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A New Readership for the Exiled Writers: Evolution of Francisco Ayala's Post-War Novels

Chikako Maruta

1. Introduction

The novelistic style of Francisco Ayala (1906–2009) kept evolving throughout his entire career. As a law student, Ayala published his first long novel *Tragicomedia de un hombre sin espíritu* (*Tragicomedy of a Man Without a Spirit*, 1925). In the next novel, *Historia de un amanecer* (*Tale of a Dawn*, 1926), he portrays the unstable social atmosphere in Spain under Primo de Rivera's dictatorship (1923–30). After Ayala encountered Vanguard literature, he published two novels *El boxeador y un ángel* (*The Boxer and an Angel*, 1929), and *Cazador en el alba* (*Hunter at Dawn*, 1930). However, his literary activities were suspended due to his commitment to the Second Republic and the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. In Argentina where he lived in exile from 1939, Ayala resumed his writing with two short stories: “El loco de fe y el pecador” (The Pious Lunatic and the Sinner, 1942) for Victoria Ocampo's magazine, *Sur* and “Día de duelo” (Day of Mourning, 1942) for an Argentinean newspaper *La Nación*.¹⁾ In 1949, Ayala published two collections of short stories, *Los usurpadores* (*Usurpers*) and *La cabeza del cordero* (*The Lamb's Head*). *Los usurpadores* collects short stories written and published between 1943 and 1947, and *La cabeza del cordero* those between 1948 and 1949.²⁾ After Ayala left Argentina in 1950, he wrote longer

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1) I exclude these two works in 1942 from this paper's analysis, since they are not collected in the texts referred to in this paper.

2) The chronological order of the short stories in the first edition of *Los usurpadores* is: “El diálogo de

novels: “Historia de macacos” (Monkey Story, 1952) in Puerto Rico, and *Muertes de perro* (*Death as a Way of Life*, 1958) and *El fondo del vaso* (*The Bottom of the Glass*, 1962) in the US.

A close examination of Ayala’s novels written in exile reveals that the works written before 1950 have significantly different themes than those written after 1950. Before 1950, Ayala illuminates the problems of Spain and the Civil War, whereas after 1950 he takes more universal problems as themes, such as the human condition in a colonial society (“Historia de macacos”) or a society under and after dictatorship (*Muertes de perro* and *El fondo del vaso*). On the other hand, Ayala, as a sociologist and literary critic, discussed a range of issues about Spain from politics to literature in the works of the 1940s and 1950s. However, only two novels, *Los usurpadores* and *La cabeza del cordero* take Spain as an obvious place of action and as the focus of argument. This number is scarce in comparison with that of other exiled writers, in particular, with Ayala’s friend Max Aub who published a series of novels about the Spanish Civil War, *El laberinto mágico* (*The Magic Labyrinth*) between 1943 and 1968.³⁾ In addition, it is contradictory to Ayala’s assertions in the article “El fondo sociológico en mis novelas” (The Sociological Background in My Novels, 1968) where he implicitly admits that sociological ideas constitute essential and ineludible elements for his literary works (246). Here, Ayala affirms that literature is a form of expression in which his sociological observation and literary imagination coexist. Therefore, not to bring up the Spanish theme in his novels after 1950 is contradictory to his claim in the article. After 1950, Ayala continues to write sociological articles about his home country, but curiously, in these novels, details of Spain do not appear much. Taking into consideration these circumstances, it is worthwhile to examine the particular reason for this change of orientation in his novels after 1950.⁴⁾

los muertos” (Dialogue of the Dead, 1939, *Sur*), “La campana de Huesca” (The Bell of Huesca, 1943, *Sur*), “El Hechizado” (The Bewitched, 1944, Editorial Emecé), “El abrazo” (The Embrace, 1945), “El Doliente” (The Invalid, 1946), “San Juan de Dios” (St. John of God, 1947), “Los impostores” (The Impostors, 1947). The first edition of *La cabeza del cordero* includes “El mensaje” (The Message, 1948, *Sur*), “El regreso” (The Return, 1948), “La cabeza del cordero” (The Lamb’s Head, 1948) and “El Tajo” (The Tajo, 1949, *Realidad*).

- 3) *El laberinto mágico* is constituted from six novels: *Campo cerrado* (*Closed Field*, 1943), *Campo de sangre* (*Field of Blood*, 1945), *Campo abierto* (*Open Field*, 1951), *Campo del moro* (*Field of Moors*, 1963), *Campo francés* (*French Field*, 1965), and *Campo de los almendros* (*Field of Almond Trees*, 1968).
- 4) The two short stories “El Inquisidor” (The Inquisitor, 1950) and “La vida por la opinión” (The Life for the Honor, 1955) were added respectively to the second edition of *Los usurpadores* in *Obras narrativas completas* (*The Complete Narrative Works*, 1969) and that of *La cabeza del cordero* published in 1962. Since Ayala collected these stories in their definitive versions, I do not include them in “the novels after 1950”.

This change is understandable when one reads the article for *Cuadernos Americanos*, “Para quién escribimos nosotros” (For Whom Do We Write, 1949).⁵⁾ The article points out the problems that the exiled intellectuals face in their host countries in the post-World War II era, when Franco regime survived against their expectation. According to Ayala, the exiled intellectuals should restrain nationalism and nostalgia toward “their” Republican Spain, and are urged to find a new readership for their works.⁶⁾ Their mission is to observe the actual reality of the world from their host countries and to integrate into their new society. As a result, they will be universal writers for a large audience rather than Spanish writers for Spaniards.

This paper proposes that the article “Para quién escribimos nosotros” has a strong impact on Ayala’s change of novelistic style after 1950. Ayala exemplifies his claims in the article through his novels; he satirizes the exiles’ sense of nationalism and chooses universal themes to attract new readers. While the novels of the 1940s describe historical Spain (*Los usurpadores*) and the Spanish Civil War (*La cabeza del cordero*), the novels after 1950 depict societies of fictional countries; a European colony (“Historia de macacos”), and a republic under and after a dictatorship in Central America (*Muertes de perro* and *El fondo del vaso*). Thus, the novels after 1950 deal with contemporary problems as a part of universal issues that can be applicable to any countries, instead of referring directly to problems of Franco’s Spain. Ayala’s change of the novelistic strategies opens a new path for himself from a Spanish writer in exile to a Hispanic universal writer. This paper analyzes the article of 1949, and then examines the novels published in the 1940s and the 1950s, excluding the analysis of *El fondo del vaso* published in 1962.

2. “Para quién escribimos nosotros” and the Exiles’ Dilemma

2.1. *Cuadernos Americanos* and the Republican Exiles

“Para quién escribimos nosotros” was important enough to be published in the prestigious Mexican journal *Cuadernos Americanos* founded in 1942 by Jesús Silva Herzog, an economist and professor of UNAM (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México). Two Spanish exiles, León Felipe and Juan Larrea helped Silva Herzog as

5) The article was originally written in 1948 but was published in 1949. See *Obras completas (The Complete Works)*, 2007) vol. 3, p1531 for bibliographic information of the article. See Faber for an analysis of the article. Richmond refers briefly to the relation between the article and “Historia de macacos” (22).

6) I do not go into further discussion on the concept of nationalism but only state that in the article of 1949, nationalism refers to political activities based on specific ideology, hence that of the Republican and of the Nationalist.

journal secretaries. As Herzog affirms, the journal's aim was to be a forum of cultural encounter among Hispanic intellectuals. In fact, contemporary Mexican culture received a great impact from articles written by Mexican and Spanish intellectuals.

Cuadernos Americanos took over the journal *España peregrina* (*Pilgrim-Spain*, 1940–41) directed by Larrea and other Republican exiles. During the secretariat of Larrea between 1942 and 1949, a large number of the Spanish exiles in Mexico and in other countries contributed to the journal (González Neira 42). The total number of their articles and book reviews is 426 between 1942 and 1952, and 227 between 1953 and 1962 (Serra Puche and Mejía Flores 65). In all, the number of their writings in these two decades reached 65% of the total 1111 entries from 1942 to 2010.⁷⁾ The frequency of Ayala's contribution to the journal matches the tendency mentioned above. Between 1943 and 1951, except the year 1946, Ayala sent nine articles every year, but after 1952, the number decreased; he submitted one in 1955, four in the 1960s and the last one in 1973 for a special issue in homage to Max Aub. The topics and form of Ayala's writing are diverse: sociology, literary criticism and short stories. The number of fifteen contributions from 1943 to 1973 is outstanding, considering the fact that Ayala was living outside of Mexico, while others such as José Gaos, Max Aub or León Felipe were in Mexico (Castañar 43).⁸⁾

The article in 1949, "Para quién escribimos nosotros" is at the turning point in these circumstances of the exiles' writings in the journal. In particular, it might have been a stimulus for other exiles to re-consider their previous writings focused on "lost Spain." For example, a poet of the Generation of 27, Pedro Salinas who was also a contributor to the journal with poems and literary criticism, reacted promptly to Ayala's article in his two letters to Jorge Guillén.⁹⁾ One month after the article's publication in a letter dated March 17, 1949, Salinas comments that while Ayala's writing style is not sophisticated, he agrees with Ayala's observation: "Pedantesco, pesado, torpe de estilo, pero toca algunos puntos sensibles. Por lo demás para mí no

7) Serra Puche and Mejía Flores counts 1110 entries of articles and book reviews from 1942 to 2010, but the total sum of the numbers from Table 2 is 1111 (65).

8) I add the profession and countries in exile to the list of exiled writers and the number of their articles; José Gaos (Mexico, philosopher, 34), Max Aub (Mexico, writer, 30), Juan Cuatrecasas (Argentina, physician, 27), Eugenio Ímaz, (Mexico, philosopher, 20), León Felipe (Mexico, poet, 19), Juan Larrea (Mexico, poet, 16), Francisco Ayala (Argentina, sociologist, novelist, 15), Julio Álvarez del Vayo (Switzerland, politician, 15). The number of Ayala's articles is wrongly written in Castañar's article as fourteen (27). Here, the number is corrected as fifteen. See these fifteen articles in "Works Cited".

9) Salinas exiled to the US after the outbreak of the Civil War in 1930. Guillén arrived in the US in 1943 after being in a concentration camp in France. See "Pedro Salinas" in Ayala's *Recuerdos y Olvidos* (*Memory and Oblivion*, 2006), for their encounter in New York (383–386).

hay problema: escribo porque escribo. Ahora el problema está en el *para quién*, del momento” (492) [Pedantic, tedious, clumsy style, but he touches some delicate points. As for the rest of the points, I do not see problems; I write because I write. Now, the problem of this moment lies in *for whom*]. Since Salinas did not receive replies from Guillén, in the second letter of April 8, he asks if his friend has already read the article and repeats the comments: “Naturalmente es artículo sociológico, y yo no planteo la cuestión en estos términos, sólo. Pero desde punto de vista que toma me parece interesante y con aciertos” (495) [Naturally, it is an article of sociology and I do not suggest the issue in these wordings, only. However, I think the perspectives that he takes are interesting and striking].¹⁰⁾ Salinas does not refer in the first letter to what are “algunos puntos sensibles,” but may refer to the dilemmas of the Republican exiles referred to by Ayala.¹¹⁾ Salinas’s agreement with Ayala’s article may be also shared by other exiled readers.

2.2. Ayala’s Observations on the Exiles in “Para quién escribimos nosotros”

In “Para quién escribimos nosotros,” Ayala proposes to his fellow Republican exiles that they have to accept the actual situation of Franco’s Spain that gained the recognition of the Allied forces after World War II. Despite their expectation, the geopolitical reality was that the Franco regime remained intact. Naturally, many exiles were disappointed and confused about what they should do afterward.

Under these circumstances, Ayala’s article claims that in the post-war period, the mission of writers in exile is to expose their opinion on the actual reality of Spain and of the world without falling into nostalgia, and to discard radical nationalism in order to find a new readership. It also suggests creating a channel of communication with the young intellectuals in Franco’s Spain under censorship. Ayala’s final goal is to protect a continuity of Spanish culture and literature, the flow of which was severed due to the Spanish Civil War. Ayala’s concern with the discontinuity of Spanish culture is apparent in the way he starts the article. First, he criticizes that in Franco’s Spain the culture is used as a tool of propaganda. As a result, the literary production is mediocre and no writer can honestly portray the country’s reality. Then, Ayala turns to the current situation of the exiled intellectuals in the Americas, and questions who are the readers of their scholarly, journalistic and literary works. Ayala argues that any kind of literary activities are only possible when writers have readers. However, the exiled intellectuals are haunted by anachronistic concerns on the Spanish problem discussed by the Generation of 98. For that reason, it is difficult for

10) Guillén does not react to Salinas’s comments in a letter dated May 7, 1949.

11) See Mainer for more observation of the exiled writers’ dilemmas.

them to attract an audience in their host countries.

Next, Ayala remarks on the problems of the exiles, grouping them into three categories: scholars, journalists, and literary writers. This categorization mirrors the situation of Republican exiled intellectuals. Many scholars and writers obtained teaching positions in universities, the writers produced literary works and the journalists founded journals for their fellow exiles.¹²⁾ In fact, Ayala also experienced these three professions in exile, as a professor of sociology in Universidad Nacional de Litoral (1941–1943), as a novelist, as a co-director of the Literature Section of *Pensamiento español* (*Spanish Thought*, 1941–43) and as an editor of *Realidad* (*Reality*, 1947–1949).

According to Ayala, the scholars cannot get academic feedback by not having appreciative readers for their scholarly production. Taking an example from his own life, Ayala laments that after he published *Tratado de sociología* (*Treatise of Sociology*, 1947), there were no intellectual discussions on his book. He remarks: “Lo inerte, rutinario, traslaticio y mecánico de la vida intelectual ... ha faltado casi por completo en torno suyo”(43) [The inert, routine, figurative and mechanical action in the intellectual’s life ... was missing nearly completely in those circumstances].¹³⁾ Ayala also explains that scholars are unable to dedicate themselves to academic activities, since they have to earn their living as translators or directors of book collections for publishing houses. Ayala warns them not to waste their academic knowledge, but instead to provide their audience with their analysis of the current world.

In the sections on journalists and on literary writers, he discusses the three major points: the limitation of focusing only on Spain as a topic, the negative impact of emphasis on nationalism and the absence of readership. In the case of journalists, Ayala states that the problem is their narrow focus on commentaries on Spain, though the circumstances surrounding Spain have changed since World War II. The index of the journals directed by the exiles proves Ayala’s claim. For example, the issues of *Pensamiento español* in which Ayala was involved, include topics related to Spain. According to Ayala, the mission of the intellectual is to portray accurately the present reality of Spain and the world seen from the perspective of where they live, to meditate on the significance of human existence and to restore human dignity: “nuestra misión actual consiste en rendir testimonio del presente, procurar

12) See Aznar Soler for journals directed by the exiles in the Americas.

13) *Tratado de sociología* was reviewed by a historian, José Luis Romero in *Cuadernos Americanos* right after the book’s publication. He is a younger brother of the Spanish philosopher and Ayala’s friend, Francisco Romero. See Ayala’s academic contribution as a scholar and as a professor in Argentina and in Puerto Rico in Poviña who highly praises *Tratado de sociología*. (98–99, 344).

orientarnos en su caos, señalar sus tendencias profundas y tratar de reestablecer dentro de ellas el sentido de la existencia humana, una restaurada dignidad del hombre: nada menos que eso (49) [our actual mission is to report the testimony of the present-day, to attempt to guide ourselves in the chaos, to show deeply the current trends and to endeavor to re-establish in the present world a meaning of human existence, a restored human dignity; that is everything].

In the chaotic post-war society, these are essential concerns for Ayala, who attempts to share them with other exiles through this article. Ayala encourages the exiles in the Americas to appeal to a larger audience with their observations. It is easier for them to publish their works in Spanish through major publishing houses in Mexico or in Argentina, than it is for those in non-Spanish countries, such as France or the UK, or those in Spain due to a lack of good publishing houses.¹⁴ To meet this goal, the exiles have to restrain their patriotism or nationalism in order to be good witnesses of the present. If they do not do this, the host countries will be alerted by the exiles with too much obsession with Spain, and will intend to expel them as *persona non grata*: “(u)na declaración de ‘huésped ingrato’ amenaza fulminarlos en culaquier momento” (47) [a declaration of ‘unwelcomed guest’ threatens that the exile be eliminated at any moment]. Ayala recognizes that his proposal is not easy to realize, but he goes on to offer an ideal image of the intellectual.

In the section concerning literary writers, Ayala provides an opinion on the ideal intellectual. This is to be a hermit-like thinker invisible from the masses and a person who only shows up publically when he has to. The intellectuals have to alienate themselves from politics and to engage in cultural activities. Needless to say, those activities should not be a part of the propaganda of the regime. This proposal of Ayala means, according to Sebastiaan Faber, “a definitive break with the Popular Front idea of the politicized intellectuals in close contact with social life and a return to the idea of the intellectual as an island of reason, an isolated hermit committed to nothing but ‘pure,’ depoliticized reflection” (167). This attitude is a result of Ayala’s thinking about the causes of the Civil War and the failure of the Second Republic for ten years after this war.

As already stated, Ayala is concerned with how the war damaged Spanish society and the continuity of Spanish culture. As Benedict Anderson argues, literature creates an imagined society that leads to nationalism. Ayala implies that both the Republican exiles and those in Spain, or, according to Ayala, “Pilgrim-Spaniards” and “Captive-Spaniards” should reconstruct an imagined society through literature and

14) Jorge Semprún went into exile in France and wrote his works in French. Arturo Barea in the UK published his works in English, and later published them in Spanish.

its readers in order to avoid a discontinuity of Spanish culture.

3. The Impact of the 1949 Article on the Post-War Novels

3.1. The Two Spains in *Los usurpadores* and *La cabeza del cordero*

As stated, the short stories in *Los usurpadores* and *La cabeza del cordero* were already issued or written almost at the same time as the 1949 article “Para quién escribimos nosotros.” One of Ayala’s claims in “Para quién escribimos nosotros” is present in some stories in these novels, which is “Spain as a problem” or the fratricidal “Two Spains”. Thus, the two books portray various forms of fratricide or “Two Spains” in different historical times.

Ayala observes that fratricide action originates in the power struggle, and states in the prologue of *Los usurpadores* that “el poder ejercido por el hombre sobre su prójimo es siempre es una usurpación” (100) [power exercised by man over his fellow man is always a usurpation (1987, 170)]. *Los usurpadores* describes the struggle for the authority among those in power, such as kings, aristocrats or ecclesiastics, from the Middle Ages to the Golden Age. It also presents various usurpers: those who illegitimately deprive the legitimate ruler of power (“El Doliente,” “La campana de Huesca” and “El abrazo”), those who attempt to gain access to power (“Los impostores” and “El Hechizado”), or a man who exerts power in the name of the Catholic faith (“El Inquisidor”). On the other hand, *La cabeza del cordero* depicts, according to the author’s words, “la Guerra Civil en el corazón de los hombres” (67) [the Civil War in men’s heart] and “las pasiones que ... nutren (la Guerra Civil)” (67) [passions that nurture the Civil War]. This novel reveals that the aspiration of power generates also from man’s emotions, such as jealousy or envy, which are aroused in daily life and describes citizens’ hostility and anger toward their family and friends during the Spanish Civil War.

The two works show the execution of power against one’s political enemies, colleagues, friends, or family, even its intimate members, at every social level from the elite to the masses. In a wide scope, these two novels are a series, as Ayala affirms in *La cabeza del cordero*: “viene este libro después de *Los usurpadores*, cuyas piezas proyectan sobre diferentes planos del pasado angustias muy de nuestro tiempo” (66) [this book comes after *Los usurpadores*, each story of which projects the anxieties, which are very similar to those in our times, on different levels of the past]. However, these novels have no continuity in plot or characters, except in the main argument and in places of action; Granada (“San Juan de Dios” and “La cabeza del cordero”), Toledo (“Los abrazos” and “El Tajo”), Madrid (“El Hechizado” and “El

Tajo”) or Aragón (“La campana de Huesca” and “El Tajo”). Ayala chooses these places not at random but with intention. He selects major cities that were famous for atrocious battles during the Civil War. In this way, Ayala pictures people’s passions and usurpation, or a cause and result of the fratricidal wars in historical and modern times.

In *Los usurpadores*, fratricide is described in a symbolic way as confrontation among antagonists. For example, “El abrazo” portrays the bloody assassination of Pedro I by his half-brother, the future Enrique I, which put an end to the first civil war in Spain, the Castilian Civil War. On the other hand, the three stories of *La cabeza del cordero* imply that the fratricidal confrontation during the Spanish Civil War generates from a feverish nationalism, regardless of political views. Thus, the protagonists are from both parties: a Republican “I” in “El regreso,” a Nationalist young officer, Pedro Santolalla in “El Tajo,” and José Torres in “La cabeza del cordero” who switches from the Republican to the Nationalist side when his hometown Málaga is taken by the Nationalists. In these stories, characters’ political principle tears apart their social relationship, but at the same time, they show that the mass’ loyalty to their political belief is frivolous, moveable and self-interested. For example, Manuel Abeledo in “El regreso” denounces for money his childhood friend, “I.” Pedro Santolalla in “El Tajo” feels remorse for his heroic act in the Aragón Front where he killed a Republican militia from his hometown Toledo by accident. José Torres in “La cabeza del cordero” betrays his Republican colleagues after he becomes a Nationalist. These characters’ conduct shows that people’s feverish nationalism is sometimes volatile, which is different from the intellectuals’ solid, steadfast and pure nationalism. *La cabeza del cordero* shows that people’s hectic nationalism makes the Civil war cruel and tragic.

As seen above, *Los usurpadores* and *La cabeza del cordero* provide concrete examples of “España: su ser y destino” (Spain: its being and destiny, 43) in “Para quién escribimos nosotros.”

3.2. A New Readership in “Historia de macacos” and Exiles’ Nationalism in *Muertes de perro*

After Ayala left Argentina in 1950, he wrote three longer novels; “Historia de macacos,” *Muertes de perro* and *El fondo del vaso*. A change of orientation in these novels is evident after the publication of “Para quién escribimos nosotros.” Ayala succeeds gaining a new readership for his novels by not placing the action in Spain and by dealing with a universal theme of the human condition. In addition to these general features, the two novels also reflect claims of the article of 1949: nationalism, exile and a new readership.

The place and time of the action of these novels is vaguely specified. “Historia de macacos” takes place in a tropical European colony in Africa. The setting of *Muertes de perro* and *El fondo del vaso* is the same place, a small republic in Central America. Though these novels do not provide direct references to Spain or its problem, societies depicted in them, such as the enclosed colony in “Historia de macacos” or the repressive society of dictatorship in *Muertes de perro*, may bring to readers’ mind the isolation of Spain under Franco from the rest of the world in the 1940s. The common arguments of these works are the human condition and the crisis of ethics in mass society, which are universal concerns applicable to any society, including Spain. *Muertes de perro* particularly focuses on the diffusion of moral degradation of the elites such as politicians, intellectuals, militants or others in the government.

The two novels of the 1950s, “Historia de macacos” and *Muertes de perro*, mirror claims in the article of 1949. Special attention is paid to the universal theme attracting the new readers and to the colonialist mentality in the post-colonial world in these two novels, and to the exiles’ nationalism in *Muertes de perro*. Compared to other novels discussed in this paper, however, “Historia de macacos” does not follow clearly the arguments of the article of 1949, since it focuses on the moral degradation of European colonizers and the colonialist perspective on the native culture. First, the text satirizes the absurd and pathetic behavior of the elite Europeans who are sent without family to an isolated tropical colony in the jungle: “La mayor parte de los funcionarios que manda la compañía ... a este exilio en el África tropical, vienen solos” (90) [The majority of functionaries who are sent by the company ... to this land of exile in the African tropics, come alone]. The text does not refer to these European functionaries being Spanish, but the readers associate them with the Spanish *conquistadores* who went to the Americas without their families. In the novel, these functionaries have affairs with Rosa, the “wife” of an English man Robert, the Director of Expeditions and Shipping. In the farewell banquet for the couple who returns to Europe, the guests find out that they are tricked by this couple the marriage is fake and Rosa is a prostitute. However, the administrator, Abarca who falls in love with Rosa makes a bet with other colonizers to eat a roasted monkey, which is a ritual feast for the natives, in order to gain the travel expenses to Europe and to ask her to marry him. Abarca wins but returns to the colony with the news that Robert and Rosa have married and Robert becomes a real cuckold. Second, the text criticizes the colonialist mentality through the episode of eating a roasted monkey. It shows that the colonizers hold prejudice and do not respect the native culture, seeing a feast of a roasted monkey as a representation of cannibalism and making the religious feast an object of a secular bet. The text ridicules colonizers’

absurd behavior toward the native culture and inverts the traditional colonial power balance between colonizers and the colonized. It is colonizers who are uneducated, and not the natives. In general, the writers of decolonized countries problematize the colonialist viewpoint, but in “Historia de macacos,” Ayala opens the way to the discussion on post-colonialism in the post-war period, which may have appealed to the readers in the Americas.

On the other hand, in *Muertes de perro*, the narrator Pinedo attempts to write a history of a country ruled by the dictator Antón Bocanegra. In this process, Pinedo collects various public and private writings, such as newspaper articles, official and confidential diplomatic documents, private letters, memoirs, and people’s testimonies. Eventually Pinedo reveals the truth of the dictator’s death by his illegitimate son, Tadeo Requena who has an amorous relationship with the First Lady, Concha. The novel has a complex structure and has been studied under various themes: time and space, the use of language, the postmodern historiographic metafiction, power and dictatorship, and women in power. Apart from all these themes, the main argument of the novel is to question the human condition, and especially the moral degradation of the intellectuals in mass society.

In the text, there are three intellectuals: Pinedo, the Minister of Public Education Luis Rosales, and a Spanish journalist Camarasa. All three are involved in politics and are contrary to the ideal intellectuals discussed in “Para quién escribimos nosotros.” The first intellectual, Pinedo is not an innocent historian. In order to protect important documents, he murders a political fixer, Old Olóriz, who tries to rule the country after Bocanegra’s death. Worse, Pinedo considers himself a hero for having eliminated an evil person, at whose death “the city and the entire country will breathe a sigh of relief” (218). His remarks show his self-satisfaction and self-justification: “No one will know the name of the deserving citizen to whom a grateful nation ought someday to erect a statue” (218). The second intellectual, Luis Rosales, eventually commits suicide for an unknown reason. Although Rosales’s brother has been killed due to political differences with the dictator, he is appointed as a minister and a mentor for Bocanegra’s illegitimate son, Tadeo. However, Rosales fails to educate Tadeo as a man of reason, and Tadeo brutally kills Rosales’s dog. This incident may be a cause of Rosales’s depression and a possible reason for his suicide. Rosales’s tragedy is due to his deep involvement in politics as a member of Bocanegra’s administration and in Bocanegra’s family. The two intellectuals end up to be a criminal and a corpse.

The third intellectual, a Spanish journalist Camarasa, is a tangible example of a Spanish intellectual who is obsessed with a “poisonous” nationalism, and of “huésped

ingrato” mentioned in “Para quién escribimos nosotros.” An emigrant from Almería issues the article, “Cómo se hace una nación” (How A Nation Is Made) in a newspaper. However, Camarasa makes up a story asserting that Almería became a part of the Muslim kingdom because Muslims landed on the coast of Almería in the eleventh-century and it is now an independent state from Spain (84). Camarasa identifies his host country with Almería and even ignores the pride of people in a “small, young nation ... to compile a solid mass of traditions for itself, traditions at least presentable, if not glorious, from which the citizens can derive pride” (84). Pinedo considers this article to be “an insolent piece, aimed at burlesquing and sweeping away (their) patriotic sentiments and fostering skepticism with regard to the values of the kind that it is not sensitive to a place under scrutiny” (84). Therefore, Pinedo contests Camarasa anonymously with an article “Almería no es América y no somos bobos” (Almería Is Not America, Nor Are We Fools). The Spanish government also attacks its fellow citizen Camarasa for his “patriotic zeal” to compare a fake history of Almería to that of his host country. Because of this article, Camarasa is killed by the order of Bocanegra. Camarasa’s episode is shown as an extreme example of the exile’s nationalism. His reason of emigration is unknown, but in terms of having left his country voluntarily, Camarasa is “an exile” in a broad sense. His case suggests that the geographical distance may give the exiles an extreme sense of patriotism and illusion toward their native land, which may ironically nurture nationalism itself.

As a result, *Muertes de perro* presents a universal theme of the moral degradation in a specific social condition familiar to the Hispanic people, a dictatorial society. In “Mis obras de ficción en el trópico” (My Fictional Works of Tropics) in *Recuerdos y Olvidos*, Ayala reveals that in the US, he was repeatedly asked from which country he took examples for this book. A journalist from Nicaragua was surprised to know that Ayala had never been to that country, and another journalist told Ayala that he could identify every single character as a real person (403). In the post-war period, many Hispanic countries were under dictatorships: Spain (Francisco Franco), the Dominican Republic (Rafael Trujillo), Argentina (Juan Perón) and Cuba (Fulgencio Batista). The evidence shows that *Muertes de perro* drew the attention in a wider audience in Hispanic countries.

4. Conclusion

As seen, Ayala’s essential points of the arguments in “Para quién escribimos nosotros” are given literary form more explicitly in “Historia de macacos” and in *Muertes de perro* than in *Los usurpadores* and in *La cabeza del cordero*. First, the

universal themes, such as the moral degradation or the colonialist mentalities of Europeans, the unspecified places of actions, and the social conditions familiar to the Hispanic people, allow the two novels of the 1950s to attract new readers. Second, in *Muertes de perro*, the exiles' patriotism is suffused from nostalgia for their own country's past and develops into zealous nationalism, which results in a resentment toward exiles in the host country.

The publication of the 1949 article opens a path for Ayala to evolve from a Spanish exiled writer to a Hispanic universal writer who can provide a wide sociological observation of the world aesthetically. Growing out from the focus on the problem of Spain and nationalism provides the exiled writers the means to comment on the actual reality of the world to their readers. This evolution toward the universal themes allowed the exiled intellectuals to incorporate new concerns in the post-war world, and eventually to draw the attention of a wider readership. The 1949 article also invites the exiled intellectuals to join into the creation of a cultural community that bridges both sides of the Atlantic, and to endeavor to maintain the continuity of the tradition of Spanish literature together with writers in Spain. As a result, the article of 1949 is essential for Ayala, for the exiled intellectuals, and even for the intellectuals in Spain to make their professional and literary careers evolve.

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