the foreground present a similar mixture of human and animal aspects. The pig-like creature is the more animal-like of the two, standing on all fours, with a



reptilian crest, claw-like hands and horseshoes, while the monkey possesses more human attributes: spurs, a moustache and a spike on its head, alluding to the “*pikelhaub*” on the German helmet in vogue during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, the fact that the spike appears without a helmet, as though it were coming out of the creature’s head, adds another monstrous touch that further emphasizes a lack of humanity identified as German. The intention of the artist is clear: these beings are freaks of nature. Moreover, the German monkey rides the Spanish rebel pig, implying a relationship complete with perverse sexual connotations. This animal also makes reference to the *macaca sylvanus*, which inhabits Gibraltar and the north of Africa, alluding to Spain’s African Army under Franco’s command. In the caption the monkey exclaims, “It’s a child!” The pig reacts with the question: “Shall I call in the aviation?” This allusion to the bombing of civil populations by the Germans and Italians could not be more clearly expressed. General Mola’s monkey face, as graphic intertext, demonstrates that these simple drawings are more powerful than they seem at first glance. Indeed, they are fragments of a cognitive collage under construction thanks to the media circulating in an active social context.

The instinct of self-defense is further stimulated in the body of the *aleluya*, with the representation of civilian deaths, the sacking of churches and the destruction of Guernica and other Basque towns in frames fifteen and sixteen. Frames seventeen and twenty present images of great pathos, where women are represented in the conventional role of victim to encourage a protective response in the men who were being mobilized at that moment to defend the front lines. It is also worth noting that modern expressionist touches were easily integrated into this traditional format, which was subjected to the innovative force of syncretism. Frames sixteen and seventeen change our perspective from distant to close up, imitating the photographic/film technique of the zoom, which contributes to the intensity of the expressionist rendering of human suffering.

In frame twenty-eight Franco is depicted with individualized features and Napoleonic gesture, at once alluding to the occupation of the national territory by the French, the African Army, and to the general’s small stature, which caused many to refer to him as “Paquito,” the diminutive form of Francisco. The robotic soldiers he commands in frame twenty-nine, especially when considered retroactively in relation to the monkey’s spiked head, appear to be multiple Frankensteins on the march. The film based on Mary Shelley’s novel had made its debut in Madrid five years earlier. Considered an “unprecedented success” [*éxito sin precedentes*],<sup>58</sup> it must have impacted Rivero similarly to the fascist staging of the war, which “[went] beyond the emotional to enter the chilling, the gruesome...[with] scenes of tragic intensity that horrif[ied]” [*pas[ó] de la raya de lo emocional para entrar en lo escalofriante, en lo truculento...[con] escenas de una intensidad tragica que horripila*] (ABC 28). The machines of war operated by the rebels offer a strong contrast with the preceding frames, in which human suffering is highlighted, pitting the militaristic values of the rebels against Republican civic values.

Frame forty-two focuses precisely on solidarity and urbanity. “Send supplies to the Basque/ and he says thank you” [*Manda víveres al vasco/y éste dice eskerrik-asko*]. Moreover, in this couplet the Spanish word *vasco* rhymes with the Basque word *eskerrik-asko*, which may be identified with what Mary Louise Pratt described recently as the aesthetic of hip-hop, which employs this type of bilingual rhyming as a result of the continuous movement of

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58. The film, starring Boris Karloff, debuted at Madrid’s Palacio de la Música on March 7, 1932. Its title in Spanish was *El Doctor Frankenstein*. Thanks to David Felipe Herranz for this information.

populations displaced by global forces (Keynote address). The Spanish Civil War was also a conflict in which global forces caused this type of large-scale human displacement (Clavijo 318). In this light, Rivero's *aleluya* is not only modern, but eerily futuristic and contemporary.

The conclusion (see fig 109) alleviates the tension created by these scenes of battle and destruction with images of national and international humanitarian aid and an enemy reduced to two wounded, covering figures. Victory is expressed metaphorically with great effectiveness in the last two frames, where the aesthetic changes again to take on a poster art look infused with uplifting and unifying totemic force. Rays of light at dawn serve as background for two universal gestures: the fist that crushes the enemy and the victor's arms raised in jubilation.

The overall message communicated by this *aleluya*—humane Republican Spain against the inhuman fascist rebels—may appear to be Manichean. However, given the context of the broadsheet's circulating presence in the public space and the intertextual relationships established with other media, this impression should not be understood as an attempt to eliminate the complexities of reality on the ground, which were abundantly clear in the lived experience of Spain's dialogical and media-rich social environment. Rather, the *aleluya's* dualistic simplicity is better understood as an essence of human decency distilled from this reality and presented to the reader/viewer as explicit civic values, literally something "to hold on to." In this way, a schooling in democratic praxis underpinned by the universals of human sentiment is carried out by the humble *aleluya*, which acquired a modern interactive socio-political and aesthetic presence on the streets of Barcelona during the spring of 1937.

### *Conclusion*

The military uprising that took place in July 1936 against Spain's Second Republic was a seismic event that delivered a jolt of great magnitude to the already unstable ground of Spanish modernity. Francisco Rivero Gil mediated in the collective attempt to gain a foothold in this precarious environment through an aesthetic praxis that bridged the body/knowledge divide. His war posters participated in the brief revolution that took place in Barcelona in 1936–7. These public placards, infused with Renau's reinvented humanist realism and the Second Republic's ideological commitment to the dignification of human life, appropriate the functions of the Church as totemic expressions of eternal values that grounded, comforted and unified the human collective of the POUM. Rivero's seismic warrior constitutes an iconographic embodiment of these notions that overflowed the strictly partisan boundaries of the POUM. Meanwhile his flag-bearing severed arm contrasts fascist inhumanity with the dignity of the POUM defenders of the Second Republic, who were honored by a place above the earth that appropriates the Catholic heaven for History.

In the wake of the bombing of Guernica, the *Aleluyas de la defensa de Euzkadi* constituted another fragment of the cognitive collage being formed by the new type of literary activity circulating in the field of the graphic arts. By combining tradition and innovation in an interactive art object Rivero's *Aleluyas* took part in a general process of aesthetic recodification at the service of society. Their emphasis on the civic values of pluralism and solidarity and their exhibition in a public space confirmed art's capacity to aid in the construction of modern civil society. These documents—posters, cartoons and *Aleluyas*—all formed part of Spain's shifting socio-political and aesthetic crust, as it attempted to move into a new place of modern fluid equilibrium.



Fig. 108. Francisco Rivero Gil, frames 13-36 of *Aleluyas de la defensa de Euzkadi*.





Fig. 109. Francisco Rivero Gil, frames 37-48 of *Aleluyas de la defensa de Euskadi*.

## Conclusion

This study has traced Francisco Rivero Gil's movements and professional trajectory during the first three decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, attempting to redraw the ideological contours of his aesthetic praxis in three slices of time-space, emphasizing the linkages among ideology, history, literature and graphic art in his unjustly forgotten *oeuvre*. His beginnings in Santander reveal an active engagement with the life of a city that, despite its enduring conservative identity, was undergoing an intense process of transformation, and whose changing social makeup was mirrored on a day-to-day basis by Rivero's caricatures, cartoons and articles for *El Pueblo Cántabro*. His stint in Morocco, where Spain's residual imperialistic drives were concentrated in the wake of its loss of empire, afforded the young artist contact with an Other subject to colonialist aggression. Here the real costs of power backed up by stupidity and arms —young men sacrificed in absurd campaigns to a tune of hollow heroism, while no one takes responsibility and the journalistic institution sells more papers than ever— became all too evident. If the Moroccan campaign was Rivero's university, the *Álbum-recuerdo del Batallón de Valencia en Marruecos (1921-1922)* was a collective senior thesis in which his drawings constructed a critical discourse operating outside the bounds of censorship to evaluate Spain's last colonial adventure.

Once relocated in Madrid, any original ambitions for personal fame were tempered by the experience of war and by his absorption into an intense cultural activity that favored aesthetic collaborations imbued with Orteguian social purpose. Here Rivero participated in the collective rehabilitation of the national sense of self. If his earlier *Álbum-recuerdo* constitutes a joint editorial project elaborated by comrades-in-arms that effectively accommodated a 19<sup>th</sup>-century format to early 20<sup>th</sup>-century reality, the collaboration with Ramón del Valle-Inclán represents an expansion of the artist's socio-aesthetic horizons. Situated now at the heart of an avant-garde experimentation operating in a realm of ethical concerns far from notions of art for art's sake, Rivero's images for the first edition of *Ligazón* brought that experimentation into the public space. They also lent Spain's peripheral Others a bodily presence on the page that brought them into visibility as part of a new type of reading experience, of which Rivero was co-creator. This new reading experience established a conceptual basis for the transformation of the social order by substituting the linearity of the traditional epistemological model for a regimen of simultaneity that democratized the act of knowing. The arts of seeing and reading were working in tandem to raise readers' and viewers' consciousness that an aesthetic and political revolution was underway.

Four years later, in the wake of the global depression, the ethical concerns expressed in *Ligazón* as part of an effort to renovate the Spanish stage acquired a new and more generalized urgency in the broader context of social reality. "Los otros," although it resembles the *Álbum-recuerdo* as a joint project between writer, illustrator and photographer, represents a conceptual development of the earlier publication and its nature as a repository for memory. The series for *Estampa*, mobilizing again the praxis of graphico-lexical collaboration, now presented readers of the elite with a critical dialog about the previously disregarded casualties of capitalist hegemony, who languished in the present social reality of Madrid's marginal neighborhoods.

When the military uprising in August 1936 disrupted this new socio-aesthetic praxis and the active social networks that supported it, Rivero's personal preference for cooperative projects gave way to the exigencies of war, and his professional activity was absorbed into the

intense collective effort to defend the Second Spanish Republic. Operating in a realm beyond partisan politics, his identity-conferring posters for the P.O.U.M. served a wider purpose as modern totems for a secular society. Infused with Orteguian social values, they provided solace to the populace in the void left by widespread anticlerical sentiment resulting not only from the Church's hypocritical and longstanding support of social injustice, but also from its more recent collaboration with Nationalist atrocities. At the same time, his telegraphic image-text creations —whether the modernized *aleluya* or critical cartoon panels—allowed him a more direct expression of his role as mediator. Armed with nothing but a pencil and a highly developed sense of human decency, Rivero provided a moral compass for citizens loyal to the Republic, as they attempted to maintain their bearings in the tumultuous times.

Throughout the decades examined in this study, Rivero occupied a position at the center of vectors converging in the field of the graphic arts. Artistic, social, ideological and commercial concerns intervened in his professional development, as he mastered the "marginal technology" of the pencil that was married to the word. He always found a way to conjoin art and ethical concerns, while tenaciously holding the middle ground. The alternative modernity that Rivero was attempting to construct through the day-to-day activities of an ethically informed aesthetic praxis not only failed, but it has also been obscured by over simplified interpretations of the Spanish Civil War as a confrontation between monolithic blocks of capitalism and communism. Today's Spaniards, as they perform the memory work necessary to make peace with a traumatic past, are uniquely positioned to recognize in Rivero's *oeuvre* a precedent for their determination to once again become stakeholders in the interpretation of their history. However belated and fraught with psychic resistance and/or political obstruction, there is a collective effort underway to re-stitch scraps of national fabric into some sort of whole-yet-not-whole, from which subtle patterns are emerging. One of these patterns is an awareness of the new cultural praxis emanating from the graphic arts that linked art to the status of the disenfranchised popular classes. Carrying out its formative mission through the collaboration of artists of all types and the distributional processes of the press, powerful image-text fragments appeared daily on the street in slow and constant motion before the eyes of active reader/viewers, who were also speakers integrating a dense social network, not closed up in a silent movie theatre subject to their own interiority and the "magic" of cinema. Instead, these new modern subjects were circulating horizontally in unpredictable ways, just like the print fragments they read-viewed-touched, amid the bustle of public and semipublic spaces inhabited by Spanish sociability. They were literally in "touch" with their own social reality, engaged in an extraordinary collective exercise of self-and-Other recognition.

This alternate vision of Spanish modernity, in which revolutionary social transformation is effected through intensely egalitarian socio-aesthetic activity carried out in the public space, is being reclaimed today through certain types of museological activity. Guided by a commitment to public service that goes beyond guarding Spain's artistic heritage in a tomblike environment imbued with elitist mystique, this particular museological praxis conjoins past and present in a transversal engagement with cultural workers and the public at large. As a collective effort to construct a future based on social justice through formative aesthetic activities this praxis is radical in its implications, but moderate and prescient in its purposeful occupation of Rivero's fluid middle ground —the ground of Orteguian *convivencia*— where a commitment to the dignity of human life is the only firm foothold possible.

## Graphico-Lexical Epilogue



Fig. 110. Baltazar Torres (b. 1961), *Hacia el futuro* (2010). Sculpture of Pereda's protagonist, Sotileza, situated at a turn on the Rampa de Sotileza in Santander. Painted iron and bronze. Photo reproduced with the kind permission of Salvador Carretero Rebés.

The research drive behind this study, like that of many Spaniards, is related to the common human desire to understand family history. Immersed in the pictorial turn that brought Rivero to prominence, we naturally use metaphors about visibility to aid us in our efforts to know and give meaning to the past. Just as Sotileza scanned the horizon with her spyglass, looking for minute signs of loved ones in the blue-grey expanse beyond Santander's harbor, so we scour the sites appropriate to our discipline, knowing full well that a living, embodied return is not possible. This tale of graphic Othering is the result of one such effort, as it attempts to restore a *santanderino* artist to memory, returning him to the sight, if not the physical presence, of family, friends and neighbors, as well as their descendants. It also hopes to make him visible to others interested in Spanish modernity. However, the symbolic return of Francisco Rivero Gil to the *patria chica* will only be made "whole" (inasmuch as that is possible), when his circuit of exile is accounted for. Thus, France, Santo Domingo, Bogotá and Mexico City all await the second part of this study. Until then, Sotileza will remain on her high perch, scrutinizing the horizon.

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