

**My Enemy or My Brother? Spanish Representations of
Muslim and Jewish Culture during the Colonial Campaigns
in Morocco, 1909-1927**

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Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Michaelmas Term, 2016

Short Abstract

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This thesis examines Spanish representations of Muslim and Jewish cultures in Morocco during the colonial campaigns in the Rif (1909-1927) in relation to constructions of Spanish identity during this period. It focuses on visual and textual narratives in the press (colonial photojournalism) and on three literary texts: Carmen de Burgos' *En la guerra* (1909), Ernesto Giménez Caballero's *Notas marruecas de un soldado* (1923) and Arturo Barea's *La ruta* (1943). The analysis undertaken centres on the use of the motifs of the body and the city and references to the medieval Castilian ballad tradition, the Romancero, by writers and photographers to explore the cultural relationship between Spain and North Africa.

The chapters explore the delineation of boundaries between Spanish and Moroccan cultures by contemporary commentators and the power structures that underpin those boundaries, considering the different hierarchies that are established in Spain's relationship with Moroccan Muslims and Jews. Chapter 1 concerns the socio-historical context of the colonial campaigns and highlights the significance of the question of Spain's identity in relation to Morocco during this period. Chapter 2 compares representations of cultural and ethnic affinity between Spain and Morocco, arguing that beyond merely serving as a tool of colonial domination, they are harnessed in some cases to support the colonial venture, in others to challenge it, and yet in others to explore the pre-modern origins of the Spanish nation. In many of the examples examined, a process of self-Orientalisation is observed, where the 'Orientalist' and colonialist gaze is

turned back on Spain as well as on Morocco. Chapter 3 examines representations of Muslim and Jewish alterity, arguing that these assertions of difference reveal Spanish anxieties about non-difference from North Africa, cultural regression, national fragmentation, and Spain's ability to dominate the protectorate. I conclude that these anxieties provide the fundamental underpinning to Spanish constructions of Morocco during the Rif War, and that this self-awareness about non-difference and failures of domination unsettles the predominant paradigm of discourse analysis within colonial studies.

Long abstract

This thesis examines Spanish representations of Muslim and Jewish cultures in Morocco during the colonial campaigns in the Rif (1909-1927) in relation to constructions of Spanish identity during this period. It focuses on visual and textual narratives in the press (colonial photojournalism) and on three literary texts: Carmen de Burgos' *En la guerra* (1909), Ernesto Giménez Caballero's *Notas marruecas de un soldado* (1923) and Arturo Barea's *La ruta* (1943). It seeks to draw out questions about Spain's own cultural identity that emerged as a result of the colonial ventures and how they are expressed differently across modes of representation. The press is examined alongside literature in order to provide a wide set of perspectives on the process of construction or re-construction of collective identity and because of the instrumental role of both the newspaper and the novel in the formation of nations and the delineation of their boundaries.¹ Moreover, the Rif War was the first conflict in Spanish history to be documented through photography, and its use as a tool for the authentication and legitimisation of colonial rule remains an underexplored area in current studies on Spanish colonialism.

This inquiry builds upon a recent body of interdisciplinary scholarship on Spain's relationship with Muslim and Jewish cultures, particularly the work of Susan Martín-Márquez (2008) and Tabea Alexa Linhard (2014), who have examined the processes of identification and dis-identification with Muslim and Jewish cultures, particularly in terms of the medieval Iberian past, in constructions of Spanish identity. It has also benefitted from historiography on the subject by Sebastian Balfour (2002) and María Rosa de Madariaga (2002), among others. The aim of this thesis is to contribute to

¹ This instrumental role was notably highlighted by Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983).

this existing corpus in Spanish cultural studies by producing an original comparative study of the figures of the Muslim and the Jew side by side in a modern context, but also to further incorporate Spain into contemporary theoretical perspectives on cultural identity and colonial power and to apply some of the key conceptual frameworks in colonial studies to the Spanish case. Since Said's seminal study, *Orientalism* (1978), a fundamental theoretical reference for this thesis, scholars in colonial and post-colonial studies have widely interpreted colonial discourse in its various forms as an apparatus of power. According to this paradigm, which is largely based on the Anglo-French colonial model, the coloniser's attempt to exert political and economic domination over the colonised is both legitimised and reaffirmed by cultural discourses that emphasise cultural and ethnic difference in a hierarchical structure. While I adopt the view of discourse as both a mode of representation and a power structure, my focus is on crises or absences of power that might be revealed in representations of the colonial relationship, particularly those concealed beneath assertions of dominance and superiority.

The chapters of the thesis explore the delineation of boundaries between Spanish and Moroccan cultures by Spanish writers and photographers and on the power structures that underpin those boundaries. They also consider the different hierarchies that are established in Spain's relationship with Moroccan Muslims and Jews. The analysis undertaken here centres on the use of the motifs of the body and the city and references to the medieval Castilian ballad tradition, the *Romancero*, to explore the cultural relationship between Spain and North Africa.

The first chapter concerns the socio-historical and cultural context for the study, providing an overview of the history of Spain's relationship with Muslim and Jewish cultures and of the colonial campaigns in Morocco, highlighting the

significance of the question of Spain's identity in relation to North Africa during this period. It also provides biographical information on the authors of the three literary texts under study: *En la guerra* (1909), *Notas marruecas de un soldado* (1923), and *La ruta* (1943). Lastly it offers a survey of press culture in Spain, in particular the development of photojournalism, in the first decades of the twentieth century.

The central section of the thesis (Chapters 2 and 3) examines the ambivalence of Spanish representations of Moroccan culture, which oscillate between discourses of affinity and alterity. Chapter 2 compares representations of cultural and ethnic affinity towards Moroccan Muslims and Jewish cultures. It argues that beyond merely serving as a tool of colonial domination, as has often been claimed,² they are harnessed in some cases to support the colonial venture, in others to challenge it, and in others to explore the pre-modern origins of the Spanish nation. In this context, the 'romances' preserved by the Sephardic Jews in Morocco are invoked as a key symbol of the cultural affinity between Spain and the Jews. As a trace of the culture of medieval Castile, which was upheld as the ultimate reference for Spanish cultural authenticity by traditionalist intellectuals during this period, I argue that the *Romancero* serves as a vehicle for the cultural nostalgia of writers and journalists like Ernesto Giménez Caballero, José María Salaverría, Agustín de Foxá and Azorín, a nostalgia that evokes a national past for the purpose of constructing a national future. From this vantage point, because of their preservation of a 'pure' form of the Castilian language, the Jews are regarded as a potential source for Spain's cultural regeneration and are classified in a more intimate hierarchy of belonging than

² See for example María Rosa de Madariaga (2002), Sebastian Balfour (2002), Isabelle Rohr (2007), and Patricia Hertel (2015).

Moroccan Muslims, which in my view reflects the importance of language in conceptions of the nation during this period. Secondly, I explore how the motif of the medieval city serves to represent the historical affinity between the two cultures, particularly in visual terms. The examples provided demonstrate how during the colonial campaigns, metropolitan as well as colonial spaces are reconfigured imaginatively in photojournalism suggesting a process of self-Orientalisation that pursues the picturesque and exotic ‘Moorish’ and Jewish imprints that remain within Spain in the twentieth century, but contending that ultimately this nostalgic lingering on a distant past allows Spanish writers and photographers to romanticise the ties between Spain and North Africa while keeping Spain’s Islamic heritage at arm’s length, or rather, at time’s length.

Lastly, I explore how images and textual references to the body are employed in visual and textual representations of ethnic affinity, the ‘friendship’ between Spain and Morocco, and ideal masculinity, which was elevated in the cult of virility of the Africanist military. Building on the work of Susan Martín-Márquez (2008) in this area, I explore how Africanist journalists drew inspiration from their image of Berber men to construct their own models of martial manhood. Chapter 2 also shows that although corporeality is used to uphold notions of Spanish colonial dominance, in some cases it also undermines them. For example, the visual likeness between the bodies of Spanish and Moroccan peasants is used in the socialist press and in Arturo Barea’s novel to create an image of shared cultural backwardness as well as of permeability and exchange between Moroccan and Spanish societies. These narratives reject the patriotic vision of the Spanish nation as a superior civilisation by turning the colonising gaze back on the destitute lower classes of Spain. Similarly, in *Notas*

marruecas, Giménez Caballero employs the body of the Spanish soldier to allude to Spain's cultural degeneracy, positioning it in stark contrast to the hyperactive, virile, irrational body of the Moroccan Hamacha penitent. I argue that in this text, Giménez Caballero fuses modernist and proto-fascist aesthetics in a construction of the Berber tribesman as a primitive masculine ideal for Spain, and that this construction influenced his later formulation of Spanish fascist ideology and his vision for national regeneration. The chapter ultimately highlights the importance of Morocco in explorations of the pre-modern origins of the Spanish nation, particularly by traditionalist and proto-fascist intellectuals, in the first decades of the twentieth century.

Chapter 3 examines representations of Muslim and Jewish alterity. It shows that in asserting their difference from Morocco, Spanish writers, journalists and photographers attempt to establish cultural and racial boundaries, 'border controls' that maintain a construct of Spanish identity as dominant and superior, but argues that ultimately these boundaries do not hold together. In this context, Morocco is either feminised as indecipherable and desirable cultural Other or hyper-masculinised as a threatening and violent racial Other.

The chapter shows how the city and the female body that it often symbolically personifies are central motifs in representations of the cultural otherness of Morocco. Press narratives of the protectorate dramatise urban spaces and Moroccan women around the trope of a secretive, impenetrable Orient that is highly desirable in its mystery. However, I argue that the closure of intimate spaces by means of the veil and the wall represents a disruption of colonial authority because it denies the gaze, and physical access, of the Spaniard into these intimate spaces. I show that the literary texts examined in

this thesis also posit women and urban spaces in Morocco as vessels of the character of Moroccan culture, but that they in turn demystify these notions of a mysterious and desirable Orient. Burgos employs the image of the savagery of Moroccan women as evidence for the alleged cultural and racial degeneracy of Morocco. The pursuit of an exotic sexual encounter fuels Giménez Caballero's explorations of the cities of the protectorate, but this 'fantasía moruna' is demystified when he discovers that what lies behind the veil and the wall are 'rostros de campesinas castellanas y andaluzas'. Barea's de-mystification of Moroccan women centres on the image of the duplicitous prostitute Luisa, an image that is metaphorically applied to the city of Xauén. The image of the colonial territory as a harlot that willingly sells herself, I contend, represents a corruption or unfulfilment of the male power fantasy of colonial domination.

If female corporeality and architecture serve to represent cultural otherness, male corporeality is often used to represent the racial otherness of Moroccans. In the press, the image of the unrestrained body of the Hamacha penitent, which Giménez Caballero idealised, in this case serves to display the indomitable character of the 'Moorish race,' arousing anxieties about Spain's ability to dominate the protectorate. Burgos' and Barea's narratives represent racial otherness, for which there is no true visual evidence, by fictionalising the Berber enemy textually as monstrous and demonic. In terms of Jewish culture, although the Jew is presented as a symbol of traditional Castilian culture in the texts examined in Chapter 2, an opposing image is seen in Catholic anti-Semitic discourses, which focus on the 'degenerate', effeminate Jewish male body as a pathological signifier for the threat of modernity and the ideologies it produces, namely capitalism and revolutionary socialism. I argue that the images of

Moroccan Muslims as ‘indomitable’ and of Jews as subtle contaminators suggest an otherness that threatens colonial domination as well as the boundaries of Spanish identity. Furthermore I argue that Moroccan Muslims and Jews are unsettling because they represent the return of the repressed, the uncanny embodiment of the non-Christian facets of Spain’s cultural heritage, in representations that draw on religion, race, and history to establish the innate difference of Spain from Muslim and Jewish cultures.

Chapter 3 also highlights the existence of a common cultural script shared across literary and press narratives, particularly in representations of the battles of Barranco del Lobo (1909) and Annual (1921), which resulted in humiliating military disasters for Spain. Visual narratives of Berber racial alterity, as well as Barea and Burgos’ literary accounts, centre on the image of the mutilated Spanish corpses on the Moroccan battlefields to represent the violence and cruelty of the Berber enemy. However, I contend that this image also reveals the vulnerability of the Spanish soldier, who is rendered defenceless in the space of the Rif that he attempts to occupy but in which he cannot move freely because he is surrounded and defeated by the Berber insurgents who are the true ‘occupiers’ of the territory. Barea’s portrayal of the dismembered and mutilated Spanish corpses of Monte Arruit serves as a metaphor for the vulnerability of Spanish lower classes and ultimately foreshadows the eventual fragmentation of the nation in the Civil War. In this sense, the broken Spanish male body is symptomatic of a weak and broken nation. Ultimately the chapter argues that representations of alterity in fact reveal the vulnerabilities and shortcomings in Spanish colonial power and cultural anxieties about non-difference, cultural regression and national fragmentation.

The thesis concludes that the Spanish colonial enterprise in Morocco brought to the forefront the instability of cultural boundaries between Spain and North Africa. Representations of Muslim and Jewish cultures by Spanish photographers, journalists, and writers reflect a collective crisis of identity and the fragile image that many of these commentators held of their own nation. These anxieties of dominance and non-difference ultimately result in conflicting constructions of these cultures in relation to Spanish culture. In this sense, Morocco serves as a vortex both for national anxieties and aspirations, inviting two opposing questions: ‘where do we come from?’ and ‘what do we define ourselves against?’

It is the self-awareness about non-difference and failures of domination revealed by these representations that unsettles the predominant paradigm of discourse analysis within colonial studies. Within this paradigm, the self-image of the coloniser is seen as secure in its sense of being geographically and culturally removed from the colonised. This sense of distance often results in a desire for an exotic colonial Other fuelled by masculine imperialist fantasies of conquest and possession, or in derision towards a ‘primitive’ or ‘savage’ culture in need of Western ‘civilisation’. But in the case of Spain, Morocco is neither culturally nor geographically distant. As a result, what is desired is not merely the exotic Other, but the rediscovery of the pre-modern ‘self’ in colonial spaces and bodies, and what is derided is the sameness that Spaniards encounter in Morocco that they cannot fully assert their difference from.

The thesis concludes with a reflection on how this same inner conflict can be applied to the study of cultural identity in contemporary Europe, where cultural boundaries are no longer as clear and identities are more fluid and

unstable. It argues that the most significant parallel is the cultural anxiety that informs representations in both contexts. In the context of the Spanish colonial campaigns, Moroccan identity is 'othered' in a way that positions the Spanish coloniser as insecure and threatened rather than as self-assertive and secure. Contemporary European representations of Muslim otherness, based on the conclusions I draw here, come out of a similar place of vulnerability and not out of assertions of cultural power. From this perspective, this project ultimately has broader implications for current conceptions of multiculturalism within European identity and the highly problematic construct of its frontiers. The cultural production of the Rif War that this study has focused on ultimately illustrates how a threatened and unstable sense of cultural identity is often most clearly revealed not in how a society portrays its own culture, but rather in how it portrays the cultures against which it seeks to define itself.

Abbreviations

Alfonso-	Alfonso Sanchez Portela
<i>RTC-</i>	<i>Revista de tropas coloniales</i>
<i>RR-</i>	<i>Revista de la raza</i>
AGA –	Archivo General de la Administración
GC-	Giménez Caballero

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Introduction

For the last 500 years the figures of the ‘Moor’ and the Jew, though redressed to fit different discursive purposes and historical contexts, have occupied a central role in Spain’s collective imagination. A medieval period of coexistence between the three monotheistic faiths was followed by the Reconquista, in which the Catholic monarchs constructed the new Spanish nation upon religious exclusivity, defining it against the Muslim and Jewish communities that had long formed part of the culture of Iberia and ultimately expelling these groups from the Peninsula. As a result, after 1492, a hegemonic view of the nation was constructed that erased all remnants of Islamic and Jewish influences.

This thesis examines Spanish representations of Muslim and Jewish cultures in Morocco during the colonial campaigns in the Rif (1909-1927), also known as the Rif War, in relation to constructions of Spanish identity during this period. It focuses on visual and textual narratives in the press (colonial photojournalism) and on three literary texts: Carmen de Burgos’ *En la guerra* (1909), Ernesto Giménez Caballero’s *Notas marruecas de un soldado* (1923) and Arturo Barea’s *La ruta* (1943). These texts have been selected from the wider canon of writing on the Rif War because they provide a range of cultural and ideological perspectives on Spain’s relationship with Morocco as well as a wider temporal scope than the contemporary press during the colonial period. Burgos’ work represents one of the few female literary perspectives on the Rif War. Giménez Caballero was the first ideologue of Spanish fascism, and *Notas marruecas* contains an early articulation of a vision of Spanish cultural identity

that would come to form part of his fascist ideology. Published twenty years later, Barea's *La ruta* portrays the Rif War in light of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and explores the socio-political links between the two conflicts in hindsight and as an exile, which sets his narrative apart from other well-known literary works on the Rif War such as José Díaz Fernández's *El blocao* (1928) and Ramón J. Sender's *Imán* (1930).

Spain's historical and cultural ties with Moroccan Muslims and Jews came to the nation's forefront during its colonial incursions in North Africa. Previously hegemonic versions of the national narrative came under increasing scrutiny during this period as intellectuals, politicians, and artists began to look to the multicultural medieval Iberian past to reconstruct conceptions of national identity in the present.³ A range of discourses within Spain highlighted the closeness between Spain and Morocco, such as that of Philosephardism, a liberal cultural movement that sought to re-establish ties with Sephardic Jewish communities across the world, and Africanism, the nationalist ideology of the military subculture that took shape within the Spanish army in Morocco in the first decades of the twentieth century. It was the Africanists who conceived and carried out the July 1936 coup that triggered the Spanish Civil War, and the Africanist narrative of Hispano-Moroccan brotherhood would become central to the vision of national identity of the Francoist dictatorship that ensued. However, running alongside and sometimes within these discourses of fraternity there remained an image of Muslim and Jewish alterity, often rooted in references to medieval Spain, that combined ethnicity, religion, and culture as signifiers of difference.

³ Susan Martín-Márquez, *Disorientations: Spanish Colonialism in Africa and the Performance of Identity*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2008, p. 4.

As a result, whether despised or romanticised, Spain's relationship with Muslim and Jewish cultures has often been a question of self-identity. Juan Goytisolo articulates this question in his *Crónicas sarracinas* (1982) in regards to the construct of the Moor in the Spanish collective imagination since the fifteenth century, which could equally be applied to the construct of the Jew:

Es siempre el espejo en el que de algún modo nos vemos reflejados, la imagen exterior de nosotros que nos interroga e inquieta... proyección de cuanto censuramos en nuestro fuero interno, objeto por lo tanto de aborrecimiento y envidia.⁴

Through the analysis of text and image, this thesis seeks to draw out questions about Spanish cultural identity that emerged as a result of the colonial ventures. The campaigns in the Rif were fuelled in part by a desire among the military and traditionalist elites to restore the Spanish empire to the long-lost glory of the Golden Age and to demonstrate that Spain could rival the primary European players (Britain, France, and Germany) on the colonial stage. However, if anything they exposed Spain's weaknesses as a colonial power. The Spanish army experienced a series of military defeats in Morocco that proved humiliating for the military and highly costly for the Spanish state, ultimately widening the gap between the increasingly anti-democratic officer class in Morocco and sparking civilian protest and political crises on the mainland.

The study of literature alongside the press provides a wide set of perspectives on the process of construction or re-construction of collective identity. Benedict Anderson's work has drawn attention to the instrumental role of both the newspaper and the novel in the formation of nations and the delineation of their boundaries.⁵ The past, present, and future of the nation were recurrent

⁴ Juan Goytisolo, *Crónicas sarracinas*, Barcelona, Ruedo Ibérico, 1982, p. 32.

⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London, Verso, 1983.

concerns for writers in early twentieth-century Spain, and the key figures in Spain's literary scene, including the authors examined in this study, were also prolific journalists who had an important voice in the public sphere as commentators on current political and social affairs.⁶ The explosion of print culture in Spain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries made the newspaper a medium that both represented and helped give cohesion to the national community. The working class press in particular played a vital role in forming class-consciousness, and intellectuals were aware of the potential of the media as an instrument to elaborate a unified national identity. For example, Ramiro de Maeztu advocated the use of the press to establish 'un poderoso lazo espiritual entre los distintos elementos nacionales'.⁷

Intellectuals took on a double role in this context: They were meditators, reflecting on the character of the nation, but they were also ideological agents, diffusing ideas in their writing in literary production and in the press that provided the intellectual roots for political movements or articulating the narratives of national identity of those movements. Studying literary texts alongside newspapers reveals this process of cross-fertilisation in terms of the discursive practices and cultural references shared across press and literary discourses that reveal the collective anxieties of Spanish society at the time.⁸ From 1891 onwards, when *Blanco y Negro* became the first Spanish magazine to print photographs, the rapid development of photojournalism in Spain provided a new medium for national representation and ideological diffusion. Moreover, the Rif War was the first

⁶ There are many examples of novelists and essayists who also wrote for the press, such as Benito Pérez Galdós, Azorín, Miguel de Unamuno, Ramiro de Maeztu, José Ortega y Gasset, to name a few.

⁷ María Cruz Seoane y María Dolores Sáiz, *Historia del periodismo en España. El Siglo XX: 1898-1936*, Madrid, Alianza editorial, 1996, p. 69.

⁸ Jo Labanyi, 'Relocating Difference: Cultural History and Modernity in Late-Nineteenth Century Spain', in Bradley S. Epps and Luís Fernández Cifuentes (eds), *Spain Beyond Spain: Modernity, Literary History, and National Identity*, Lewisburg, Bucknell University Press, 2009, p. 173.

conflict in Spanish history to be documented through photography, and the use of photography for the authentication and legitimisation of colonial rule remains an underexplored area in contemporary perspectives on Spanish colonialism. If the nation and its colonies are forms of cultural elaboration, as Homi Bhabha has argued, then the literary text, the newspaper, and the photograph are sites where processes of cultural elaboration and ideological insemination take place.⁹ The range of texts under critical scrutiny here will shed light on the ideologies and social responses surrounding the Spanish encounter with Morocco during the Rif War.

I. Key terms, bibliographical survey, and conceptual framework

Colonialism has been defined as the European pattern of exploration and ‘discovery’, of settlement, of dominance over geographically separate ‘Others’ which resulted in the uneven development of forms of capitalism across the world and the destruction and/or transformation of other forms of social organisation and life.¹⁰ In this thesis I use the adjective ‘colonial’ to refer to aspects of the colonial relationship and ‘colonialist’ to refer to anything that propagates the ideology of colonialism. Likewise, because race is a central concept to this thesis, it is important to clarify how it was understood in Spanish society at the time of the Rif War. In the 1925 edition of the dictionary of the RAE, the word ‘raza’ is defined in relation to the human species as ‘grupos de seres humanos que por el color de

⁹ Homi Bhabha, *Nation and Narration*. New York, Routledge, 1990.

¹⁰ Catherine Hall (ed.), *Cultures of Empire: Colonizers in Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: A Reader*, New York, Routledge, 2000, p. 15.

su piel y otros caracteres se distinguen en raza blanca, amarilla, cobriza y negra'.¹¹ This definition prioritises the corporeal element of racial categories but also includes other defining characteristics. In early twentieth-century Europe, races were believed to be defined by their moral and cultural as well as biological characteristics. It has previously been argued that Spanish colonial discourse is characterised by a complete absence of racial attitudes, but the wide range of texts analyzed in this thesis strongly suggest otherwise.¹² Although racial theories are used to reinforce the ties between Spain and North Africa in discourses of affinity, they are also central to establishing what Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper have termed 'grammars of difference:' categories of ethnicity, gender, class, and religion that are used in colonial relationships to define the superiority of the colonising culture, and in many cases, to justify the use of violence in colonial regimes.¹³

However, in the wake of Spain's loss of its last American colonies in 1898, a new imperialist ideology developed around the notion of 'la raza hispana', a spiritual community of races and cultures who owed their civilisation to Spain and Portugal and maintained a sense of unity and permanent loyalty to the Spanish nation. The Castilian language, and in the case of more traditionalist ideologues, the Christian faith, were posited as the deepest unifying elements of this centralized national identity, above differences in ethnicity.¹⁴ In 1931, the Catholic Nationalist ideologue Ramiro de Maeztu defined this notion of raza as follows:

¹¹ Real academia Española, *Diccionario de la lengua española*, XV edición, Madrid, Talleres Calpe, 1925, p. 1025.

¹² See Gustau Nerín i Abad, 'Mito franquista y realidad de la colonización de la Guinea española', *Estudios de Asia y África* 32.1, 1997.

¹³ Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1997, pp. 3-4.

¹⁴ The erection of the Monument to Cervantes in Madrid in 1916 illustrates the spiritual value attributed to the Spanish language.

Los españoles no damos importancia a la sangre, ni al color de la piel, porque lo que llamamos raza no está constituido por aquellas características que puedan transmitirse a través de las obscuridades protoplásmicas, sino aquellas otras que son luz del espíritu, como el habla o el credo.¹⁵

This commingling of ethnicity, religion, and culture in definitions of race is reflected in the terms used to refer to Moroccan Muslims and Jews under the protectorate. Muslim Moroccans were widely referred to as ‘Moors’, in Spanish ‘moros’, the term originally used to refer to the North African Muslims of mixed Arab and Berber origin that conquered the Iberian Peninsula in 711. It is derived from the Latin ‘mauri’, or ‘maurisci,’ the Roman term for the Berbers of North Africa, and is still used in Spain to refer to Muslims or people of Arab or North African descent, though it has strongly derogatory connotations.¹⁶ I use the term if I am paraphrasing citations from the texts I use throughout the thesis, but otherwise, for the reasons mentioned above, I avoid it as much as possible.

The use of the term ‘moro’ in the colonial context reflects the racialisation of religious identity as well as the racial hierarchies established in the context of colonialism. In narratives of racial difference, Spanish commentators establish a dichotomy between ‘moros españoles’ and ‘moros primitivos’ which is derived from the French colonial categorisation of Moroccans into Arabs and Berbers.¹⁷ In this dichotomy, urban elites, which are portrayed as largely descendent from medieval Iberian morisco exiles are classified as ethnically Arab ‘moros españoles’, while the rural populations of the Rif are classified as Berber and called ‘bereberes’, ‘rifeños’ or ‘cabileños’.¹⁸ The Berbers are almost always

¹⁵ Ramiro de Maeztu, *Defensa de la hispanidad*, Madrid, Gráfica Universal, 1935, p. 20.

¹⁶ Matthew Carr, *Blood and Faith: The Purging of Muslim Spain*, London, Hurst & Co., 2009, p. 9.

¹⁷ This dichotomy was fundamental to the practices of categorisation and representation of French anthropologists in North Africa, but was also used by North Africans themselves (see James Mcdougall, 'Myth and Counter-Myth: "The Berber" as National Signifier in Algerian Historiographies', *Radical History Review* 86, 2003, pp. 66-88).

¹⁸ See for example F. de Villalta, 'Los "Braber" o bereberes', *RTC*, julio 1924, p. 26.

associated with a more 'primitive' ethnic category in relation to Europeans and Arabs. The usage of the term 'moro' is inconsistent, however. Sometimes it refers to all Moroccan Muslims and other times only to those who are descendants of the Iberian Muslim exiles.¹⁹ This instability supports the argument made by Joshua Goode (2009) and Susanna Heschel (2015) among others, that race is better understood as a process, 'a system of (il)logic', rather than a fixed and clear idea, and that its danger is precisely in its malleability, which allows it to be defined in manifold, often contradictory ways in a range of cultural contexts.²⁰

The terms applied to Moroccan Jews in Spain in the colonial period are also worth noting. A similar dichotomy is established between Sephardic Jews, who are descendants of the Jews expelled from Spain, and Arab Jews, descendants of Jewish who had settled in North Africa after 586 BCE and CE 70.²¹ The terms 'sefardita' and 'hebreo español' are used in more enthusiastic forms of Philosephardic discourse, while the term 'judío' often, though not always, carries racial connotations and appears in more negative portrayals of the Jews. 'Hebreo' and 'israelita' are also used at times in anti-Semitic Catholic discourses. In regards to my discussion of fraternal discourses on the Moroccan Jews, I use 'Philosephardism' and 'Philosephardic' to refer to the aforementioned liberal movement that developed at the beginning of the twentieth century and use 'philosephardic' to describe favourable representations of Sephardic Jews in general, regardless as to whether or not they are associated with the Philosephardic movement. In terms of discourses of alterity, I use the terms 'anti-Judaism,' which

¹⁹ Emilio Dugi, 'Las razas del Rif', *La Esfera* 12 November 1921, p. 9.

²⁰ Joshua Goode, *Impurity of Blood: Defining Race in Spain, 1870-1930*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 2009.

²¹ Isabelle Rohr, *The Spanish Right and the Jews, 1898-1945: Antisemitism and Opportunism*, Brighton, Sussex Academic, 2007, p. 65.

is the negative cultural attitude towards Jewishness on a religious basis, and ‘anti-Semitism’, which refers to the ethno-racial prejudice against the Jews that emerged in Europe in the wake of the Enlightenment, though the two of them are often intertwined. Anti-Jewish sentiment has been tied up in the faith, identity and history of Spain since the Middle Ages, and modern racial anti-Semitism, which came to Spain through the influence of French anti-Semitic ideologies at the end of the nineteenth century, became integrated into many of the discourses of anti-Judaism.²² Lastly it should be noted that ‘Africa’ or ‘African’ is used widely in the Spanish press to refer to Moroccan culture. In this sense it is used quite presumptuously, because it refers only to the area where descendants of the Muslims and Jews expelled from the Iberian Peninsula settled in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the only region of the African continent where Spain had any colonial claim.

This thesis represents the first comparative study of the figures of the Muslim and the Jew side by side in modern Spanish culture. It builds upon a recent body of scholarship within a range of disciplines on Spain’s cultural relationship with North Africa and more widely with Muslim and Jewish cultures. In 2002 alone, María Rosa de Madariaga and Sebastian Balfour produced socio-political histories of the Spanish colonial campaigns in Morocco, Eloy Martín Corrales and José González Alcatayud published historical surveys of the negative stereotype of the ‘Moor’ in Spain and Gonzalo Álvarez Chillida published a cultural history of Spanish anti-Semitism. More recent historical studies by Isabelle Rohr (2007), Michal Friedman (2007), and Patricia Hertel (2015) draw

²² Gonzalo Álvarez Chillida, *El antisemitismo en España: la imagen del judío, 1812-2002*, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2002, p. 16.

attention to the long tradition of ‘othering’ Muslims and Jews in Spanish culture and largely interpret the hegemonic discourses of fraternity that emerged in the colonial period as opportunistic and instrumental to colonial domination.

Research in the area of cultural studies has focused on the constant processes of identification and dis-identification with Muslim and Jewish cultures in constructions of Spanish identity. Daniela Fleser (2008) and Adolfo Campoy Cubillo (2012) have commented on the role of the colonial past in contemporary attitudes towards Moroccan immigrants in Spain. The work of Susan Martín-Márquez (2008) and Tabea Alexa Linhard (2014) comes closer to the approach of this thesis and has provided me with rich insights into how discourses on the Moroccan protectorate and the Iberian Muslim and Jewish past intersect with cultural debates about national identity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Both scholars closely analyse a wide range of cultural production, including life writing, literature, film, and anthropology. Focusing on the relationship between identity and memory and examining contemporary as well as historical representations of Jewish Spain, Linhard argues that Jews in twentieth-century Spain and North Africa are identified by Spanish commentators (and in some cases identify themselves) by invoking the distant medieval past. Martín-Márquez maps out the ways in which Spain's Islamic heritage has been either rejected or incorporated into different constructions of identity from the Enlightenment to the present day, but focuses on race and gender rather than memory as defining factors.

Lamentably, none of these studies incorporate discussions of Moroccan narratives of the colonial enterprise. In fact, this is an area of research that remains underdeveloped mainly because of the absence of written sources due to extremely

low rates of literacy in most of the areas of Morocco that fell under the Spanish protectorate, although Rocío Velasco de Castro has recently produced excellent research on narratives of Spanish colonialism in the Moroccan nationalist press.²³ As far as my study is concerned, I emphasise throughout it the significant gap between discourse and the historical reality of Spanish colonial policy in Morocco and highlight the fact that the subaltern Moroccan subject is rarely granted a voice in Spanish literary and press discourses.

Of the aforementioned studies, Martín-Márquez's intervention in particular represents an important endeavour to bring the history of Spanish colonialism in Morocco into contemporary perspectives in the field of colonial and postcolonial studies, an area of scholarship in which Spain has been largely ignored. She brings to bear on her analysis Edward Said's seminal theoretical framework outlined in *Orientalism* (1978). Said defines Orientalism as a Western style of thought, imagery, and language used to represent the 'Orient' for European audiences and to legitimise Western dominance in colonial relationships.²⁴ Orientalist discourse establishes a dichotomy between the East, which is feminised as sensual and irrational, a mysterious Other that satisfies Western male fantasies of conquest and possession; and the West, which is masculinised as rational, dynamic, progressive, and ultimately dominant. Said argues that the Orient was ultimately defined in ways that helped shape the image that the West was forming of itself as a superior civilisation. However, as Martín-Márquez and others have noted, he does not include the case of Spain and its singular relationship with North Africa in his analysis, which is one in which the fundamental dichotomy of East-West does not

²³ Rocío Velasco de Castro, 'The Power of Propaganda in the Spanish Civil War: The Instrumentalization of Moroccan Troops', Conference paper given at *Crossing Borders: The Spanish Civil War and Transnational Mobilisation*, Birkbeck College London, 1 July 2016.

²⁴ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, 3rd edn., Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1995.

hold.²⁵ Martín-Márquez argues that Spain is in fact positioned on both ‘sides’ of Orientalism as a culture that has long been Orientalised within Europe but that also Orientalises the colonial subject, arguing that this positioning as simultaneous self and Other brings about a profound sense of ‘disorientation’ concerning Spain’s own cultural identity.²⁶ Building on this interpretation, this thesis further argues that Spanish writers and photographers during the colonial period engage in a process of selective self-Orientalisation. They accept the premise of a fundamental dichotomy between the West and the Orient but either fail to, or choose not to, locate Spain fully within the realm of Western civilisation.

This inquiry seeks to further incorporate Spain into contemporary perspectives on cultural identity and colonial power and to apply some of the key conceptual frameworks in colonial studies to the case of Spain. It also seeks to include cultural perspectives that have been side-lined in existing studies on Spanish colonialism in Morocco, such as the aesthetics of cultural, gender and racial identity in colonial photography; and non-hegemonic narratives of fraternity, such as the response to the colonial campaigns in the socialist press and the philosephardic tendencies of traditionalist and proto-fascist writers and journalists. As a cornerstone for any study of representations of Muslim societies in Western cultural production, Said’s work serves as a fundamental theoretical reference. Although it has been criticised for its all-male framework of reference, general neglect of class and gender factors, and dichotomising of what was in fact a much more fluid and ambivalent cultural relationship between East and West, it remains widely influential because of its interpretation of colonial discourse as an exercise of cultural strength, in other words, the Western will to power over other

²⁵ See also Ignacio Tofiño-Quesada, ‘Spanish Orientalism: Uses of the Past in Spain’s Colonisation in Africa’, *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East*, 23.1, 2003, pp. 141-148.

²⁶ Martín-Márquez, 2008, p. 9.

cultures, which is intrinsically tied up in the power structures of political and economic domination that constitute colonialism, imperialism, and neo-colonialism. Said adopts Foucault's definition of discourse as a way of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which are inherent in such knowledge.²⁷ Since Said, scholarship within colonial and postcolonial studies has widely considered colonial discourse in its various forms as an apparatus of power. Notably, Cooper and Stoler (1997) have argued that 'grammars of difference' are constructed to establish the moral and cultural superiority of colonising nations,²⁸ and Homi Bhabha (2012) has referred to the coloniser's representations of the colonial subject as a 'narcissistic inverted Other' that satisfies the self-fulfilling prophecy of Western progress.²⁹ While adopting this view of discourse as both a mode of representation and a power structure, rather than focusing on assertions of colonial power and Western superiority, this thesis examines crises or absences of power that might be revealed in colonial discourse.

Said's work has also been influential in studies of photography and colonialism. Malek Alloula's writing on the French colonial postcard trade (1986) explores how the male power fantasies of Orientalism are played out in photographic representations of veiled North African women. Along similar lines, Ali Behdad and Luke Gartlan (2013) have recently argued that colonial photography, which provided a substitute for the Orientalist travelogue, informed the desire for the Orient, helping its development as a cultural phenomenon throughout the West. Photography was in turn nurtured by the vast pre-existing body of textual representations of the Orient, as what became worthy of

²⁷ Chris Weedon, *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell 1987, p. 108.

²⁸ Cooper and Stoler, 1997, pp. 3-4.

²⁹ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, Hoboken, Taylor and Francis, 2012, p. 139.

photographing was mediated through these earlier descriptions in writing.³⁰

Likewise, Eleanor M. Hight and Gary D. Sampson (2002) have edited a volume of essays examining how photography was used to lend powerful support to the ideologies of racial and cultural dominance in a range of cultural contexts in the modern age.

Bhabha's persuasive critique of Said's theory highlights the fact that colonial discourse is not simply the violence of one powerful nation writing out the history of another, but 'a mode of contradictory utterance that ambivalently reinscribes, across differential power relations, both coloniser and colonised'.³¹ In other words, the fundamental ambivalence in the coloniser's relation with the colonised is revealed in contradictory and often internally incoherent discourses used to describe this relationship. This ambivalence is particularly evident in the case of Spanish discourse on its Moroccan protectorate, which oscillates constantly between representations of affinity and alterity in relation to Moroccan Muslims and Jews, often within the same ideological framework or literary narrative.

The following chapters explore the delineation of boundaries between Spanish and Moroccan cultures by Spanish writers and photographers and the power structures that underpin those boundaries. They also consider the different hierarchies that are established in Spain's relationship with Muslims and Jews in this context. The analysis undertaken reveals two motifs — the city and the body — and a cultural subtext — the medieval Castilian ballad or romance — that emerge across modes of representation in relation to both cultures. The relationship between the body, space, and language in the construction of cultural

³⁰ Ali Behdad and Luke Gartlan, (eds), *Photography's Orientalism: New Essays on Colonial Representation*, Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 2013, p. 18.

³¹ Bhabha, 2012, p. 95.

identity in this context provides a case study for analysing the instability of cultural boundaries between Spain and Morocco expressed in the work of Spanish writers and photographers during the colonial period, even as Spain attempted to assert dominance over its North African protectorate.

Since Foucault first argued that the human body is produced and mediated through discourses embedded in context-specific regimes of power,³² the so-called ‘corporeal turn’ in scholarship across disciplines has centred on the body as a site of reference for structures of power and projections of collective fantasies and anxieties concerning identity. In the construction of collective identity, the body serves on a fundamental level as a visible marker of difference or sameness. In the historical context of this study, the age of European colonial expansion, evolutionary science and the social Darwinist theories it gave rise to in the nineteenth century posited the body as a measure of ‘civilised’ or ‘primitive’ nature and employed it to establish categories of racial difference in evolutionary hierarchies. These theories took shape and evolved parallel to the development of modern nationalism and imperial expansion and were harnessed to serve their ideologies. Conceptualisations of ‘biology,’ which fused ethnic, cultural, racial, and religious characteristics, frequently underpinned the imagination of national identities, and the body was presented as an outward manifestation of inward moral characteristics and cultural essence or *volkgeist*, the primordial and ineluctable spirit of the nation. In the context of colonialism, the bodies of colonial subjects served to underpin the hierarchies of civility that justified colonial penetration and occupied a central place in the colonialist imagination as objects

³² His most influential work in this area is *Discipline and Punish* (1975), which traces the ways in which bodies at the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries came under particular regimes of power within specific institutions (the prison, the school, the hospital, the military barracks) which exerted control over the ways in which subjects lived and related.

of desire and dominance. The veiled body of the Muslim woman, for example, was central to Western representations of the secretive, mysterious Orient, which fostered male imperialist fantasies of conquest and access into the forbidden space of a feminised Other.³³ At the same time, European interactions with unfamiliar cultures created uncertainties about cultural and racial boundaries, and evolutionary theories, while providing a framework to articulate notions of European superiority, raised fears about human degeneracy and regression from civilisation, as Darwin himself warned: ‘man still bears in his bodily frame the indelible stamp of his lowly origin’.³⁴

Likewise, the development of modern conceptions of masculinity is tied up in the development of nationalism and imperialism, both of which adopted the image of the male body, particularly the body of the soldier, as a means of representing national vitality and notions of European cultural superiority.³⁵ The aesthetics of this ideal of masculinity drew inspiration from the sculptures of Greek and Roman antiquity, and the aesthetic harmony, wholeness, and strength of these classical bodies became a fantasy of nationalism and was eventually integrated into the aesthetics of modernist art and its intermingling with fascist ideology. However, if the powerful, active, integral male body was a fantasy of nationalism, then the broken, immobile, and fragmented male bodies that were produced by the modern European wars of the twentieth century were symptomatic of a weak, de-masculinised nation. Again, although the body could be a symbol of cultural power, it could also be a site of imbalance and uncertainty concerning cultural identity and power. The following chapters draw

³³ See for example Franz Fanon, ‘Unveiling Algeria’ (1965), and Malek Alloula, *Colonial Harem* (1986).

³⁴ Michael Sappol and Stephen P Rice (eds), *A Cultural History of the Human Body in the Age of Empire*, vol. 5. London, Bloomsbury, 2010, p. 14.

³⁵ For a discussion of this development see George Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (1996).

out the ambivalences in representations of Moroccan male and female bodies as objects of desire but also of anxiety concerning gender identity, cultural difference, and colonial power.

This thesis also explores the relationship between cultural identity and geographical space, specifically urban spaces in Morocco and Spain. The reconfiguration of colonial spaces for Western audiences, what Said has termed 'imagined geographies,' was central to the exercise of cultural domination that constituted colonialism.³⁶ Colonial landscapes were visually and textually imagined in a way that dramatised distance and difference and satisfied the Western traveller, reader, or spectator's hunger for the picturesque and the exotic, while at the same time allowing them to feel safe, dominant and in control over unfamiliar and sometimes threatening environments.³⁷ They reaffirmed the colonist's sense of possessing both a geographical and a cultural identity that were far removed from the colony.

However, the legacy of the Iberian Muslim and Jewish past shared between Morocco and Spain, which was visibly evident in the architecture of cities on both sides of the strait, distinguishes the Spanish photographer or writer's experience of the colonial space in North Africa from that of a British or French observer of the same geographical region. The main cities in the Spanish protectorate, such as Tetuán, which became the capital of the Spanish protectorate in 1912, and Chefchauén, which was captured by Spanish troops in 1920, were characterised by a Hispano-Moresque architectural and decorative style, the legacy of refugees from Al-Andalus that settled there in large numbers in the fifteenth and sixteenth

³⁶ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, London, Chatto and Windus, 1993.

³⁷ Eleanor M. Hight and Gary D. Sampson (eds), *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place*, London, Routledge, 2002, p. 15.

centuries. Both cities had an Andalusian quarter and a Jewish quarter that had been inhabited by exiles from the Iberian Peninsula, and their descendants, since the fifteenth century.³⁸ Chapter 3 explores how these Moroccan cities serve as a visual display of cultural commonality rather than cultural difference, and how they act as contexts for remembrance of the medieval Iberian Jewish and Muslim past.

Scholars across disciplines have given critical attention to the relationship between place and memory — in particular memory's attachment to place — and to the importance of sites of memory in the formation of collective identities.³⁹ Jay Winter (2007) has emphasised how constructions of identity that lie between the individual and the collective (national) are founded on a sense of a shared landscape and shared cultural references located in a particular place.⁴⁰ In this sense, architecture, like the human body, was often seen as a display of the essential character or cultural ancestry of a nation, and the body, particularly the female body, often serves as a metaphor for the city or nation. The personification of space in modern nationalism often employs the maternal feminine form to non-sexual attributes of the nation, like justice or wisdom.⁴¹ In the context of Spain, the feminisation of the Moorish city as sexually desirable ('Tetuán la blanca' or 'la encantadora', 'Xauén la misteriosa') has an antecedent in the romances fronterizos, where Granada is personified in the Romance de Amenábar as a woman who is the object of desire of a Castilian King. I explore the use of the

³⁸ Michael M. Laskier, *North African Jewry in the Twentieth Century: The Jews of Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria*, New York, NYU Press, 1994, p. 5.

³⁹ See Pierre Nora (1989), Svetlana Boym (2001), and J.M. Winter (2007), as well as edited volumes by Erll and Nünning (2008), and Demo and Bradford (2012).

⁴⁰ J. M. Winter, 'The Practices of Metropolitan Life in Wartime', J. M. Winter, and Jean-Louis Robert (eds), *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin, 1914-1919*, vol. 2, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 1-19, p. 3.

⁴¹ For a discussion of this phenomenon across cultural and historical contexts, see Marina Warner, *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form* (1996).

metaphor of the city as woman and the relationship between urban spaces, female bodies, and cultural identity in both Chapters 2 and 3.

In his analysis of cities as sites of cultural memory and identity, Winter draws on the work of Svetlana Boym (2001), who has explored how nostalgia attaches itself to a place and then reconfigures it through the fusion of memory and fantasy in both collective and individual narratives of identity. She defines nostalgia (from the Greek *nostos*- return home, and *algia*-longing) as ‘a longing for a home that no longer exists or never existed’, arguing that it involves a longing for another time and place, but often also a dissatisfaction and anxiety concerning identity in the present.⁴² Boym’s interpretation of nostalgia as a superimposition of the imaginary and the real, the familiar and the foreign, and the past and the present also provides a useful conceptual framework for my analysis of a range of Spanish constructions of Muslim and Jewish cultures in Morocco. It informs a key argument of this thesis, which is that Spanish writers, journalists, and photographers look to Morocco as well as Spain in their nostalgic explorations of the primitive origins of the Spanish nation.

In this process of exploring national origins through the cultural encounter with Morocco, the *Romancero* serves as a key reference, particularly in representations of the Moroccan Sephardic Jewish community. The Sephardic Jews had preserved medieval Castilian ballads in their original form through oral transmission since their expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula. These Sephardic ballads became a source of fascination for Spanish traditionalist historians, philologists, and writers in the 1920s who elevated language as the highest unifying element of the Spanish nation and the wider pan-Hispanic community

⁴² Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, New York, Basic Books, 2001, p. xiii.

worldwide and sought to achieve national regeneration through a return to 'essential' cultural values, which were believed to be revealed in their purest form in the classic canon of Castilian literature. These nostalgic explorations formed part of a wider essentialist reflection on the identity of the Spanish nation. It was notably the group of intellectuals who have been described as the writers of 1898, Ángel Ganivet, Azorín, Miguel de Unamuno, and Ramiro de Maeztu, among others, who explored the aspects of Spanish culture that could both explain the nation's perceived decadence as well as offer hope for its regeneration.⁴³

In her discussion of how Jewish identity is constructed in twentieth-century Spanish narratives, Linhard (2014) also draws on Boym's work, particularly her distinction between reflective nostalgia, which dwells on longing and loss, and restorative nostalgia, which engages in the mythologizing of history and seeks to reconstruct the lost home, often serving as a tool in nationalist movements. Linhard argues persuasively that the nostalgia expressed in modern Spanish narratives of the Iberian Jewish past is both restorative and reflective. Chapter 2 draws on Linhard's application of Boym's framework, exploring allusions and references to the medieval ballad tradition alongside the motif of the medieval city and their use by traditionalist and proto-fascist intellectuals to reconstruct the Spanish past but also to present a regenerative image of the national future.

⁴³ Critics have emphasised that while these writers belonged to a particular literary generation, they should not be categorized as a literary movement because of the ideological and artistic diversity of the writers in this group. John Butt (1980) was the first to raise this objection. Revisionist scholarship also notes the crossover between modernism and the literature of 1898.

II. Outline of chapters

Chapter 1 concerns the socio-historical and cultural context for the study, providing an overview of the history of Spain's relationship with Muslim and Jewish cultures and of the colonial campaigns in Morocco between 1909 and 1927 and highlighting the significance of the question of Spain's identity in relation to North Africa during this period. It also provides biographical information on the authors of the three literary texts under study and offers a survey of press culture in Spain, in particular the development of photojournalism, in the first decades of the twentieth century.

The central section of the thesis (Chapters 2 and 3) follows Bhabha's aforementioned model of negotiating the oppositional and contradictory elements of colonial discourse. Chapter 2 focuses on representations of affinity and Chapter 3 focuses on representations of alterity in Spanish narratives of Moroccan Muslims and Jewish cultures. Each chapter is divided into three subsections devoted to each mode of representation: photographic press narratives, textual press narratives, and literary narratives. This allows me to develop the comparative dimensions of the project, mainly differences across modes of representation, hegemonic and non-hegemonic narratives of identity, and the different meanings and values attributed to Muslim culture alongside Jewish culture. Chapter 2 centres on representations of cultural and ethnic affinity between Spain and North Africa, exploring how the city, the body, and the medieval Castilian ballad are employed in visual and textual representations to establish ties between Spain and North Africa, to explore the 'primitive' origins of Spanish culture, and to create an image of permeable cultural boundaries. It focuses on the following questions: How are these representations harnessed in hegemonic and non-hegemonic and

colonialist and anti-colonialist discourses? To what extent, and to what ends, do Spanish writers and photographers turn the Orientalist and colonialist gaze back on Spain? Is language, ethnicity, or place a stronger marker of cultural identity in this context, and how does this influence the way that Spain relates to Moroccan Muslims compared to Moroccan Jews?

Chapter 3 focuses on representations of Muslim and Jewish alterity and how the motifs of the body and the city in this case are used to delineate clear and rigid boundaries between the two cultures and 'races'. This assertion of difference is related to the assertion of dominance in the colonial relationship, because in order to establish colonial dominance, the colonising culture must create an image of itself as different and superior to the culture it is attempting to dominate. The chapter explores how the fragility of the colonial relationship and Spain's fragmented self-image are revealed in a range of forms of cultural production. It seeks to draw out crises of colonial power and anxieties of non-difference across modes of representation, arguing that they provide a fundamental underpinning to Spanish constructions of Morocco during the Rif War.

Chapter 1: Historical and cultural context of the Rif War

1:1. Muslims and Jews in Spanish culture

In 711, Muslim forces under the command of Tariq ibn Ziyad crossed the straits of Gibraltar and defeated the army of the Visigothic king Rodrigo, beginning the Muslim conquest of the Iberian Peninsula. The Iberian Jewish population, the largest in Europe, had established themselves in Iberia long before that, at the time of the Roman Empire.⁴⁴ Thus for nearly eight centuries, from the arrival of Tariq's forces to the Reconquista of the Catholic monarchs in 1492 and the expulsion of the Jews from the Peninsula, Christian, Muslim, and Jewish communities in the Iberian Peninsula coexisted within a complex network of collaborative and confrontational Christian and Muslim kingdoms.⁴⁵

During the Caliphate of Córdoba (929-1031), the height of Islamic Iberian civilisation, the empire of the Umayyad dynasty stretched across most of the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa, where clientage relationships were established between the empire and Berber tribes. The cosmopolitan society of Islamic Iberia included Arabs from the East or Berber North Africans, Christian converts to Islam as well as Christians who were native to the Iberian Peninsula, and Jewish communities that had emigrated there at the time of the Roman Empire. Under Islamic rule, Christians and Jews were permitted to practise their faith as 'people of the scripture' or *dhimmi*. The cosmopolitan urban culture that flourished in Islamic Iberia attracted scholars of all three faiths from across the Umayyad

⁴⁴ In the fourteenth century, the Jews of Toledo would argue that they had not been responsible for Christ's passion, since they had left Palestine and arrived in Hispania two centuries before the event (Baer, 1961, pp. 16-18).

⁴⁵ Traditionalist historical narratives in Spain portrayed these 700 years as a constant struggle of Christendom against Islam. In the mid twentieth century, Américo Castro (1948) disputed this narrative with his theory of 'convivencia', the co-existence and cultural interchange between medieval Jewish, Christian, and Muslim communities. This theory has since been challenged by historians like Serafín Fanjul (2000) who has argued that this medieval period was characterised by antibiosis, 'desconocimiento mutuo y forja de imágenes hostiles y deformadas del otro' (Fanjul, 2000, p. 2).

Empire and Europe, serving as an intellectual conduit between the Islamic world and Europe. Likewise, the rule of the Berber dynasties of the Almoravids and subsequently the Almohads in the twelfth century marked a brilliant renaissance in Islamic letters, culture, and arts and architecture in al-Andalus.⁴⁶ After the conquest of Toledo by Alfonso VI of Castile in 1085, Iberian Christian kingdoms gained in strength and unity while Al-Andalus, the largest unified Muslim kingdom, became increasingly fragmented; built on a fragile political structure prone to ethnic and tribal rivalries. The early medieval Christian kings also tolerated the practice of Islam and Judaism. The landed Christian nobility often relied on the cheap and plentiful labour of Muslim vassals, and the affluent Jewish communities supported the economy in loans and tax collection and often served as public administrators. However, in the fourteenth century, relations between the three religious groups became increasingly frayed. With the arrival of the black plague in Europe in 1348, Christian attacks on Jewish communities intensified, culminating in the pogroms that spread across Castile and the south of the peninsula in 1391. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the Papacy's call for a new crusade against Islam further hastened the Castilianisation and Christianisation of the rest of Castile and Andalusia. In 1481, the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabel of Castile embarked on a re-conquest of Muslim Iberia. With their victory in Granada 1492, they drove the last Muslim kingdom in Europe into North Africa.

As a result, within the realm of Western Christianity, Spain is the area that has had the longest, closest, and most intense contact with both Islam and Judaism. Early modern Spaniards by and large looked on this contact as a fundamental if

⁴⁶ Manuel Casamar Pérez, 'The Almoravids and Almohads: An Introduction', in Jerrilynn D. Dodds (ed.), *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992, p. 76.

undesirable legacy, one that played a crucial role in shaping the country's fortunes even after the minority religions had been officially expelled from the body politic.⁴⁷ In their efforts to associate themselves with European Christendom, Isabel and Ferdinand built the new Spanish nation upon religious exclusivity, defining it against the Muslims and Jewish communities that had long formed part of the culture of Iberia. The Reconquista was followed by the Expulsion Edict of 1492, which decreed all Jews to convert to Christianity or leave the peninsula within a period of three months. The thousands who did not choose conversion were driven into exile and many settled in large communities across the Mediterranean, including present day Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia.⁴⁸ Forced conversions of Muslims in the newly conquered territories began in 1500-1501 as part of Isabel and Ferdinand's campaign to homogenize language and religion within the empire's boundaries. The assimilation into Christian society of Jewish and Muslim converts, 'conversos' and 'moriscos', was unsurprisingly problematic. The Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1529, the growing threat of Ottoman and Berber pirates on the Mediterranean coast of Spain,⁴⁹ and especially the morisco uprising that led to the bloody war of the Alpujarras (1568-71) exacerbated fears of conspiracy and crypto-Islamic practices in morisco communities. There was an increasing perception that forced converts and their descendants were inassimilable in religious or cultural terms and that there was an innate racial distinction between 'old' and 'new' Christians, even though this supposed distinction was imperceptible after centuries of conversion and intermarriage between the different ethnic groups on the Iberian Peninsula, which further

⁴⁷ James S. Amelang, *Parallel Histories: Muslims and Jews in Inquisitorial Spain*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 2013, p. 1.

⁴⁸ Laskier, 1994, p. 5.

⁴⁹ The Spanish expression 'moros en la costa', a warning of danger, finds its origins in this sixteenth-century threat of pirates.

exacerbated fears of conspiracy and racial contamination.⁵⁰ Over the course of the sixteenth century, this ‘limpeza de sangre’ doctrine surfaced as a significant force within Spanish society, as ‘blood purity’ statutes prohibited individuals of Jewish or Muslim descent from practising certain elite professions, public offices, and landownership. The spread of this doctrine ultimately also led to the expulsion of the moriscos from Spanish territory by King Philip II between 1609 and 1614, an event that some scholars argue represents the first instance of racial Othering and ethnic cleansing in European history.⁵¹

Centuries of shifting frontiers and cultural symbiosis followed by this demarcation of new religious, cultural, geographical and racial boundaries gave rise to prejudices and stereotypes of ‘Moors’ and Jews that became deeply ingrained in Spanish culture. In the medieval period, in Spain as well as in the rest of Europe, Jews were associated with avarice, conspiracy, and blasphemous occult practices, often involving infanticide. In Spain these acts were also attributed to Jewish converts to Christianity, and uncovering crypto-Judaic practices became an obsession within Christian society in the sixteenth century.⁵²

Similarly, in the medieval period and into the sixteenth century, Muslims and moriscos were ‘othered’ in representations of ‘Moorish’ brutality, religious fanaticism, betrayal, and hypersexuality.⁵³ Alongside maurophobic representations however, maurophilial constructions of the figure of the Moor emerged in particular during the Spanish Golden Age, when the Muslims no longer

⁵¹ See for example Matthew Carr, *Blood and Faith: The Purging of Muslim Spain* (2009).

⁵² In his comprehensive study of Spanish anti-Semitism, Álvarez Chillida (2002) shows that the Spanish language still retains the marks of such medieval prejudices.

⁵³ For example, Luis de Mármol Caravajal’s account of the Alpujarras rebellion (1600), provides an example of this type of imagery, describing moriscos carving crosses onto the faces of priests and boiling them alive in vats of oil and women dancing wildly and embracing their young men in the streets with their hair loose and their breasts exposed.

represented an immediate military threat within the Peninsula.⁵⁴ In literary representations of the Reconquista, there was a tendency to ennoble the ‘Moorish’ enemy once he had been defeated and cast out, for only then could he be considered a worthy opponent in narratives of the conflicts between Muslims and Christians that were constructed in their aftermath.

However, as Barbara Fuchs (2009) and others have pointed out, the overriding irony of the peninsular expulsion of the Jews and Muslims was that from the time of the Reformation, the Spanish and Portuguese came to be identified with these groups throughout Europe in what came to be known as the Black Legend.⁵⁵ In the anti-Spanish pamphlets that circulated throughout protestant Europe at the end of the sixteenth century, ‘Black Spain’ was a metaphor for Spain’s cruelty and greed in the New World, but it also referred in unambiguous terms to Spain’s racial difference and its ‘Semitic’ character. The association of Spain with Moorishness prevailed in the modern period in Western literature, such as Washington Irving’s *The Alhambra: Tales of a Traveler* (1832) and Prosper Mérimée’s *Carmen* (1845). Victor Hugo famously wrote in 1829, ‘Spain is still the Orient; Spain is half African’.⁵⁶

Various Spanish historians have argued that this image of Spain as the Other within Europe generated a profound sense of insecurity regarding Spanish national identity from within Spain, and that this insecurity led to the erasing of any Islamic, Jewish, or ‘African’ influences in narratives of Spanish history and

⁵⁴ Examples of this rich literary tradition include the *fronterizo* ballad ‘Romance de Amenábar’ (fourteenth-century), *Historia del Abencerraje y la Hermosa Jalifa* (sixteenth century), Ginés Pérez de Hita’s *Las Guerras Civiles de Granada* (1595, 1619), and Mateo Alemán’s picaresque novel *El Guzmán de Alfarache* (1599), among others.

⁵⁵ For a discussion of European representations of Spain as the ‘Moorish’ Other within Europe between the 16th and the 19th centuries, see Martín-Márquez (2008), Carr (2009), and Fuchs (2009).

⁵⁶ Victor Hugo, *Les Orientales*, 1829, cited in Martín-Márquez, 2008, p. 3.

culture up until the twentieth century.⁵⁷ The first chapter of Américo Castro's seminal *España en su historia: cristianos, moros y judíos* (1948) is subtitled 'España, o la historia de una inseguridad'. 'Lo español', he writes, 'no es esencia eterna, como sostienen los nacionalistas españoles, sino morada vital, construida durante los siglos de convivencia y lucha contra los semitas, que han generado una insatisfacción vital, una permanente inseguridad'.⁵⁸ Similarly, Eduardo Subirats (2002) has argued that since its historical foundation in 1492 until the present day, Spanish national identity has been formed through the oftentimes virulent rejection of any sort of trace of the religions and cultures that populated the Iberian Peninsula, and furthermore through the rejection of their memory.⁵⁹ As modern forms of Spanish nationalism began to develop at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, and as Spain began to pursue its colonial ambitions in Morocco, the symbolic figures of the 'Moor' and the Jew continued to play a significant part in formulations of national identity.

The Spanish colonial ventures in North Africa in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries revived these symbolic figures in the collective imagination. The African wars of 1859-60 produced a stream of war chronicles, such as Pedro Antonio de Alarcón's *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África* (1859) and Gaspard Nuñez de Arce's *Recuerdos de la campaña de África* (1860) which documented the Spanish re-encounter with Muslim and Jewish culture. These writers were struck by the similarity between Spain and North Africa. Upon entering Tetuán in 1860 when Spanish troops conquered the city, the poet and

⁵⁷ Martín-Márquez, 2008, p. 4.

⁵⁸ Américo Castro, *España en su historia: cristianos, moros y judíos*, Buenos Aires, Editorial Losada, 1948, p. 19.

⁵⁹ Eduardo Subirats, *Américo Castro y la revisión de la memoria (El Islam en España)*, quoted in Martín-Márquez, 2008, p. 4.

novelist Pedro de Alarcón exclaimed: ‘¡Tetuán es Granada!’⁶⁰ Similarly, describing the city of Tetuán, the daily newspaper *El Liberal* would write: ‘¡Cuántas caras españolas entre los judíos de Tetuán! ¡Cuántas caras judías entre los españoles!’⁶¹ Accounts of the war mythicized in particular the image of Sephardic Jews coming out to the streets in the Jewish quarter to greet the Spanish, some bringing out the keys to the homes they had been forced to leave behind when they were expelled in 1492.⁶²

Perhaps as a result of this sense of cultural identification, the decades after the war produced a wave of travel narratives by Spanish writers disguised as North Africans in the tradition of Luis Domingo Badía’s earlier travelogue, *Los Viajes de Ali Bey* (1803).⁶³ These included Joaquín Gatell’s *Memorias de las observaciones hechas durante su viaje al Sus y al Uad-Nun* (1865), José María de Murga’s *Recuerdos marroquíes del moro Vizcaíno* (1868) and Francisco de A. de Urresterazu’s *Viajes por Marruecos* (1875). The African campaigns also inspired the rise of Arabic and Hebrew scholarship in Spain in the second half of the nineteenth century. The liberal intellectual movement of Oriental studies was concerned primarily with the study of Muslim and Jewish influences on Spanish arts and letters, the translation of medieval Arabic and Hebrew texts, and the revision of the history of Al-Andalus with the aim of re-appropriating its rich cultural legacy. Arabist scholars like Serafín Estébanez Calderón, Francisco Fernández y González, and Pascual de Gayangos y Arce devoted their work to

⁶⁰ Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, Madrid, Central á cargo de V. Sáiz, 1880, p. 145.

⁶¹ Rohr, 2007, p. 65.

⁶² The accounts of the Jews welcoming the Spanish entrance to Xauén in 1919 are very similar, also describing Jews bringing out the keys to their ancestral homes in Spain.

⁶³ Badía travelled to Morocco under the alias of Alí Bey, an aristocrat from a mysterious location in the far East, in the service of the prime minister, Manuel Godoy, who sought to instigate a rebellion against the Sultan (Martín-Márquez, 2008, p. 1).

bringing the cultural accomplishments of Al-Andalus to light. However, alongside this academic interest in Muslim and Jewish cultures, there was a growing interest in the colonial penetration of North Africa, particularly among industrialists and the military. In 1883 the Sociedad Española de Africanistas y Colonistas was founded in Madrid, and its members soon began to lobby for a more active presence on the African continent. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, the Africanist movement was characterised by an interest in Spain's cultural, historical, and biological ties with North Africa which united a wide range of intellectuals, politicians, military figures, businessmen, and missionaries, some with a purely academic interest in Semitic culture, others with concrete colonial objectives in North Africa.

From 1902 onwards, when Spain agreed with France to share spheres of influence in Morocco, 'centros hispano-marroquíes' were established as commercial and cultural organizations with the aim of developing 'ties' with North Africa, although their underlying aim was to represent the economic and political interests of the colonial lobby. A speech given by don Eduardo de Saavedra at the first centro hispano-marroquí in 1907 illustrates the rhetoric of the Africanists:

Nuestros propósitos han sido la penetración pacífica en Marruecos, la civilización de nuestros hermanos, de nuestros vecinos,' he writes, 'lo que hemos querido ha sido proteger, simplemente ayudar a salir de su estado de atraso [...] a aquellos [...] que dejaron su nombre como recuerdo imperecedero en las cuevas que dan acceso a los jardines de la Alhambra de Granada.⁶⁴

Saavedra's speech shows how Africanist discourse attempts to construct an image of fraternity, which contemporary commentators referred to as 'la hermandad hispano marroquí,' alongside cultural superiority in the portrayal of Morocco as a

⁶⁴ Eduardo de Saavedra, 1907, cited in Josep Lluís Mateo Dieste, *El moro entre los primitivos: el caso del protectorado español en Marruecos*, Barcelona, Fundación "La Caixa", 1997, pp. 80-81.

'younger brother' in need of the help and guidance of the stronger, more advanced civilisation of Spain. Advocates of colonialism appealed to this notion of Spanish affinity in order to argue that Spain was far better suited than other European nations to colonise North Africa. The view that the Spanish empire was built on an emotional bond between coloniser and colonised, which Gustau Nerún terms 'hispano-tropicalismo', distinguishes Spanish colonial discourse from its Northern European counterparts.⁶⁵ A history of the colonial campaigns published by the Spanish Ministry of War in 1941 articulates this distinction aptly: 'Las razas del norte serán en África eternamente extranjeras, pero el hijo del desierto verá en la tez morena, en los ojos negros y centelleantes del heroico soldado español, los rasgos de un hermano.'⁶⁶

The Africanist movement contributed to a dramatic shift in conceptualisations of national identity. Previously hegemonic versions of the national narrative that had erased all traces of Muslim and Jewish influences on Spanish culture came under increasing scrutiny in this period, as prominent intellectuals and politicians begin to look to the multi-cultural medieval Iberian past to reconstruct conceptions of national identity in the present. Africanism formed part of a wider romantic inquiry into the essential character of the Spanish nation and the recovery of its 'peculiaridad histórica' for the sake of constructing a revitalised Spain. Joaquín Costa and Ángel Ganivet, key figures in the intellectual and political movement of 'Regeneracionalismo', which sought to understand and propose a remedy for the decline of Spain, viewed the recovery of Spain's

⁶⁵ An adaptation of the term *lusopicalism*, coined by the Brazilian anthropologist Gilberto Freyre, which posits that the complex racial fusions of Brazil was founded upon the notion that the Portuguese were more likely than other colonisers to mix with indigenous black populations because of their earlier contact with 'Moors' (Martín-Márquez, 2008, p. 73).

⁶⁶ Comisión histórica de las campañas de Marruecos, *Acción de España en África*, Madrid, Ministerio de la guerra, 1935-41, p. 6.

‘Moorish’ and Jewish heritage as a central part of the process of national regeneration.⁶⁷

Costa regarded Morocco not only as a fraternal civilisation, but as a culture that contained the primitive origins of the Spanish nation and that could provide a source for its cultural regeneration. Similarly, Ángel Ganivet argued that the Muslim influence on medieval Spain had provided the essential mysticism and religious ‘fanaticism’ of the Spanish nation, and that this essentially irrational spirit could counter the destructive rationalism and materialism of modern European civilisation.⁶⁸ Many of the most influential fin de siècle literary figures recognized the influence of what Ganivet referred to as ‘the paternity of Africa’ on Spanish identity. In his essay ‘Sobre la Europeización’ (1906), Miguel de Unamuno asks: ‘¿No hay otra vida que la vida moderna y europea? [...] ¿Porqué, si somos berberiscos, no hemos de sentirnos y proclamarnos tales?’⁶⁹ In his esperpento *Los cuernos de don Friolera* (1921), Ramón del Valle Inclán’s military characters proclaim, ‘nosotros somos moros y latinos... somos muchas sangres, pero prepondera la africana.’⁷⁰

At the same time, there were intellectuals who vehemently decried Spain’s ‘Moorish’ roots. The Arabist scholar Francisco Javier Simonet argued that all

⁶⁷ Costa writes: ‘No hallaremos una sola fibra de nuestro cuerpo, ni un sentimiento en nuestra alma [...] que no lleve impresa la huella de aquellas razas berberiscas y Orientales que hicieron de la península como faro luminoso en medio de las tinieblas de la Edad Media, y cuyo espíritu inmortal circula todavía [...] por todos nuestros nervios y mueve nuestros brazos y manda a nuestra voluntad [...] El pueblo español, por la psicología y la cultura, ha de buscar al otro lado del estrecho, más que al otro lado del pirineo, la cuna de la civilización y la ascendencia de su espíritu’ (‘Los intereses de España en Marruecos (1884)’, in Ángel Flores Morales (ed.), *África a través del pensamiento español: (de Isabel la Católica a Franco)*, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1949, pp. 141-184, p. 160.

⁶⁸ Ángel Ganivet, *Idearium español*, Granada, 1897, p. 15.

⁶⁹ Miguel de Unamuno, ‘Sobre la Europeización’, in Alberto Navarro (ed.), *Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho*, Madrid, Cátedra, 1988.

⁷⁰ Ramón del Valle Inclán, *Los cuernos de Don Friolera*, in *Martes de carnaval*, Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1973, p. 172.

notable achievements dating from the period of al-Andalus could be attributed only to Christians or to Muslim converts who were racially ‘Spanish’.⁷¹ The development of traditionalist nationalism in the first decades of the twentieth century brought with it a resurgence of an exclusively Catholic vision of Spanish identity, articulated by intellectuals like Manuel García Morente and Ramiro de Maeztu. For Maeztu, the essence of Spanish national identity had been defined against Muslim and Jewish culture.⁷²

Spain’s vision of the Jews was equally inextricable from the issue of national identity. In the nineteenth century a historical narrative arose within Spanish liberalism that framed the expulsion of the Jews and the inquisition as the primary cause of Spain’s decline after the sixteenth century.⁷³ In 1905, the physician and Senator Ángel Pulido published a study of Sephardic Jewish culture that drew attention to the persistence of the Castilian language and traditions in Sephardic communities across the world. Drawing on principles of social Darwinism and the notion of ‘la hispanidad’, which posited the existence of a spiritual community formed by Castilian speaking cultures, he argued that Sephardic Jews had close racial and cultural ties to Spain, and that the future regeneration of the nation would be achieved by re-establishing relationships with these communities.⁷⁴ He claimed that the Jews of Morocco were the most worthy of attention because they had preserved their Castilian heritage most faithfully.

⁷¹ Francisco Javier Simonet, cited in Martín-Márquez, 2008, p. 34.

⁷² Maeztu writes: ‘la defensa del espíritu universal contra el de secta. Eso fue la lucha por la Cristiandad contra el Islam y sus amigos de Israel’ (1935, p. 187).

⁷³ See Rohr (2007) for a discussion of this narrative.

⁷⁴ Pulido became interested in the Sephardic Jews after a trip in the Balkans in 1903, during which he met Enrique Bejarano, the director of a Sephardic school in Bucharest, who informed him that there were over two million Sephardic Jews spread around the world, from the Mediterranean to the Americas, still speaking Judeo-Spanish after 400 years (Rohr, 2007, p. 63)

Ángel Pulido's arguments provided the basis for Philosephardism, a movement that developed in the first decade of the century advocating the forging of cultural and commercial ties between Spain and the Sephardic Jewish communities scattered across the world. The Dreyfus affair in France (1894-1906) provided significant impetus for this movement because of the position that prominent intellectuals like Emile Zola and Anatole France had assumed in defending the Jewish officer publically. The affair had incited fierce conflict between 'the two patriotisms' of traditionalists and modernisers; and the same binary opposition was playing itself out in the Spanish political arena between the 'right', which defended the hegemony of traditional 'Spanish' institutions (the army, the church, and the monarchy) and the 'left', which challenged the cultural dominance of these institutions and called instead for the adoption of 'European' ideals of democracy, liberalism, and secularisation. After the Dreyfus affair, Philosephardism and more widely Philosemitism became yet another position that liberal intellectuals in Spain assumed in their opposition to traditionalism, and many prominent figures did so, such as Carmen de Burgos, Rafael Cansinos-Assens Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, and Benito Pérez Galdós.

In the years between 1909 and 1927, close contact with Jewish communities in the Moroccan protectorate further heightened interest in Sephardic culture within literary, academic, and political spheres of Spanish society. In 1908, the 'Alianza Hispano Israelí' was established at the initiative of Carmen de Burgos with the support of Galdós and Unamuno, with the objective of fostering ties between Spain and the Sephardim. In 1913, the Spanish government invited Abraham Shalom Yahuda, a Jewish professor of Oriental languages, to deliver a series of lectures on the contribution of Jews to Spanish science and culture at the

Academy of Jurisprudence in Madrid. He was later offered a Chair at the University of Madrid. In 1920, the 'Casa Universal de los Sefardíes' was created and promoted by intellectuals and politicians sympathetic to the ideas of Ángel Pulido, again with the objectives of studying Sephardic culture and establishing ties between the Spanish nation and communities of Sephardic Jews in North Africa and the Balkans. Alfonso XIII gave his support to this institution and to its research initiatives. From 1907 onwards, the 'Instituto de Estudios Históricos' developed a research initiative led by Ramón Menéndez Pidal to study the medieval Iberian traditions preserved by Sephardic communities in Morocco. Ernesto Giménez Caballero travelled to Tetuán with Américo Castro in 1922 while completing his military service in Morocco to record some of these romances for Menéndez Pidal, and this experience profoundly influenced the formation of his own vision of national regeneration through contact with Sephardic Jewish communities, a vision that is examined in Chapter 2.

The favourable view of Sephardic Jews had political as well as cultural implications, which reached a height when Primo de Rivera responded to the unprotected situation of Sephardic Jews in Europe as a result of the fall of the Ottoman Empire after the First World War by offering Spanish citizenship to stateless Sephardic Jews in the Balkans.⁷⁵ Although this offer of naturalisation was not extended to Sephardic Jews in other parts of the world (including Morocco), it was a symbolic gesture of solidarity and inclusion that illustrates the extent of philosephardic ideals within Spanish culture at this time.

⁷⁵ This decree had considerable repercussions during the deportations of Jews by the Nazis during the Second World War, allowing Sephardic Jews in some circumstances to receive asylum in Spain.

Parallel to this growing interest in the Sephardim however, there was also a strong current of anti-Semitism within the Spanish right, mainly from the Catholic Church and the Carlists, which was revitalized by the rise of anti-Semitism across Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century. At the time of the Dreyfus affair, Catholic hostility towards the Jews took on a new dimension as the works of French anti-Semites were propagated in Spain.⁷⁶ The medieval image of the Jew as a concealed internal conspirator was applied to notions of an international Judeo-Bolshevik-Masonic conspiracy, of European Jews as capitalist exploiters, and of 'new Christians' (in this case referring to the descendants of the Jews who converted to Christianity in the fifteenth century) as instigators of the uprisings in the Spanish colonies.⁷⁷ Likewise, scientific theories served to legitimise an image of the Jews as a source of racial contamination for the Spanish nation.

1:2. The colonial campaigns in Morocco

The first Spanish colonial ventures in North Africa were an attempt to continue the Reconquista of the Catholic Monarchs. In her last will and testament, Queen Isabel enjoined her successors to never cease the conquest of Africa, 'de puñar por la fe contra los infieles'.⁷⁸ Following the Reconquista, Castilian and Portuguese kingdoms sought to penetrate the North African frontier, in part to prevent the constant plunder by Berber pirates along the Mediterranean coast which threatened

⁷⁶ Rohr, 2007, p. 26.

⁷⁷ See Rohr (2007) for a discussion of Anti-Semitic literature during this period.

⁷⁸ Queen Isabel's testament to her daughter Juana on 12 Nov 1504, in Flores Morales, 1949, p. 28.

Catalan commercial routes in the Mediterranean.⁷⁹ Melilla was occupied in 1497, Gelves and Mazalquivir in 1505, Oran in 1509, and Algiers, Mostaganem, Bugia and Tripoli in 1510. However, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the only territories that remained under Spanish control were the cities of Ceuta and Melilla and posts on the Alhucemas Islands and El Peñon de Veléz de la Gomera, all on the northern coast of Morocco. Between 1858 and 1862, with the hope of revitalizing Spain's declining international reputation and self-image, the liberal coalition government backed a series of military expeditions in Morocco led by General Prim and General O'Donnell. The first 'African' war began in the autumn of 1859 as a response to an assault by Riffian tribes on the military post of Ceuta and resulted in the Spanish conquest of Tetuán, which produced the desired wave of patriotic fervour and fuelled the nation's colonial aspirations in North Africa. However, in 1862 Spain was forced by Britain to abandon Tetuán, reducing its territory in Africa again to Ceuta and Melilla, although these enclaves had been expanded considerably during the war. In November 1893, Melilla was attacked by an alliance of Riffian tribes, incited by the construction of a Spanish military fortification near a sacred Islamic burial place. This conflict, known as the Guerra de Margallo or Primera Guerra del Rif, was also short-lived, ending in April 1894 when the Riffian tribes surrendered and a war indemnity of 20 million pesetas was imposed on Sultan Hassan I.⁸⁰

In 1902, France and Spain agreed to share 'spheres of influence' in Morocco, but in negotiations leading to the Entente Cordiale (1904), in which Spain was not invited to take part, Britain and France decided among themselves

⁷⁹ Abel Albet Mas, 'Three Gods, Two Shores, One Space: Religious Justifications for Tolerance and Confrontation between Spain and Colonial Morocco during the Franco Era', *Geopolitics*, 11. 4, 2006, pp. 580-600.

⁸⁰ C.R. Pennell, *Morocco since 1830: A History*, London, Hurst & Company, 2000, p. 115.

on the area that would correspond to Spain. In the Algeciras treaty of 1906, the thirteen participating powers entrusted France and Spain with the task of ensuring that the sovereignty of the Moroccan state would be respected in their spheres. However, the effect of the treaty on Morocco was the disintegration of the authority of the Sultanate, a hereditary ShaRiffian dynasty that had ruled Morocco since the sixteenth century, giving France and Spain a pretext for military occupation and further colonial expansion. Spanish political elites felt increasing pressure to stake their own colonial claim in Morocco. Liberal industrialists lobbied for occupation because they were aware of the potential for mining minerals in northern Morocco, while the army and conservative elites saw an opportunity to begin rebuilding the imperial glory of Spain, shattered by the recent loss of the last American colonies in the Spanish-American war of 1898.

Spain resumed its military expeditions in Morocco in 1908 with an operation to occupy a port outside of Melilla after El Rogui, the dominant tribal chief in the area, had opened up his territory to commerce with French and German as well as Spanish businesses, creating a scramble for mining resources. This sudden unequal inflow of money and work opportunities into the deprived region quickly exacerbated divisions between the local tribes and ignited armed opposition to the European presence in the area.⁸¹ On 9 July 1909, Spanish railway workers outside Melilla were attacked by a number of the local tribes or *cabilas*. The Spanish government deployed troops from Spain to defend the miners, but the conflict continued over the following weeks, escalating into a costly military campaign. The battle of Barranco del Lobo, which began on 27 July, resulted in the death of an estimated 150 Spanish soldiers in one day and more than 1000

⁸¹ Sebastian Balfour, *Deadly Embrace: Morocco and the Road to the Spanish Civil War*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 4.

before the end of the month.⁸² It was a painful defeat for the Spaniards, who were unable to recover the bodies of their fallen until two months after the battle.

In military opinion, the battle sanctioned the penetration of the army into the areas where the enemy was based. The Moroccan state appealed to the international community to intervene to halt the continued Spanish incursions, a blatant violation of the treaty of Algeciras, but the European powers showed little interest in upholding their claims of defending the sovereignty of the Moroccan government. The occupation of Fez, Mequinez and Rabat by France in 1911 was followed by Spain's invasion of Larache and Alcazarquivir in the same year.⁸³ Crippled by a debt of war reparations imposed by France and Spain, the regime of Sultan Mulay Hafid, who had replaced his brother Abdel Aziz with a promise to protect the independence of Morocco, had virtually collapsed by 1912.⁸⁴ In the Treaty of Fez on 27 November 1912, the French and Spanish spheres of influence in Morocco were recognised internationally as a protectorate.⁸⁵

The area under Spanish control consisted of 23,000 km of territory in northern Morocco. The region is dominated by the Rif Mountains, an arid land difficult to cultivate and subject to climate extremes, which continues to be one of the poorest areas of the country as well as one of the most heavily populated. It is inhabited mainly by Berber tribes, one of the oldest population groups in North Africa that can be traced back to a pagan Mediterranean culture that embraced

⁸² Julián Casanova and Carlos Gil Andrés, *Twentieth-century Spain: A History*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014, p. 50.

⁸³ This event sparked the Moroccan crisis of 1911, where Germany protested the violation of the Algeciras treaty by sending a gunboat to Agadir in June 1911.

⁸⁴ María Rosa de Madariaga, *Los moros que trajo Franco: la intervención de tropas coloniales en la guerra civil española*, Barcelona, Ediciones Martínez Roca, 2002, p. 365.

⁸⁵ The creation of protectorates was the means by which colonial powers propped up their client states when they were in danger of collapsing (Balfour, 2002, p. 38).

Islam following the Arab conquest of North Africa in 642 A.D.⁸⁶ The tribes in the Rif are distinguished from neighboring Arab tribes by language, the Berber dialect *tafiriq*, rather than ethnicity. The Spanish protectorate also included the cities of Tetuán, Xauén, Larache, Elksar, Nador, Alcazarquivir, and Arcilla, while Tangier, a historic port of trade and European diplomacy, remained as international territory. These cities had long-established and sizeable Jewish communities. Although the majority of the Jewish population in Morocco at the beginning of the twentieth century was composed of Arab Jews, the Jews of Northern Morocco were primarily Sephardic, meaning Iberian in origin, descendants of the Jews expelled from the Iberian Peninsula in the fifteenth century. The first peninsular Jewish community established itself in Tetuán 1489 and was received well by the Sultan, Al Mandari.⁸⁷ After 1609, many Spanish moriscos who had been driven out of Spain also settled in Tetuán.⁸⁸ Although they had been well received at first, from the eighteenth century onwards the Jews in Morocco suffered increased hostility from Muslim communities, with severe assaults such as the pogrom of 1790 and the sacking of the Jewish quarter before the arrival of Spanish troops in Tetuán in 1859.⁸⁹

At the time of the Spanish colonisation of Morocco in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there was a stark contrast within the Jewish population in Morocco between the wealthy Sephardic Jews and a much poorer category of Arab Jewish artisans, peddlers, and small moneylenders, a social and racial distinction that was noted by Spanish writers during the period.⁹⁰ The

⁸⁶ Laskier, 1994, p. 5.

⁸⁷ Jacobo Israel Garzón, *Los judíos de Tetuán*, Madrid, Hebraica Ediciones, 2005, p. 18.

⁸⁸ Laskier, 1994, p. 5.

⁸⁹ Rohr, 2007, p. 12.

⁹⁰ Garzón, 2005, p. 42.

Sephardim of Morocco were regarded by Spaniards as an elite class, both because of their economic status and because of their preservation of the Castilian language. They spoke a Judeo-Spanish dialect known as *haketia*, Spanish peppered with Hebrew and Arabic words and carried names like Pinto, Pariente, Laredo, and Toledano. Under the Moroccan Sultanate, a category of merchants emerged from the Sephardic communities who controlled all of the major imports and vital exports of Morocco and engaged in trade with Europe with the sultan's blessing and financial backing. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century they also established themselves in banking and trade. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and again during the Spanish colonial campaigns of the nineteenth century, the Sephardim acted as intermediaries and interpreters for Spanish traders, and under the protectorate they served as useful informers and commercial intermediaries.

Unlike in French Morocco, where civil and military affairs were separate, the Spanish protectorate was run almost entirely by the military, which showed a lack of understanding or consideration of the Spanish colonial administration for the complexity and diversity of Moroccan culture, particularly Berber tribal societies. These societies were organised in a series of horizontal segments of association and conflict at the level of individual family units, sub-clans and clans, tribes, and tribal confederations. Alliances (known as *leffs*) were established among different factions within a tribe, among families, or even with individuals beyond the territorial community for protection against a common external or internal threat.⁹¹ The importance of blood feuding and vendettas in this system shaped Riffian tribesmen into notoriously skilled warriors and guerrilla fighters.

⁹¹ David M. Hart, *Tribe and Society in Rural Morocco*, London, Frank Cass, 2000, p. 72.

They were skilled horsemen and mountaineers who knew the territory they fought for. They were a formidable enemy for the Spanish recruits, who lacked incentive and training, were poorly equipped, and had little or no battle experience or knowledge of the terrain.⁹²

Spanish colonial administrators generally interpreted the culture of the Rif as lawless and anarchical.⁹³ A few officers demonstrated an interest in the languages and cultures of Morocco and advocated peaceful colonial penetration as opposed to military conflict, but these 'enlightened' military men were a minority.⁹⁴ The lack of knowledge about the cultures of Morocco is reflected in the language used to describe them, the names of tribes or ethnic groups are often spelled inconsistently in the colonial publications *RTC* and *Telegrama del Rif*, as well as in the metropolitan newspapers. In terms of colonial policy, administrators were not required to learn Arabic or the Riffian dialect or study local customs, and while significant resources were devoted to extracting minerals from Moroccan land for the highest profit of investors in Europe or to providing entertainment to Spanish officers in Moroccan cities, little priority was given to economic and social development initiatives or to cultivating relations with local communities outside of a military context, with the exception of the Catholic missions that had been operating out of Ceuta and Melilla for centuries. In rural areas, colonial administrators sometimes forcibly took over the homes of local inhabitants or

⁹² Balfour, 2002, p. 176.

⁹³ The Spanish adopted the view of Moroccan society established by French anthropologists in the region, which divided it into two zones: *bled es Mahkzen*, where the central government was supreme, taxes were collected and laws were respected, and *bled es siba*, the area where the central government was powerless and unruly tribes devoted themselves to feuding and banditry, which was the category that the Rif fell under. This theory was often invoked as a justification for military intervention.

⁹⁴ Balfour, 2002, p. 161.

claimed items in wealthier Moroccan houses for themselves.⁹⁵ Corruption was rife in garrison towns, where officers compensated for their relatively low salaries by setting up businesses, some of which were rewarded by exclusive contracts to supply the colonial administration, which had the effect of destroying local services or industries.⁹⁶ Unsurprisingly, there was significant indigenous resistance to the Spanish occupation of Moroccan territory.

Between 1912 and 1927, Spanish colonial rule was characterised by a series of ‘pacification campaigns’ against different alliances of insurgent tribes in the Rif. The Rif had traditionally been an area where the Sultan’s forces had maintained little control over law and order, but although there had been revolts in pre-colonial times, they had occurred sporadically and only when the balance of power between the Rif tribes and the central authority was disrupted.⁹⁷ However, along with European colonial penetration, a new figure appeared in the Riffian tribal structure, notables (*amghars*) who sought to impose themselves as chiefs at the level of sub-clans. In the areas under or near Spanish colonial control, the notables who offered to collaborate with the Spanish were rewarded with bribes and privileges by the colonial administration, which allowed them to assert power as ‘jefes únicos’ in a structure that had not previously allowed for such a form of uncontested authority.⁹⁸ This had a damaging effect on relationships between tribes. The disruption of existing power structures, along with the resistance of Muslim tribes to foreign and Christian penetration, caused fierce opposition to Spain’s presence in the Rif.

⁹⁵ See Balfour (2002) and Madariaga (2002) for examples of Spanish exploitation of the Moroccan population.

⁹⁶ Balfour, 2002, p. 46.

⁹⁷ Balfour, 2002, p. 7.

⁹⁸ Madariaga, 2002, p. 274.

Between 1912 and 1919, the most troublesome resistance was led by the leader of the Beni Aros tribe, Sharif Muley Ahmed El Raisuni. A member of an important theocratic aristocracy exempt from the sultan's taxes, he emerged in the first decade of the twentieth century as the most powerful leader in the northwest of Morocco.⁹⁹ However, in 1923 he began to collaborate with the Spanish providing information on a common rival who had emerged as a more formidable enemy of Spain, Mohammed Abdel Krim. The Abdel Krim family, from the tribe of Beni Uriaghel, had also collaborated with the Spanish when the protectorate was first established in hopes they would modernise Morocco. However, by 1919 they had become disillusioned by Spain's failure to improve the Moroccan economy and infrastructure and by continued incursions into their lands, and Mohammed Abdel Krim began to assemble troops to oppose Spanish penetration in the Rif. In the assault planned to dispel Abdel Krim's forces, General Manuel Fernández Silvestre — then commander in chief in Morocco — critically underestimated his enemy in terms of numbers as well as their ability to organise themselves into a competent army. The battle that took place in July 1921 in the area surrounding the Spanish defensive outposts west of Melilla, including Monte Arruit and Annual, became known as the Disaster of Annual.

The Battle of Annual was a national tragedy on a greater scale than any other military defeat suffered by Spain, including the war of 1898. In his history of the Rif War, Balfour records the scenes of chaos and destruction described in eyewitness accounts of the battle. In less than two weeks, between 10,000 and 15,000 Spanish soldiers were killed by Abdel Krim's forces and over 5,000 square

⁹⁹ Balfour, 2002, p. 34.

km of territory, the entire Eastern Zone of the Spanish protectorate, was lost.¹⁰⁰ Abdel Krim's victory transformed him into the leader of the Riffian resistance to Spanish colonialism as well as the self-proclaimed president of the short-lived Rif Republic (1923-1926). The spillover of his rebellion into the French protectorate led France to collaborate with Spain in an offensive at the Bay of Alhucemas in September 1925, which forced the leader to begin his retreat. Abdel Krim surrendered to the French at Targuist in May 1926.¹⁰¹ With Abdel Krim's defeat, Spain consolidated its control over the protectorate, which remained relatively peaceful under Spanish influence until Morocco obtained independence in 1956.

The Rif War had a profoundly disruptive effect on Spanish society and politics. The introduction of lenient but compulsory military service by the government in 1912 produced desertion agencies designed to help young men avoid conscription, but only those who could afford it. As a result, the majority of the soldiers in Morocco were Spanish peasants, many of whom could barely read or write. These soldiers were commanded by a small elite group of officers, many of whom enriched themselves during the war through corrupt and nepotistic practices, often at the expense of their troops.¹⁰²

Maura's first deployment of Spanish troops to Morocco in July 1909 sparked a wave of civilian protest that included prominent Republican intellectuals and politicians like Galdós and Lerroux as well as working class organisations, which held rallies and demonstrations across Spain. On 26 July, an anti-war protest over the embarkation of troops in Barcelona led to large scale rioting, anti-clerical violence, and armed conflict between the Civil Guard and anarchists in

¹⁰⁰Balfour, 2002, p. 79.

¹⁰¹Balfour, 2002, p. 114.

¹⁰² See Balfour (2002), for documented examples of corrupt practices in the colonial army.

what became known as the *Semana trágica*, which some historians regard as the beginning of the spiral of violent class conflict that was to take Spain to civil war.¹⁰³ The injustice of the system of conscription and of the military hierarchy, along with a rising death toll of Spanish soldiers in one campaign after another, unified the Spanish lower classes in their opposition to the colonial war. The working class had begun to assert its presence in the political sphere at the end of the nineteenth century with the arrival and rapid growth of anarchism in rural Andalucía and anarcho-syndicalism in urban areas and the rise of socialism after the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917.¹⁰⁴ Barranco del Lobo and Annual became landmarks of oppression in working class memory. The investigation into responsibility for the extent of the Disaster of Annual ordered by the Cortes in October 1921 revealed a mess of military corruption and incompetence, causing public outrage and a political crisis that resulted in General Primo de Rivera's coup in September 1923. These events also widened the gap between Spanish society and the military in Morocco, where the subculture of the *Africanistas* was beginning to take shape.

The military Africanists of the twentieth century, in contrast to the liberal intellectual Africanists of the nineteenth century, were an anti-democratic, traditionalist officer class who forged their identity on the experience of the Moroccan campaigns. Their identification with their own narrative of Moroccan life came to alienate them from the culture of their homeland and even from the

¹⁰³ Mary Vincent, *Spain 1833-2002: People and State*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007, p. 103.

¹⁰⁴ Spain's late industrialisation at the end of the 19th century meant that the percentage of the population concentrated in urban areas increased from 20% in 1877 to 42% by 1930 (Juan Pablo Fusi, *Un siglo de España: La cultura*, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 1999, p. 14).

metropolitan military.¹⁰⁵ Not all colonial officers were Africanists; within the army in Morocco there were a wide range of cultures ranging from liberal intellectual Arabism to the radical cult of violence of the Foreign Legion, which was infused with fascist ideals. The Legion, also known as el ‘Tercio de extranjeros or el Tercio de Marruecos’, was an elite mercenary fighting force established by Lieutenant Coronel José Millan Astray in 1920 to fight in the colonial wars. It was within the military circle of the Africanists that the coup of July 1936 was conceived and carried out.¹⁰⁶

1:3. The press during the Rif War: 1909-1927

The colonial campaigns coincided with the expansion of print capitalism in Spain, as the growing rate of literacy and therefore of the potential reading public in the first decade of the twentieth century led to an unprecedented demand for reading material, causing an explosion of printing presses, publishing houses, newspapers, magazines, and literary societies. In 1879, there were 544 daily and weekly publications, in 1927, this number had reached 2210.¹⁰⁷ This proliferation of new newspapers and journals such as *El Liberal* (1901) *ABC* (1905), *Solidaridad obrera* (1907) *El Debate* (1910) *El Socialista* (1913) and *El Sol* (1917) gave voice to established as well as nascent political perspectives and ideologies within Spain. According to Seoane and Sáiz, the mass production and distribution of newspapers from the end of the nineteenth century onwards caused a shift from the ‘periódico

¹⁰⁵ Balfour, 2002, p. 50.

¹⁰⁶ The Legion consisted mostly of Spanish soldiers recruited from the most marginal social groups, as the British consul in Tetuán described them, ‘Spaniards of the more criminal class, small and vicious’ (in Balfour, 2002, p. 74). It also included men from Spain’s past and present colonial territories, including Moroccans.

¹⁰⁷ Fusi, 1999, p. 14.

evangelizador’, an opinion-based style of reporting with a strong ideological agenda, to the ‘periódico de empresa,’ which aspired to objectivity and political neutrality.¹⁰⁸ However, press conglomerates like the Sociedad Editorial de España, owned by a group of prominent liberal industrialists, financed some of the most influential newspapers in Spain, and the revolutionary press often criticised the hegemony of this plutocracy and sought to counter these newspapers with their ‘ideological purity’.¹⁰⁹ The press reached even the illiterate through group readings in local ateneos or political meetings. The importance of the media in giving shape to collective identities and class-consciousness, as discussed in the introduction, cannot be overstated. As Miguel de Unamuno declared, ‘la prensa ha hecho que el pueblo se haga público [...] es la que más ha contribuido a hacer conciencia popular nacional’.¹¹⁰ Within this thriving public sphere, the Rif War was a key point of contention in the years between 1909 and 1927. The press during this period reflects the profoundly divisive effect that the colonial campaigns had on society and politics.

For this study, I have included a selection of press publications that represent the range of public discourses on the Rif War and the range of audiences that might have been targeted. I have divided them into five main categories: the colonial military press (*Revista de tropas coloniales/África, Telegrama del Rif*), the liberal bourgeois press in Madrid (*Heraldo de Madrid, El imparcial*) and Barcelona (*La Vanguardia, Diario de Barcelona*) and the organ of the Philosephardic movement (*Revista de la raza*), the working class revolutionary press (*El socialista*), the conservative bourgeois press (*ABC, La Esfera, Nuevo*

¹⁰⁸ Seoane and Sáiz, 1996, p. 19.

¹⁰⁹ Seoane and Sáiz, 1996, p. 19.

¹¹⁰ Seoane and Sáiz, 1996, p. 33.

mundo, Mundo gráfico) and the Catholic integrist press (*El Debate, El Siglo futuro*).

The main defender of the colonial venture was the colonial military press. The journal *Revista de tropas coloniales* (Ceuta, 1924) was founded by General Queipo de Llano and the then obscure Lieutenant Coronel Francisco Franco as a champion of the military Africanist colonialist ideology.¹¹¹ The underlying motive in its creation was the military's frustration with popular opposition and public criticism of the colonial campaigns on the Peninsula and a desire to give voice to their colonialist ideology in the Spanish public sphere.¹¹² In addition to reports on military strategy and colonial policy, the journal contained sections devoted to Moroccan history and culture, Islamic religion, and the history of Islamic Iberia, 'la España musulmana.' It is unique among the colonial publications in its wealth of graphic material, featuring the work of photographers like Bartolomé Ros and artists like Mariano Bertuchi, who became the most well known graphic chronicler of the Spanish protectorate. It also features regular contributions by military figures who would later become leaders in the Civil War: Emilio Mola, Gonzalo Queipo de Llano, and of course Franco. As a cultural journal, the readership of *RTC* was likely limited to the officer class, although once it began to be printed in Madrid in 1926, when the name was changed to *África*, it was also accessible to a metropolitan audience. *RTC* has hitherto, somewhat surprisingly, been utilized little by historians of the Rif campaigns.

The most outspoken criticism of the colonial campaigns came from the revolutionary press, which saw the Rif War as an extension of the oppression of

¹¹¹ 'La Revista de tropas coloniales (África)', Hemeroteca digital de la BNE.

¹¹² For an excellent exposition of this argument see Rocío Velasco de Castro, 'De periodistas improvisados a golpistas consumados: el ideario militar africanista de la *Revista de Tropas Coloniales* (1924-1936)', *El Argonauta español* 10, 2013, pp. 1-30.

the working classes that was taking place in Spain. Newspapers like *El Socialista* (Madrid, 1913), founded by the leader of the PSOE¹¹³, Pablo Iglesias, were committed to denouncing injustice, defending the rights of workers, and politicising the masses.¹¹⁴ *El Socialista* underlined that it was only the assets of industrialists — the prominent shareholders in the Sociedad Española de Minas del Rif, such as the Count of Romanones, the Güell family and the Marquis of Comillas — that were at stake on African soil. Within their narrative of social oppression, they construct a unique image of Moroccan society in relation to Spanish society, which is explored in Chapter 2 in the context of the revolutionary press as well as Arturo Barea's literary account.

Because of their declared commitment to ideological neutrality and informational objectivity, none of the liberal press organs took a definite stance on the colonial campaigns, although more critical voices do emerge in the wake of the disasters of Barranco del Lobo and Annual. This reluctance to take a clear position was also due in part to the industrial interests underlying the Sociedad Editorial de España, which owned *El Imparcial* (Madrid, 1867), *El Liberal* (Madrid, 1901) and *El Heraldo de Madrid* (Madrid, 1890), whose shareholders included the Count of Romanones, who was also one of the key investors in the mining ventures in Morocco.¹¹⁵ *El Imparcial* and *El Heraldo* were two of the most influential and widely read newspapers in the early twentieth century.¹¹⁶ The liberal Catalan press, like *Diario de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1792), one of the oldest newspapers in Europe, and *La Vanguardia* (Barcelona, 1881), which was then and is still printed

¹¹³ Partido socialista obrero español, founded in 1883.

¹¹⁴ Seoane y Sáiz, 1996, p. 163.

¹¹⁵ Andréé Bachoud, *Los españoles ante las campañas de Marruecos*, Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1988, p. 66.

¹¹⁶ In 1900, *El Imparcial* sold an average of 140,000 copies per day (*El Heraldo de Madrid*, Hemeroteca digital de la BNE).

in Spanish, although there is now also a version in Catalan, was also widely read throughout the Peninsula.

These newspapers broadly aligned themselves with 'Regeneracionalismo' and liberal progressivism and their pages often featured contributions from prominent intellectuals like Miguel de Unamuno, Ramiro de Maeztu, Carmen de Burgos, Antonio Machado, Bosch i Gimpera, Max Aub, and Ramón J. Sender, among others. Some of them, like *La Vanguardia* and *El Heraldo*, were read by the working classes in Madrid and Barcelona as well as the elites. In terms of publications devoted exclusively to 'African' studies, *La Revista de la raza* (Madrid, 1915) was essentially a liberal metropolitan counterpart to *Revista de tropas coloniales (RTC)*, focusing on Spain's relationship with Arab and Jewish cultures across the world as well as the pan-Hispanic community of Latin America. It was created by Manuel Ortega, a journalist and scholar of Hebrew studies, and nearly a third of the journal was devoted to studies of Sephardic culture and featured the contribution of important figures in the Philosephardic movement, such as Ángel Pulido and Carmen de Burgos, notable Liberal and Republican political figures such as Niceto Alcalá Zamora and Alejandro Lerroux and also traditionalist scholars like José Antonio Sangróniz.

Rooted in a Catholic traditionalist view of Muslims and Jews as Spain's quintessential enemies, pro-militarism, and a hope of revitalising the long-lost imperial glory of the Golden Age, moderate newspapers like *ABC* (Madrid, 1903) present a rosy, albeit hazy patriotic image of the Rif War. With its pro-Catholic and pro-monarchical but relatively moderate stance, *ABC* was the most widely read newspaper among the conservative elite and often featured opinion columns

by prominent intellectuals associated with traditionalism at the time, such as Azorín, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, José María Salaverría, and Antonio de Hoyos y Vinent.¹¹⁷ *El Debate* (Madrid, 1910), the press organ of the CEDA under the leadership of Ángel Herrera from 1911 onwards also represented the voice of moderate political Catholicism and mostly avoided explicit statements condoning or criticising the colonial campaigns. On the other hand, *Siglo futuro* (Madrid, 1875) the organ of radical Carlism and the oldest of the Catholic integrist publications, presented the colonial campaigns as a continuation of Spain's timeless struggle against 'Moors' and Jews, the enemies of the faith. *Siglo futuro* represents the most radical strand of Catholic traditionalism within the Spanish Right in the first decades of the twentieth century. It is worth noting that it was a marginal publication in terms of readership; in a given year it only sold a maximum of 6,000 copies.¹¹⁸ However, it is included in this thesis because it displays the intense anti-Judaism that characterised radical Catholic nationalism in early twentieth-century Spain.

The Rif War also coincided with the development of photojournalism in Spain with the creation of new photographic magazines like *Nuevo mundo* (Madrid 1894), *Mundo gráfico* (Madrid, 1911), and *La Esfera* (Madrid, 1914), all of which formed part of another large press corporation, Prensa Gráfica, and with newspapers like *ABC*, *La Libertad*, and *El Imparcial* beginning to include photographs alongside their articles. In the first decades of the century, nearly all of the photographers that rose to prominence in Spain forged their careers as photojournalists in the Rif for the aforementioned newspapers and magazines,

¹¹⁷ The newspaper became more radically 'derechista' during the years of the Republic. When the Civil War broke out, *ABC Madrid* was controlled by the Republic, while *ABC Sevilla* became a mouthpiece for the insurgents.

¹¹⁸ Seoane and Sáiz, 1996, p. 115.

such as José Demaría López (alias Campúa, 1870-1936), as Alfonso Sánchez García (1880-1953), and his son, Alfonso Sánchez Portela (1902- 1990).¹¹⁹ This thesis draws in particular on the work of Campúa and Alfonso Sánchez Portela — whom I will refer to hereafter as Alfonso, as he was known professionally during his lifetime —published in the photographic magazines of *Prensa Gráfica* as well as the colonial *RTC* in order to juxtapose the colonial and metropolitan visual narratives of the war.

From the invention of the camera by Henry Fox Talbot in 1839 and the development of half-tone printing technologies in the early twentieth century, which allowed for the mass circulation of photographs in the press, photography went hand in hand with the modern European obsession with positivism and ‘objective’ reporting. When it began to be used in journalism, the image replaced the word as the most immediate form of testimony.¹²⁰ Until the use of the photomontage and photographic propaganda in the Spanish Civil War and Second World War, when the manipulative potential of photography began to be exploited, audiences saw the photograph as an important source of information because it was thought of as being most transparent medium, offering direct access to the real. As expressed by Roland Barthes, ‘language is, by nature, fictional [...] but the photograph is indifferent to all intermediaries, it does not invent, it is authentication in itself’.¹²¹

This belief in the exactitude of the camera underlies its use in photojournalism during the colonial campaigns. Photographs were employed to

¹¹⁹ Hernández Gutiérrez, A. Sebastián, ‘Fotoperiodismo en la guerra del Rif’, *Vegueta* 12 , 2012, Anuario de la Facultad de Geografía e Historia, Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, p. 52.

¹²⁰ John Berger, *Understanding a Photograph*, London, Penguin, 2013, p. 49.

¹²¹ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard, London Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1982, p. 87.

ratify what they represented and what was being communicated textually: military glory and heroism in the case of the colonial press or ‘truth-telling’ narratives¹²² about Barranco del Lobo and Annual in metropolitan magazines like *Nuevo mundo*, *La Esfera*, and *Mundo gráfico*. As a medium of representation, they provided a rebuke to the realm of the symbolic.¹²³ Particularly in the social context of early twentieth-century Spain, where half of the population was still illiterate in 1910,¹²⁴ the photograph played a powerful role in representing events to metropolitan audiences and in visualising the ‘imagined’ national community.¹²⁵ Photographs also lent support to colonialist ideologies by representing Moroccan culture to the Spanish public through the lens of Spanish photographers, who sought out dark, mysterious spaces and exotic women as subjects constructing ‘documentary’ visual discourses that provided an Orientalist spectacle under the guise of ethnography. This contradictory purpose of the camera as a ‘fantasy machine’¹²⁶ and as a mediator of truth, and the relationship between image and text in the press, are discussed at length in the sections on visual culture in Chapters 2 and 3.

Of course, the experience of photography was not the same for coloniser and colonised. Spanish journalists reported that the camera inspired horror, anger, and confusion among Moroccans. For example, *RTC* declared: ‘la máquina fotográfica, tan estimada por nosotros en Marruecos para conservar un recuerdo de aquellas tierras y aquellas escenas tan interesantes, es cosa que hay que emplear

¹²² Anna Carden-Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body: Classicism, Modernism, and the First World War*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 83.

¹²³ Sappol and Rice, 2010, p. 27.

¹²⁴ Fusi, *Un siglo de España: La cultura*, p.14

¹²⁵ As Benedict Anderson noted, imagining involves bringing something to our minds as an ‘image’ (Anderson, 1983, p. 35).

¹²⁶ Susan Sontag, *On Photography*, London, Allen Lane, 1977, p. 14.

allí con cuidado para no despertar odios'.¹²⁷ The distrust of photography had particular significance in Morocco, where Islamic religion forbade the making of images and statues.¹²⁸

1:4. Selected literary texts on the Rif War: 1909-1943

The three literary texts under study in this thesis have been selected from the wider canon of writing on the Rif War because they provide a range of cultural and ideological perspectives on Spanish identity and its cultural relationship with Morocco and because they exemplify the crossover between the press and literature in representations of Moroccan culture. Carmen de Burgos' *En la guerra* (1909) articulates a liberal pacifist critique of the conflict, but also represents an example of naturalist writing and the application of social Darwinian theories to representations of the cultural differences between Spain and North Africa. Giménez Caballero's *Notas marruecas de un soldado* (1923) provides an example of the application of Orientalist discourses, modernist aesthetics, and 'noventaiochista' ideals to the cultural relationship between Spain and Morocco. In this context, *Notas marruecas* is read both as a political and as an artistic text because it contains both a germinating revolutionary nationalism, or proto-fascism, and a germinating artistic vanguardism. Written 20 years later, Barea's *La ruta* (1943) is a socio-political narrative of the war, which is portrayed in light of the Civil War that followed, and this thesis explores how Barea integrates the

¹²⁷ Andrés Sánchez Pérez, 'El orgullo musulmán', *RTC* marzo 1924, p. 33.

¹²⁸ The Africanist journalist and novelist Isaac Ruiz Albéniz recalled a tribal chief who had his photograph taken, but destroyed it immediately when he saw it out of fear that Allah might confuse the picture with his real body after death, which would keep him from reaching paradise (Mateo Dieste, 1997, p. 137).

narrative of oppression articulated in the revolutionary press into his literary portrayal of Spaniards and Moroccans.

Carmen de Burgos, *En la guerra* (1909)

Carmen de Burgos' novella *En la guerra* is the only literary work on the Rif War written by a woman who witnessed the conflict first-hand. Burgos was sent to Morocco in August 1909 by the Madrid newspaper *El Heraldo* as a war correspondent when the assault by Riffian guerillas on Spanish railway workers outside Melilla in early July had escalated into a costly and unpopular military operation. Her novella, though fictional, draws on her own experience of the war and brings a rare female account to the male-dominated body of literature on the Moroccan campaigns.

As a self-sufficient and renowned journalist, novelist, translator, educator, and leading women's rights activist, Carmen de Burgos Seguí was a singular woman in her cultural context. Born in Almería in 1867, she moved to Madrid in 1900 and joined the staff of *El Diario Universal* in 1902, writing a column on 'women's issues', which she signed as *Colombine*, the pen name that she would use for the rest of her literary career. She also began to publish material on women's rights: her opinion poll on divorce in Spain, which was published in a pamphlet, *El Divorcio en España* (1904) was the subject of much controversy, earning her the title among her critics of 'la divorciadora'. From 1906 onwards, Burgos held weekly 'tertulias' at her home, which were attended by prominent figures in the literary scene of Madrid including Rafael Cansinos-Assens, Sofía Casanova, Rubén Darío, Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, and Ramón Gómez de la Serna. She also played an important role in the Philosephardic movement, participating in

the foundation of the Alianza Hispano Israelí in 1908 with the support of Ángel Pulido, Benito Pérez Galdós, and Miguel de Unamuno. In 1906 she joined the staff of *El Heraldo* and became Spain's first female war correspondent when she was sent to Morocco in July 1909 to report on the colonial conflict.¹²⁹ Over the course of the 1920s, Burgos took advantage of her successes as a writer and journalist to raise awareness and spark debate on women's rights issues. In 1921 she acted as a founding member of the Cruzada para Mujeres Españolas, which led the Spanish campaign for female suffrage, and in 1931 she joined the Radical Republican party and became a member of the Freemasons.

Much of Burgos' writing appeared in the form of 'novelas populares', short paperback novels published in weekly series that were pitched both in price and style towards a mass audience. In the first decade of the twentieth century, cheap weekly publications devoted to the dissemination of short fiction, the first of which was *El Cuento semanal* (1907–1912), became increasingly popular.¹³⁰ Burgos was one of the first contributors to this publication, her first four novellas, including *En la guerra*, were published in the series and hence shared in its enormous success.¹³¹ Unlike the dime novels aimed at the working class in nineteenth century England, these series were regarded as quality literature and their contributors included esteemed authors like Pérez Galdós, Emilia Pardo Bazán, Pío Baroja, and Ramón del Valle-Inclán. Burgos published over 100 novels in the course of her lifetime, using popular fiction as a vehicle to engage a wide

¹²⁹ However, she was given an explicitly feminine mission, detailed in *El Heraldo*: 'estar al lado de la Cruz Roja [...] informar a nuestros lectores de cuanto a heridos y enfermos se refiere y proporcionarnos datos para contestar a las cartas que recibimos pidiéndonos noticias de soldados que están en la guerra' (Pozzi, 2000, p. 89).

¹³⁰ *El Cuento Semanal* was founded in 1907 by Eduardo Zamacois y Antonio Giliardo (Ortiz-Repiso, 2013, p. 30). Similar publications include *Los Contemporáneos*, *El Libro popular*, *La Novela corta*, *La Novela semanal*, *La Novela de hoy* and *La Novela mundial*.

¹³¹ The first four novellas were entitled: *El tesoro del Castillo* (1907); *Senderos de vida*, (1908); *En la guerra*, (*El Cuento semanal* 148: 29 Oct, 1909), and *El honor de la familia* (*El Cuento semanal* 238).

audience of readers with social issues in the modern, urban Spain that was coming into being.¹³²

En la guerra first appeared in *La novela semanal* in November 1909 and was published the same year by the Editorial Sempere as part of a collection of short novels. It was written while Burgos was in Morocco reporting for *El Heraldo*, as she states in her initial note to the reader in the first edition to the book. In fact, numerous passages from her war chronicles published in the newspaper during August and September 1909 are reproduced in the novella, and Burgos writes that her words, ‘hasta como obra de artista son algo accidental y en el fondo labor de periodista.’¹³³ *En la guerra* is centred on a female protagonist, Alina, who has come to Morocco with her husband, an officer in the Spanish army, but who begins to fall in love with his best friend. Events unfold in a linear plot narrated by an omniscient third person. The novella bears the features of a bourgeois melodrama in its indulgence of strong emotionalism, rhetorical excess, and delineation of moral dichotomies, which will be explored in the discussion of Burgos’ portrayal of the Berber enemy in the war.¹³⁴ In terms of its intended audience, it has the sentimentalism of a ‘novela rosa’, the romantic novels written for a female audience that became popular during this time, but equally it is set on the battlefield, a traditionally masculine environment, perhaps to engage a wider audience, as the readership of *La novela semanal* was certainly not limited to women.

¹³² Susan Kirkpatrick, ‘Women as Cultural Agents in Spanish Modernity’, in Xon de Ros and Geraldine Hazbun (eds), *A Companion to Spanish Women’s Studies*, Woodbridge, Tamesis, 2011, pp. 227-241, p. 232.

¹³³ Carmen De Burgos Seguí, prologue to *En la guerra*, Valencia, F. Semperey Compañía editores, 1909, p. 3.

¹³⁴ As Anja Louis notes, melodramas characterise individuals with moral epithets: people are honest and virtuous or false, terrible, cruel and tyrannical (Louis, 2004, p. 771).

In terms of engaging its audience with social issues, the novella presents a subtle critique of the constraints imposed by the institution of marriage, an issue that Burgos deals with in much of her writing during this period, but also a perhaps unintentionally contradictory portrayal of bourgeois femininity. Although this aspect is not the focus of my analysis, it is worth commenting on briefly. Initially, the narrator presents the novella's protagonist as a cheerful, gentle, and compassionate woman. Alina's fragile beauty is compared to the image of a Byzantine saint (15), and her name, the Greek word for light, is perhaps an allusion to her moral purity.¹³⁵ The fact that it is not a common Spanish name suggests that she may not be Spanish. In fact, her physical appearance conforms more to an Aryan racial ideal: she is tall, blonde, and blue-eyed with delicate features, an ideal that will be explored further on in this thesis in terms of Burgos' racial portrayals.¹³⁶ She is a 'modern' woman in the sense that she is cosmopolitan and independent, the only woman in the novella who travels freely on her own in Morocco. Likewise, in her maternal tenderness and her consistent observations about suffering that the war brings to those behind the battle lines, she serves as a literary prototype for Spanish women who had lost men in the Moroccan campaigns in 1909.¹³⁷ In these aspects, she embodies an image of ideal femininity. Although Burgos was to become a leading women's rights activist and championed the image of a modern woman who was independent and free of the constraints of traditional institutions, her portrayals of feminine identity in her

¹³⁵ Alina is in fact the name of a Belgian saint.

¹³⁶ It is also possible that Carmen's sister Ketty, who travelled to Morocco with her and whom Cansinos-Assens described 'con sus ojos soñadores, su moño alto y su predilección por los versos de Bécquer' (Cansinos-Assens, 1982, p. 271), may have provided inspiration for the appearance and personality of Alina.

¹³⁷ When Burgos was reporting on the war, the families of soldiers sent letters to *El Heraldo* asking for news of their loved ones, which she took it upon herself to respond to, so in a sense she herself acted as a representative in Morocco for women on the home-front.

early writings were more traditional in their emphasis on physical beauty and sentimental capacity.¹³⁸

However, Alina also displays certain weaknesses of character. Her relationship with her husband's best friend, Gonzalo, is described as 'un amor verdadero, contenido en los límites del deber' (48). This suppression of emotion is not conveyed as noble because she is allowing herself to be constrained by the artificial and binding social structure of marriage. However, her dramatic outburst of emotion in the final climax of the novella, when Gonzalo is killed in the Battle of Gurugú, is not particularly noble either. The last scene describes Alina throwing herself 'ciega y loca' (53) upon his cadaver in the presence of her shocked husband, who tries to comfort her. Although Alina superficially embodies the virtues of the ideal 'ángel del hogar', she contradicts the feminine ideal of selflessness that Burgos has attempted to construct with her destructive and selfish public breakdown and disregard for her patient husband. Her response to his subsequent death is not given any attention in the narrative; rather the reader is perfunctorily informed of his death in a brief epilogue. Ultimately, despite the author's intentions to posit her as an ideal, Alina's character does not hold together as a model of modern, strong, or nurturing femininity.

There is a significant distinction between the nature of Alina's voice and that of the narrator. The voice of the narrator is mostly jingoistic, defending the glory and the camaraderie that war brings to men and 'witnessing' the battle scenes that Alina is not able to witness. In contrast, Alina does not speak often, but when she does, it is almost invariably to protest the war. In this sense, she acts as

¹³⁸ See this formulation of femininity in *La Mujer en España* (1906). However, by the time she published her feminist manifesto *La mujer moderna y sus derechos* (1927) Colombine had formulated a much more radical vision of gender equality.

an uncensored mouthpiece for an explicit message of pacifism, although her idealistic proclamations come across to the critic as somewhat superficial and naïve. Pacifist views are also expressed in an extensive number of epigraphs at the beginning of the novella, which include quotes by Anatole France, Guy de Maupassant, Pascal, and Frederick II, and a number of military figures.¹³⁹ These quotes show Colombine's erudition, the result of her self-education as well as her work as a translator.¹⁴⁰ They also show some of her literary influences. Guy de Maupassant, to whom the critic Tomás Morales compared Burgos in his review of her first collection of stories, *Cuentos de Colombine*,¹⁴¹ was a French naturalist writer, and Burgos states in her prologue to the novel *Los inadaptados* — also published in 1909 — that of all genres, 'tiene mi preferencia la sana novela naturalista'.¹⁴²

In this aspect, *En la guerra* needs to be considered in terms of the influence of naturalism and its themes of social and hereditary determinism and fears of degeneration on its depictions of Moroccan culture. The theory of degeneration as a process of mental, moral or physical decline of individuals or societies gained widespread authority at the end of the nineteenth century, as the enlightenment belief in progress was eroded by *fin de siècle* fears of reverse evolution and cultural decline. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, the dominant Western epistemology was one of positivism, with its corresponding sub-theories of race, degeneracy, eugenics, and hygiene. Race was a critical issue,

¹³⁹ Prologue to *En la guerra*, pp. 8-12.

¹⁴⁰ Among her many published translations are Tolstoy's *Objecciones contra la guerra y el militarismo* and the works of Max Nordau and Paul Julius Moebius.

¹⁴¹ Su arte es arte de naturaleza [...] sus pequeñas narraciones novelas completísimas, tales que pudieran compararse, sin menoscabo, con las del gran maestro de cuentistas, Guy de Maupassant (Morales in Utrera, 1998, p. 92).

¹⁴² Carmen de Burgos Seguí, *Los inadaptados*, Granada, Caja General de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad de Granada, 1990, p. 4.

and fears of social disintegration were formulated in terms of the breakdown of divisions between races, genders and classes.¹⁴³

In Spain, prominent novelists like Emilia Pardo Bazán and Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, a close friend of Burgos', displayed a naturalist concern for degeneration, and 'Regeneracionistas' such as Ángel Ganivet and Joaquín Costa, who sought to understand and propose social and political remedies for the decline of Spain, viewed social Darwinist theories as a measure of civilised nature. Darwinism provided considerable impetus for degeneration theories because it argued for continuity between humans and animals, suggesting the capacity for *homo sapiens* to revert to its bestial origins. The concept of degeneration was applied across a variety of disciplines to a range of phenomena, including sexual deviance, criminality, lunacy, and colonialism, becoming a signifier for the pathological anxieties of modern European society.¹⁴⁴ As Elena Establier Pérez (2000) and Susan Martín-Márquez (2008) have noted, Colombine's novels explore a range of facets of degeneration, from the degeneracy of the aristocracy in *El veneno del arte* (1911) to that of the abject poor in *Venganza* (1918) and of sexual deviancy in *Ellas y ellos o ellos y ellas* (1917).¹⁴⁵ *En la guerra*, which precedes these novels, represents an early treatment of the subject in a colonial context, as I will explore in Chapter 3, although the unconscious marriage of melodrama and naturalism in the novella produces a somewhat strange clash of literary conventions.

¹⁴³ Catherine Davies, *Spanish Women's Writing, 1849-1996*, London, Athlone Press, 1998, p. 129.

¹⁴⁴ The major proponent of degeneration theory in the 1890s was Max Nordau, a Budapest-born German physician and Zionist leader who was one of the European intellectuals who went to Spain during the First World War. Nordau attended Colombine's tertulias and reviewed her novels, and she translated his *Cuentos a Maxa* (1914). Although her relationship with him does not have any relevance to this novel, as it began a few years after she wrote *En la guerra*, it is worth noting in this context.

¹⁴⁵ See Chapter 4 in Susan Martín-Márquez (2008) and Chapter 5 in Elena Establier Pérez, *Mujer y Feminismo en la obra de Carmen de Burgos Colombine* (2000) for a discussion of degeneracy in the novels of Carmen de Burgos.

Ernesto Giménez Caballero, *Notas marruecas de un soldado* (1923)

In February 1923, in the heat of the political crisis revolving around the parliamentary investigation on military responsibility for the Disaster of Annual, Ernesto Giménez Caballero published 500 copies of his first book, *Notas marruecas de un soldado*, on his father's printing press.¹⁴⁶ The testimonial of the colonial war sold out in two weeks and catapulted its obscure young author into the intellectual elite and into military prison on contempt charges. However, he was absolved of these charges by General Primo de Rivera, who led a coup to overthrow the Restoration government a few months later and released Giménez Caballero on the grounds that he had read the *Notas marruecas* and agreed with the grievances it raised.¹⁴⁷ Although the author claims in the last pages of the book to have merely set out to write 'una modesta contribución a nuestra escasa literatura colonial',¹⁴⁸ as well as being a documentary of life in the protectorate, *Notas marruecas* is a bold denunciation of the incompetence of the Spanish military in Morocco, ending with a call to the generation of soldiers who had fought in the Rif War to unite and intervene in the public debate over the Disaster of Annual.

In his autobiography, *Memorias de un dictador*, Giménez Caballero writes of his birth in Madrid in August 1899: 'España agonizaba. Yo nacía'.¹⁴⁹ Spain had just suffered the loss of the last of its overseas colonies in the Spanish-American

¹⁴⁶ Ernesto Giménez Caballero, prologue to *Notas marruecas de un soldado*, Barcelona, Planeta, 1983, p. 5.

¹⁴⁷ Primo de Rivera had served in the war of Melilla of 1893, but similarly, the experience had led him to develop a critical view of Spanish colonialism in North Africa, although he found himself compromising this view to avoid the hostility of the Spanish military in Morocco, who were becoming an increasingly influential voice in Spanish politics.

¹⁴⁸ Ernesto Giménez Caballero, *Notas marruecas de un soldado*, Barcelona, Planeta, 1983, p. 185.

¹⁴⁹ Ernesto Giménez Caballero, *Memorias de un dictador*. Barcelona, Planeta, 1979, p. 2.

war, a defeat that had brought a spirit of radical disillusion and insecurity to Spanish society and politics as well as military culture. Giménez Caballero entered this intellectual climate of pessimism when he began his studies in 1916 at the University of Madrid in the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, where he was taught by José Ortega y Gasset, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Américo Castro, and Miguel Asís Palacios. It was here that he first discovered the ideas of the writers of 1898 and their preoccupations with what they regarded as the spiritual malaise of the Spanish nation. Giménez Caballero creates a genealogy for his own writing by referring to these writers as his grandparents because of their foundational influence on his thinking. Throughout *Notas marruecas* he pays tribute to ‘mis ídolos’, Pío Baroja, Indalecio Prieto, Azorín, and Unamuno, giving to the latter his first copy of the book.¹⁵⁰

In October 1920, Giménez Caballero obtained a lectureship in Spanish language and literature at the University of Strasbourg and embarked on what he describes as ‘una peregrinación desesperada para salvar a nuestra cultura europeizándola’.¹⁵¹ This marked the beginning of a Germanophile phase in his thinking, influenced by the Europeanism of his professor and mentor Ortega y Gasset, which becomes evident in his discussions in *Notas marruecas* of the inferiorities of Spain in relation to Northern Europe. His academic work was interrupted when he was summoned for military service in Morocco in July 1921. Although his financial circumstances allowed him to shorten his term of conscription he could not avoid it altogether; he was one of many young middle-class recruits urgently rushed to Morocco in the summer of 1921 after Annual had

¹⁵⁰ Giménez Caballero, 1983, p. 5.

¹⁵¹ Giménez Caballero, 1979, p. 49.

decimated the Spanish army. For Giménez Caballero, the war in Morocco was a landmark event in the process of defining his identity.¹⁵²

At the time of writing *Notas marruecas*, Giménez Caballero was not yet associated with the Spanish vanguard movement in which he would become a key figure later in the 1920s. He did not take part in the initiatives of the ultraístas between 1918 and 1922 and was not historically associated with that initial call for literary revolution of artists in Spain after the First World War.¹⁵³ However, as a student in Madrid he regularly attended the tertulias of Ramón Gómez de la Serna at Café Pombo, an author whose literary practice came to embody the ‘surrealista’ movement, as well as the lectures at the Residencia de Estudiantes, where the community of surrealist writers and artists would emerge that included Lorca, Dalí, and Buñuel. In his memoirs, Giménez Caballero makes reference to his acquaintance with Lorca and his close friendship with Dalí and Gómez de la Serna.¹⁵⁴ After returning from Morocco, Giménez Caballero became one of the leading promoters of the Spanish avant-garde, the new generation of experimental artists who saw themselves as liberators of art from its decadent and conformist bourgeois influences. Giménez Caballero created the first Spanish cinema forum, the Cineclub, in 1928, and founded and edited *La Gaceta literaria* alongside Guillermo de la Torre from 1927 to 1931. The journal became the main organ for the dissemination of the European vanguard and included among its collaborators the young poets Federico García Lorca, Rafael Alberti, and Jorge Guillén, as well as some of the older generation of writers like Pío Baroja and Azorín, the

¹⁵² As he would state later in his autobiography, ‘en Marruecos descubrí mi espíritu euromoro’ (Giménez Caballero, 1979, p. 48).

¹⁵³ Nigel Dennis, ‘Ernesto Giménez Caballero and Surrealism: A Reading of *Yo, inspector de Alcantarillas* (1928)’, in Brian C. Morris (ed.), *The Surrealist Adventure in Spain*, Ottawa, Dovehouse editions, 1991, pp. 80-95, p. 81.

¹⁵⁴ Giménez Caballero, 1979, pp. 60, 62, 71.

modernists Juan Ramón Jiménez and Antonio Machado, and surrealists Salvador Dalí and Luis Buñuel.

As Dennis (1991) and Selva (2007) have noted, Giménez Caballero did not align himself with any single vanguardist movement, but was linked to and influenced by nearly all of them.¹⁵⁵ Likewise, he deviated from many of his contemporaries in his attempts to politicise the vanguard movement. His writings throughout the 1920s, as well as in the material he chose to publish in *La Gaceta*, reflect his search for an ideological formula that would redeem the Spanish nation. In 1918 he joined the Grupo de Estudiantes Socialistas, and as editor of *La Gaceta* he published articles that promoted Iberian Federalism, Catalan nationalism, and Philosephardism. His involvement in the Philosephardic movement will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 2.

He also differs from his vanguardist contemporaries and in his conversion to fascism in 1929, when he returned from a visit to Italy deeply impressed by the Mussolini regime.¹⁵⁶ In his prologue to the 1983 edition of *Notas marruecas*, Giménez Caballero claims that the book was a first proclamation of National Socialism, ‘lo que entonces germinaba en Europa aunque yo lo desconociera’ (7). He regarded fascism as the true revolution of modernity¹⁵⁷ and was the earliest and most prominent Spanish intellectual to embrace it and adapt it to the ‘peculiarities’ of the Spanish nation, fusing Pan-Latin fascism and Catholic traditionalism in an ideological project that culminated in his manifesto *Genio de España* in 1932.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ Enrique Selva, *Ernesto Giménez Caballero: entre la vanguardia y el fascismo*, Valencia, Pre-Textos, 2000, p. 9.

¹⁵⁶ Giménez Caballero met his Italian wife in Strasburg.

¹⁵⁷ Stanley G. Payne, *Fascism in Spain, 1923-1977*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1999, p. 52.

¹⁵⁸ At first his cultural nationalism was pluralistic, he defended regional nationalisms in Spain (in particular Catalan nationalisms) and saw fascism as the genuine expression of a Latin (Roman) and Catholic community that encompassed cultures in Spain, Italy and Portugal that transcended materialism and artificiality. However, eventually he began to formulate a vision of an exclusive Spanish spirit.

He participated in the foundation of Ramiro Ledesma Ramos' JONS¹⁵⁹ in 1931 and served on the council of José Antonio Primo de Rivera's Falangist party in October 1933, although he was excluded from the Falangist movement after 1933 due to ideological differences with the aforementioned leaders.¹⁶⁰ Giménez Caballero's complex ideological trajectory is not anomalous or eccentric, but rather representative of the volatile political and intellectual climate of Spain, and Europe as a whole, in the interwar period.¹⁶¹ Because he stands at the intersection of various intellectual currents, his work provides an ideal site for the study of Spain's struggle to define its identity in this first quarter of the twentieth century.

Unlike the other testimonies of the Moroccan war discussed in this dissertation, which are distinctly war narratives, *Notas marruecas* is more appropriately defined as a travelogue. Giménez Caballero did not participate in active combat in Morocco, probably because through influential contacts he was able to obtain a post in the rearguard, and as a result, his notes on military life are so few and far between that the reader almost forgets that the author is wearing a uniform. He inserts himself into the literary tradition of travel writing by making references to European travellers like Rudyard Kipling and Chateaubriand. In this aspect, his narrative has the character of previous male-written European travelogues on the Middle East and North Africa, which combine autobiographical anecdotes with quasi-empirical ethnographic observations.

At the same time, the discontinuity and ironic tone of his prose anticipate the vanguard that Giménez Caballero would soon develop. The narrative is not

¹⁵⁹ Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional-Sindicalista.

¹⁶⁰ Douglas W. Foard, *Ernesto Giménez Caballero, o, la revolución del poeta: estudio sobre el nacionalismo cultural hispánico en el siglo XX*, Madrid, Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1975, p. 21

¹⁶¹ Foard, 1975, p. 21.

sequential but is divided into seven independent and self-contained sections or 'notas': 'Notas de campamento,' 'Notas de hospital', 'Un viaje en el Giralda', 'Notas de Tetuán', 'La judería', 'Notas de otros lugares', and 'Nota final en Madrid', which was written later on in Madrid, in December 1922. Each episode is narrated in an apparently detached and authoritative voice that recalls a foreign correspondent documenting events. This structure and style is reminiscent of the Spanish American *crónica modernista*, a short piece, published in a journalistic venue and produced in a polished literary style, which served as vehicle for historical, political, and social reflections, as well as literary criticism and experimentation for Latin American modernist writers.¹⁶² Many chronicles were written from abroad, providing self-reflective commentaries on the experience of travel itself.¹⁶³ The chronicler and literary critic Gómez Carrillo argued that travel narratives should record 'sensaciones: lo más, sutil, más pintoresco, más poético'.¹⁶⁴ *Notas marruecas* adopts the structure of a collection of journalistic chronicles, producing vivid sensory descriptions of sights and sounds as they affect the writer's consciousness, and provides a vehicle for Giménez Caballero to experiment with and develop his own modernist style.

Notas marruecas is a direct reference to the eighteenth century epistolary novel *Cartas marruecas* (1793) by José Cadalso, a collection of fictive letters in which a Spaniard and two Moroccans discuss the character of the Spanish nation. Like Giménez Caballero, Cadalso was a cosmopolitan Spanish soldier; and although it is set in Spain rather than Morocco, *Cartas marruecas* also presents a

¹⁶² Anibal González, *A Companion to Spanish American Modernismo*, Woodbridge, Tamesis, 2007, p. 51.

¹⁶³ González, 2007, p. 42

¹⁶⁴ Santiago Gómez-Carrillo, *El primer libro de las crónicas*. Madrid: Editorial Mundo Latino, 1919, p. 11.

discussion of Spanish identity through comparisons of Spanish, European and Moroccan culture. When Giménez Caballero arrived in Morocco in July 1921, he came inspired by the progressiveness of Germanic culture from his year in Strasbourg and weighed down by Spain's backwardness, starkly evident in its recent colonial failures. 'Buscaba la fórmula que resolviese la ecuación entre mi devoción a España y el reconocimiento de su atraso'.¹⁶⁵ This desire to *locate* Spain in relation to Northern Europe and North Africa is expressed throughout the book in the comparisons the author draws between these cultures, such as his note 'Kif y cigarrillos', which discusses cannabis and tobacco as respective representations of European and Moroccan culture, and 'Terrados', which compares the character of the cities of Strasbourg, Seville, and Tetuán.

In its reflections on the essential character of the Spanish nation, the novel shows a clear influence of the preoccupations of the writers of 1898 with the 'essential' character and the historical myths of the Spanish nation. The myth of medieval Castile and don Quijote, the search for a new man who would reject materialism and pursue a 'noble quimera', and the regeneration of Spain, as Laín Entralgo writes, 'una España venidera en la que se han de enlazar su peculiaridad histórica e intrahistórica con las exigencias del mundo moderno' provide a clear undercurrent to Giménez Caballero's reflections on Spain.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ Giménez Caballero, 1979, p. 16.

¹⁶⁶ Pedro Laín Entralgo, *La generación del 98*, Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1997, p. 4.

Arturo Barea, *La ruta* (1943)

La ruta is the second part of Arturo Barea's autobiographical trilogy *La forja de un rebelde*. *La forja* (1941) narrates Barea's childhood in Madrid, *La ruta* describes his experience serving as a soldier in the Rif War between 1920 and 1923, and *La llama* (1944) covers the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War and the author's first years of exile between 1935 and 1940. The trilogy was first published in English as *The Forging of a Rebel*, translated by Barea's wife Ilsa,¹⁶⁷ and was his first and most critically acclaimed work, although its acclaim was primarily outside of Spain. The novel did not appear in Spain until 1977, although the Losada edition had circulated clandestinely before then.¹⁶⁸

Arturo Barea was born in 1897 in Badajoz and moved to Madrid as a child with his three siblings and widowed mother, who worked as a washmaid. Thanks to affluent relatives he received an elite education and served as a sergeant in Morocco, but his working-class origins and his middle class status caused an identity conflict that surfaces throughout *La forja de un rebelde*, making the class struggle a central theme of his writing. In Morocco he witnessed the corruption and nepotism that was rife among Spanish officers and the injustices they inflicted on common soldiers, which he documents in *La ruta*. When he returned to Madrid after the Rif War, Barea joined the UGT and campaigned for the Socialist Party between 1935 and 1936.¹⁶⁹ During the Civil War he worked as a censor in the foreign press office, where he met his second wife Ilsa Kulcsar, an Austrian journalist and translator. Together they fled to Paris in February 1938 and settled

¹⁶⁷ Barea wrote *La ruta* in his native Spanish between 1941 and 1942 in England, where he and his wife Ilsa had settled. The novel was published first in English by Faber and Faber in 1943 (re-printed in 1944) the first Spanish version published by editorial Losada of Buenos Aires had 3 more chapters added (IX of the first section and III, VII of the second).

¹⁶⁸ The trilogy was made into a TV series by Mario Camus in 1990.

¹⁶⁹ Union General de Trabajadores.

in England in 1939, where Barea worked for the BBC Spanish American service delivering weekly broadcasts under the pseudonym of 'Juan de Castilla'.¹⁷⁰ He died in 1957 in Eaton Hastings, Oxfordshire, never returning to the country of his birth and the subject of most of his writing.¹⁷¹

Categorising *La ruta* within a specific genre is problematic. It is an autobiography according to Philippe Lejeune's definition of the term, where the author, narrator and protagonist share a name and the narrative is self-referential.¹⁷² The narrative voice is that of Barea as a young sergeant, but through the alternating use of present, past and future tenses he fuses the voice of his younger self with an authorial voice, retelling his experiences in a stream of consciousness partially based on memory and partially enriched with the perspectives that time and displacement have afforded him. The linear chronology of events reflects the temporality of human experience. Barea's role as a witness to significant events, particularly the Battle of Annual in 1921, validates the historical status of the narrative, but these events are described in such detail that the distinction between fiction and memory often appears to blur.

Lejeune's notion of the autobiographical 'pact' between author and reader, in which the autobiographer explicitly commits himself not to some impossible historical exactitude but rather to the sincere effort to represent and come to terms with his own life, applies to Barea's narrative. However, the commitment that Barea makes is not just to tell his own story, but to also relate the collective narrative of the Spanish people. In the foreword to the English edition of *The*

¹⁷⁰ Barea was rejected from the BBC Spanish service for being 'too political' (Murphy, 2013, p. 15).

¹⁷¹ Barea was the last of the Spanish exiles that lodged in the Buscot Estate in Eaton Hastings, a group that included the Catalan poet Domènec Ferramon and the Andalusian Pedro Garfias.

¹⁷² Philippe Lejeune, *On Autobiography*, trans. Paul John Eakin, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1989.

Track, Barea tells the reader that his intention is to speak on behalf of the common people of Spain, ‘la gente de abajo’,¹⁷³ and the last line of the book reaffirms this claim of collective autobiography: ‘y por aquellos días, miles de hombres estaban trazando nuevas rutas a través de toda España’ (245). In his description of the battle of Annual he writes, ‘lo que yo conozco es parte de la historia nunca escrita, que creó una tradición en las masas del pueblo’ (87). Like Burgos, Barea distinguishes his account from the ‘official’ versions of the war presented in ‘libros de historia’ (87), and ‘la tradición de los periódicos’ (112). This assertion from both authors is interesting in the context of this thesis in terms of its comparison of representations in the press and literary modes. The narrator in *La ruta* asserts, ‘la guerra —mi guerra—, y el desastre de Melilla —mi desastre— no tenían semejanza alguna con la guerra y con el desastre que estos periódicos españoles desarrollaban ante los ojos del lector’ (112). Whereas newspapers often wax lyrical about the heroism of the officers and how it ultimately sustained the morale of their troops, Barea describes officers fleeing the scene of battle, fainting and tearing off their insignia so as not to be a target for enemy snipers (113).

Barea writes himself into the narrative as an agent of conscience. The protagonist does not succumb to the corruption of his fellow officers, does not participate in their abuses of power and does not share their prejudices against the colonial population. He is neither a victim nor a perpetrator in the oppressive system. Unlike the detached tone of Giménez Caballero’s narrative voice, the narrator in *La ruta* is emotionally and ideologically implicated in the events that take place. For example, through his use of the first person plural, ‘nosotros’, in his account of the battles he participates in he identifies with the experience of the

¹⁷³ Arturo Barea, *The Forging of a Rebel*, trans. Ilsa Barea, London, Davis-Poynter, 1972, p. 3.

common troops rather than his fellow officers. The socio-political agenda of *La ruta*, which I explore in Chapter 2, and its claim to represent the ‘common people’ of Spain is what most makes it most difficult to categorise the narrative as an autobiography. As a result, although it is certainly a form of life writing, I categorise *La ruta* as a socio-political novel on the Rif War, grounded in immediate testimony.

The narrative is set in the Spanish protectorate, which is portrayed as ‘nada más que un campo de batalla, un burdel y una taberna inmensos’ (59). In this sense, Morocco is represented as a testing ground for Spanish manhood where men are either made or un-made. The battlefield can transform men into war heroes but equally into corpses, dismembered and mutilated by the Berber enemy. In the brothel, soldiers can assert their masculinity through sexual conquest, but they can also find themselves threatened by venereal disease and by women who pass on their military secrets to the Moroccan resistance. In the tavern they can display their virility in dramatic speeches and brawls with their fellow soldiers, but they can also degrade themselves through drunkenness and debauchery. It is in the battlefield, the brothel, and the tavern that the narrative largely takes place, from Barea’s arrival in Morocco November 1920 until the battle of Annual in July 1921.

In terms of style, Barea was criticised by some of his contemporaries for his lack of cultural and academic formation and for the simplicity of his prose.¹⁷⁴ However, it is this simplicity that makes his account stand out as a raw testimonial of the Rif War. Although his language is simple and his text void of the cultural references that colour the work of Ernesto Giménez Caballero’s chronicle of the

¹⁷⁴ Murphy, 2013, p. 15.

Rif War, the dramatic and grotesquely violent character of Barea's battle scenes, particularly his description of the aftermath of Annual and his rendition of a speech by Millán Astray to the Legion, succeed in conveying the brutalisation of Spanish military culture that took place over the course of war in Morocco.

The narrative structure of *La ruta* is circular: it begins with the narrator resting beside a fig tree during the construction of a road from Tetuán to Xauén, and ends with him returning to the memory of the road and the fig tree. The road, or 'ruta', and the tree are both significant images. The fig tree is often posited as a symbol of old Castile as well as of Morocco, thus it represents the ancient and deep-rooted cultural heritage that unites Spain and Morocco. The road also suggests the nature of the narrative as a *bildungsroman*. However, more significantly, the road is a metaphor representing the Rif War as the road, 'la ruta' to the Spanish Civil War. The novel ends with a protest by an old Moroccan peasant about the Spanish construction of a road to Xauén that can be read as an omen of the civil conflict to come, 'este camino está lleno de sangre todo él. Lo veo. Y se volverá a llenar de sangre, ¡otra vez y otra y cien veces más!' (224).

Barea's view of the link between the two conflicts will be explored in Chapter 3 in terms of the military, social and political identities that took shape in Morocco and as a result of the Moroccan campaigns. At the time of writing *La ruta*, Barea had a clear understanding of the direction of the ideological struggles in Spain and their implications for the Second World War that had engulfed Europe. It is this perspective that distinguishes it from earlier socio-political narratives of the Moroccan War. As Michael Eaude notes in his biography of Barea (2011), the author was able to reflect on the Moroccan campaigns in light of the Civil War that followed, giving his account greater political depth than the literature written

on the subject prior to the war.¹⁷⁵ In fact, in many aspects, Barea's narrative of the Rif War is haunted by his memory of the Civil War, an issue I will also explore throughout my analysis of the novel.

¹⁷⁵ Michael Eaude, *Triumph at Midnight of the Century: A Critical Biography of Arturo Barea, Explaining the Roots of the Spanish Civil War*, Brighton, Sussex Academic, 2011.

Chapter 2: Representations of affinity

During the Spanish colonial campaigns in the Rif, a range of cultural discourses in Spain represented Morocco as a society with significant racial, cultural, and ‘spiritual’ ties to the Iberian Peninsula. Writers, journalists, and photographers explored the ‘African’ influences on Spanish culture as well as Spanish influences on Moroccan Muslim and Jewish culture to construct an image of brotherhood between Spain and North Africa. Notions of fraternity were invoked in particular by colonialist writers to argue that Spain had a colonial claim over North Africa that no other European nation could contest. The historical reference of al-Andalus is a central justification for this claim. The military officer, Arabist scholar and colonial administrator Tomás García Figueras, who would go on to become a key Africanist ideologue under Francoism, writes: ‘aquella convivencia de africanos y andaluces tan fructífera [nos otorga] una capacitación especial no igualada por pueblo alguno para mostrarnos verdaderos conductores espirituales de los marroquíes’.¹⁷⁶ However, as the following sections reveal, the image of brotherhood was not just an instrument of colonial domination. The revolutionary press and non-hegemonic literary narratives, like Barea’s *La ruta*, develop discourses of fraternity that reinforced their protest against the colonial ventures. Likewise, beyond aspirations of colonial domination, many traditionalist writers regard North African culture, particularly Sephardic Jewish culture, as a potential source for cultural regeneration.

This chapter explores the use of the city and the body as motifs and the medieval Romancero as a subtext in visual and textual representations that establish ties between Spain and North Africa and create an image of permeable boundaries

¹⁷⁶ Tomás García Figueras, ‘Recuerdos de la campaña’, *África*, noviembre 1928, p. 20.

and processes of cultural and ethnic fusion and exchange. It argues that the city is invoked to represent historical affinity, the body to represent ethnic affinity, and the medieval Castilian ballad to represent cultural affinity. The following sections examine how these representations are harnessed in Africanist colonialist ideology to justify the colonial campaigns and establish a structure of cultural dominance over Morocco, but also how they are used to challenge this notion of cultural dominance and explore the question of the 'primitive' origins of the Spanish nation. They also examine how, and to what ends, the Orientalist and colonialist gaze is turned back on Spain to create these notions of affinity. Lastly, the chapter questions whether language, ethnicity, or place is a stronger marker of cultural identity in this context, and how this in turn influences the construction of Moroccan Muslim culture compared to Jewish culture in relation to Spain.

2:1 Visual representations

2:1:1. Re-visualising the medieval past in the twentieth-century press

Because the colonial campaigns coincided with the development of photojournalism in Spain, the discourse of Hispano-Moroccan brotherhood was articulated visually in the press through images that were intended to evoke the medieval Iberian past and the traces of Islamic and Jewish culture that remained within modern Spain. Although scholarship within a range of disciplines has explored how Spanish writers during this period engaged with the Islamic past in their narratives of Spanish cultural identity,¹⁷⁷ visual narratives of these

¹⁷⁷ See introduction for a bibliographical survey.

constructions of identity, particularly in photojournalism, have hitherto been largely neglected.¹⁷⁸

Ali Behdad and Luke Gartlan have recently asserted that colonial photography played a key role in forming and upholding a distinctively Orientalist view of the Middle East and North Africa.¹⁷⁹ Photography offered a visual experience of exotic cultures that had hitherto been unavailable for most people and serving to nurture the desire for the ‘Orient’ while affirming notions of Western cultural superiority. However, in the case of Spain, which had itself been Orientalised by other European cultures since the sixteenth century, the gaze of the photographer is turned inwards towards Spain itself as well as outwards towards the Moroccan protectorate in order to represent the cultural ties between Spain and North Africa. As a result, as well as fostering a desire for the ‘Orient’, visual narratives of Spanish colonialism mystify Spain’s Islamic heritage and nurture a nostalgia for the medieval Iberian past. In this aspect, although Spain Orientalises and indeed colonises North Africa, it also Orientalises its own culture and history. This section explores this process of self-Othering in colonial photojournalism, focusing on images published in Spanish colonial and metropolitan newspapers that supported the colonial campaigns and articulated the colonialist ideology of Hispano-Moroccan brotherhood and engaging with the textual discourses that accompany the images. It argues that women and architecture serve as key visual representations of Spain’s Iberian Muslim heritage, often described by contemporary commentators as the ‘Moorish trace’ within Spain, while images of

¹⁷⁸ Susan Martín-Márquez (2008) has discussed the work of the photographer José Ortiz Echagüe (1886-1980) and how it exposes the astonishing similarities between lifestyle and culture on either sides of the Strait,¹⁷⁸ and Jordana Mendelson (2005) has commented on the importance of documentary photography in the construction of national identity in Spain.

¹⁷⁹ See Behdad and Gartlan, 2013.

Spanish and Moroccan men serve as key visual representations of the fraternal nature of the colonial relationship.

The discourse of fraternity between Spain and North Africa is manifested in its visual form in the press in a plethora of photographs of medieval Iberian architecture in Spain and Morocco. Photojournalism explores the spaces of the *medinas* of Tetuán, Xuaén, Fez, and Tangier, and the medieval centres of Spanish cities like Seville, Granada, Córdoba, and Toledo highlighting the similarities between these North African and Spanish cityscapes (Appendix 1, Figure 1). For example, *RTC* contains a photographic section entitled ‘La España musulmana’ featuring images of Islamic architecture throughout Spain (Figures 2-3) and another entitled ‘Marruecos pintoresco’, which provided the reader with ‘picturesque’ scenes in Morocco, often also highlighting examples of Hispano-Moresque architecture (Figures 4-5). These ‘reportajes fotográficos’ contain no textual commentary other than very basic captions identifying the location where the photograph was taken.

In his iconic description of the *punctum* of a photograph (‘the element that rises from the scene [...] and pierces me’) Roland Barthes suggested that photographs should inspire a longing or a disturbance.¹⁸⁰ This longing can be interpreted in this case within the framework of Orientalism and the role of colonial photojournalism in mystifying the East, as Linda Nochlin writes, with the effect of realism.¹⁸¹ Photographic reports such as this one from *La Esfera* (Figure 6) — showing the narrow streets of Tetuán with their low archways, spaces shrouded in shadow, and figures concealed by veils or jellabas — help nurture an Orientalist image of a mysterious North Africa. The Orientalist tropes that came to

¹⁸⁰ Barthes, 1982, p. 27.

¹⁸¹ Linda Nochlin, “The Imaginary Orient”, in *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-century Art and Society*, New York, Harper Row, 1989, p. 42.

coalesce around the image of the Islamic city in the twentieth century were based on a static, unchanging type of city that preserved a lost past and inspired a longing, upon their contemplation, for bygone times.¹⁸² However, Spanish photojournalism during this period mystifies spaces within Spain as well as colonial spaces, and does so in order to provide an imaginative reconstitution of the medieval Iberian past shared between Spain and North Africa. An image of the narrow archways of the streets of Tetuán might prompt an imaginative reconstitution of the original appearance of medieval Seville or Toledo. A photograph of a long deserted patio of the Alhambra (Figure 3) might inspire a longing in the viewer to see the palace inhabited again by the great civilisation of the exiled courts of Granada, a longing to see these spaces as they were not as they are, in a sense, to inhabit the past. Barthes described this longing to inhabit as fantasmic, ‘deriving from a kind of second sight which seems to bear me forward to a utopian time or to carry me back to somewhere in myself, a certainty of having been there or of going there’, which he relates to Freud’s uncanny, not as *unheimlich* but as *heimlich*, ‘awakening a longing to return home, awakening in me the Mother (and never the disturbing mother)’.¹⁸³ Images of Muslim Iberian architecture in Spain represent a cultural mother because they offer a visual display of the pre-modern origins of Spanish culture and the ‘traces’ that remain of these origins.

Early observers of the photographic medium marvelled at its ability to preserve the past in palpable authenticity. When the camera was invented in 1837, one French commentator declared, ‘humanity has invented a mirror that

¹⁸² Mark Crinson, ‘The Mosque and the Metropolis’, in Jill Beaulieu and Mary Roberts (eds), *Orientalism's Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture, Photography*, Durham, Duke University Press, 2002, pp. 79- 99, p. 80.

¹⁸³ Barthes, 1982, p. 27.

remembers'.¹⁸⁴ Photography has often been interpreted as an attempt to conserve a vanishing past, but it represents an attempt to recreate a past that has already vanished. The writers and photographers in Spain's most popular illustrated magazines emphasise the evocative power of the photograph and its potential to recreate historical scenes. For example, *Mundo gráfico* introduces a photographic report on Granada (Figure 7) writing, 'estas imágenes tienen el poder de sugerirnos ante su contemplación esa vieja leyenda [...] de la ensoñada Granada la mora'.¹⁸⁵ Commenting on photographs of the medieval Jewish quarter in Toledo, (Figures 8-9) the Arabist scholar and Andalusian nationalist Rodolfo Gil writes: 'y es tal la influencia del medio en vuestro espíritu, que, al calor de una reconstitución imaginativa, creeréis descubrir las casas y solares de los judíos poderosos, y repercutirán en las callejuelas sombrías y retorcidas los nombres de los Cuellar y Samuel'.¹⁸⁶ These journalists provide a lyrical commentary on the scene represented in the photograph that is evocative of Lorca's *Impresiones y paisajes* (1918) in its romantic prose style, its Orientalisation of the cityscapes of Spain and its references to the resurrection of Spain's Islamic and Jewish past.¹⁸⁷ The sight of these urban spaces is intended to mimic the memory of medieval Spain, so that in seeing the places viewers would also see the historical images stored there.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁴ Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin Mc Laughlin, Boston, Harvard University Press, 1999, p. 687.

¹⁸⁵ 'Tipos y costumbres de Granada', *Mundo gráfico*, 17 mayo 1916, p.20.

¹⁸⁶ Rodolfo Gil, 'La judería segoviana y sus huellas', *La Esfera*, 11 junio 1927, p. 35.

¹⁸⁷ For example, Lorca writes of Granada, 'al deambular por sus callejas surgen escenarios de leyendas [...] aquí y allá siempre los ecos moros de las chumberas' (Federico García Lorca, 'El Albayzín', in *Impresiones y paisajes*, Madrid, Cátedra, 1994, p. 144).

¹⁸⁸ Anne Teresa Demo and Vivian Bradford (eds), *Rhetoric, Remembrance, and Visual Form: Sighting Memory*, New York, Routledge, 2012, p. 2.

In supplying the ‘token presence’ of that which is lost or absent,¹⁸⁹ the photograph is essentially nostalgic. Photographs can be interpreted as fetish objects, created to defend the subject against a perceived loss, or of compensating the subject or viewer for a felt or imagined loss.¹⁹⁰ In photojournalism, this token presence is replicated and distributed to readers across the nation. Thus, the contemplation of photographs of cities in Morocco and Spain enable a collective nostalgic lingering on the medieval past, or rather on a mythologised medieval past. *La Esfera* writes of its photographs of the streets of Tetuán (Figure 6):

Contemplando esas estrechas y tortuosas calles... a las que se acogieron los moros granadinos al ser arrojados de su postrer baluarte por los reyes católicos, se evoca en toda su plenitud el cuadro de aquella intensa vida musulímica que durante siete centurias latió en Sevilla, en Granada, en Córdoba, en Toledo.¹⁹¹

Cities are palimpsests, spaces that are altered over time yet that bear visible traces of their earlier form. Spanish writers and photographers pursue these traces and mystify them, portraying cities like Granada and Toledo as repositories of an intangible spirit of the past that haunts their streets. The colonial journal *África* describes the ‘calles morunas’ of Granada as a refuge for the spirit of the ‘brilliant race’ of the Arabs.¹⁹² *Mundo gráfico* depicts them as haunted by exiled kings of Al-Andalus, ‘por las que vagan atormentadas y melancólicas las sombras de las almas de los Kalifas’.¹⁹³ *Nuevo mundo* asserts that the cities of Andalucía still retain the mysterious spirit of the ‘Moors’, and that their buildings are ‘documentos humanos’ [...] donde quedó perenne el alma de quienes las trazaron y las construyeron’.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁹Sontag, 1977, p. 9.

¹⁹⁰ Sarah Kember, ‘The Shadow of the Object’: Photography and Realism’, in Liz Wells (ed.), *The Photography Reader*, Abingdon, Routledge, 2007, p. 210.

¹⁹¹ ‘Notas gráficas tetuaníes’, *La Esfera*, 11 noviembre 1922, p. 22.

¹⁹² Miguel Álvarez Salamanca, ‘Granada la mora’, *África*, junio 1927, p. 20.

¹⁹³ ‘Tipos y costumbres de Granada’, *Mundo gráfico*, 1916, p. 20.

¹⁹⁴ Mínimo Español, ‘Andalucía en modernidad: las calles musulmanas’, *Nuevo mundo*, 23 agosto 1918, p. 8.

In addition to providing a testimony of Spain's cultural hybridity, these urban spaces were regarded by nostalgic traditionalists as preserving a cultural authenticity they felt was being lost in modern society. This nostalgic traditionalism is expressed in more traditional publications like *Nuevo mundo*, which laments the fact that the streets of Andalusia are now disguised by modern and foreign architectural influences. The cities are personified: 'Calles de Toledo, de Sevilla, de Granada, de Córdoba, que aun conserváis la traza mora, ¡defendéos de la loca piqueta de nuestra Edad irreverente!' No tardarán mucho en que nuestras ciudades se arrepientan de haber perdido lo que constituía su espíritu y su fisonomía misma'.¹⁹⁵ This lament reveals another facet of nostalgia, which is its frequent resentment towards the present. Longing for another time is often born out of dissatisfaction and anxiety concerning the present. These visual and textual press discourses reflect the nostalgic medievalism that would come to characterise Spanish nationalist movements in the early twentieth century. It was out of anxieties about modern society and its forces — secularism, rationalism, materialism, and foreign influences — that Spanish nationalism was born and eventually consolidated as Francoism after the Civil War. However, it is notable that the references for the cultural authenticity and spiritual 'essence' of Spain in these examples are its 'Moorish', not its Christian, European cultural legacy. For the Spanish observer, the urban landscapes of North Africa are neither culturally nor geographically distant, rather they contain traces of the cultural origins of Spain and provide 'everyday frameworks of cultural memory'¹⁹⁶ shared by the cultures on both sides of the Strait.

¹⁹⁵ Español, *Nuevo mundo*, 1918, p. 8.

¹⁹⁶ Winter, 2007, p. 15.

In visual narratives of Spanish identity and Hispano-Moroccan fraternity, the so-called ‘traza’ or imprint of Muslim Iberia in modern Spain is inscribed on women as well as architecture. In early twentieth-century Spain, women were associated with the preservation of culture; as mothers they were key agents of cultural transmission and therefore were seen as providing a form of scaffolding for national identity. If photographs of Islamic architecture in Spain mimic the memory of al-Andalus, photographs of Spanish women serve to embody a perceived ethnic as well as cultural ‘Moorish’ legacy within Spain. For example, the aforementioned photographic report on Granada feminises the city itself as ‘Granada la mora’. The image of Granada as a woman can be traced back to the medieval Castilian ballad tradition in the Romance de Amenábar, which was first sung in Arabic, where Granada is addressed as a woman who is the object of desire of the Castilian king don Juan.¹⁹⁷ *Mundo gráfico* builds on this feminisation, employing images of the palace of the Alhambra and of local gypsy girls to evoke the ‘ancient legends’ of ‘Moorish’ Spain to its readers (Figure 10).¹⁹⁸ Similarly, *África* presents a photograph of a Riffian girl, ‘una mocita rifeña’, alongside a picture of two Andalusian gypsy women, ‘gitanillas’ (Figure 11), as a visible sign of the ethnic ties between North Africa and Spain. The caption to the photographs reads:

Destaca la mujer pueblerina, depositaria tradicional de aquel bello rostro de la raza que la engendrara, en la que dejó el sello inconfundible de su extraordinaria hermosura, animada por los expresivos e inmensos ojos que cual sendos ventanales, dejan asomar a ellos el alma soñadora y apasionada que les da vida y expresión, formándose así en tan admirable conjunción el espíritu moro de Granada.¹⁹⁹

It is the gypsies, an ethnic group that has long been marginalised within Spain that serve as a visual display of the otherness of Spain’s Islamic heritage. The use of gypsies

¹⁹⁷ Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Estudios sobre el Romancero*, Madrid, Espasa Calpe, 1973, p. 34.

¹⁹⁸ ‘Tipos y costumbres de Granada’, *Mundo gráfico*, 1916, p. 20.

¹⁹⁹ Salamanca, *África*, 1927, p. 20.

and of Andalusia in general to evoke the ‘Moorish’ character of Spain had been a visual and textual topos of European travellers to Spain since Washington Irving’s *The Alhambra: Tales of a Traveler* (1832) and John Frederick Lewis’ watercolours of the Alhambra in the 1830s. What is interesting here is the fact that Spanish writers and photographers embrace this topos and furthermore use it to represent the ethnic closeness between Spain and the culture it is attempting to assert colonial authority over.

Likewise, the inscription of the ‘Moorish imprint’ onto the bodies of women is not restricted to the romani people or to the geographical area of Southern Spain. For example, the graphic magazines *Estampa* and *Ahora* report other regions of Spain where, since the sixteenth century, women had maintained the Muslim custom of wearing a veil.²⁰⁰ *Estampa* describes a village in Castile where an authentic ‘traza mora’ remains, the magazine writes, ‘en los ojos negros de las moras, que asoman por la rendija del extraño tocado de árabes auténticas, con que se cubren la cabeza’²⁰¹ (Figure 12). There is a nostalgic tinge to the journalist’s proclamation: ‘¡Moros sobre Castilla! A pesar del tiempo, y la distancia, y las luchas, y la personalidad’.²⁰² Although the magazine emphasises the influence of ‘Moorish’ culture on other aspects of the village, such as its whitewashed houses with small windows and the colourful textiles in the marketplace, the visual manifestation of this imprint is displayed in the images of veiled women.

These articles Orientalise Islamic culture according to Said’s definition of Orientalism as a style of thought based upon ontological and epistemological

²⁰⁰ For example, Pedro Arenas, ‘Las misteriosas mujeres de Tarifa; Una ciudad poblada de fantasmas’, *Estampa*, 9 febrero, 1935, pp. 1-4; and Eduardo de Ontañón, ‘Santa María del campo, el pueblo moro dentro de Castilla’, *Ahora*, (1932-1936) pp. 106-109, in Tomás García Figueras, *Miscelánea: Prensa gráfica (Biblioteca García Figueras, 1930-1936)*.

²⁰¹ Ontañón, *Ahora*, in García Figueras, *Miscelánea*, pp. 106-109.

²⁰² Ontañón, *Ahora*, p. 109.

distinctions made between the East and the West.²⁰³ However, the Orientalist gaze is not turned on colonial Morocco but rather on Spain, and specifically on Spanish women, who are exoticised in images that are reproduced and circulated to be viewed throughout the nation. The veiled woman is a recurrent trope in Western visual conceptualisations of Muslim cultures, and by choosing feminine subjects with veils or 'exotic' ethnic features to embody the 'mysterious Moorish spirit'²⁰⁴ of Spanish culture, photographers employ this device to mystify Spain itself. Again, by locating the 'Moorish' imprint on women, the subordinate gender within a patriarchal culture, they are able to exalt Spain's Islamic heritage while limiting it, in this context, to an Other within the national self.

Therefore, as these examples illustrate, Spanish colonial photojournalism is not limited to nurturing a desire for an exotic Morocco, but also nurtures a nostalgia for the medieval Iberian past. It does so by exposing its 'traza' that remain visible in the twentieth century, and urban spaces and women are often represented as repositories of this imprint. In addition to providing a visual display of cultural commonality, images of Hispano-Mauresque architecture in Morocco and Spain serve to mimic the memory of al-Andalus, while images of women, who were traditionally associated with the preservation of ethnic and cultural traits, serve to embody an exotic image of the legacy of Islamic civilisation within Spain, serving in this sense as instruments in the process of self-Orientalisation. These photographs of urban spaces and women are visual forms of nostalgia, because they superimpose visions of the imaginary and the real, the familiar and the foreign, and the past and the present. Ultimately, this nostalgic lingering on a distant past rather than the present allows Spanish writers and photographers to

²⁰³ Said, 1995, p. 10.

²⁰⁴ Salamanca, *África*, 1927, p. 10.

romanticise the ties between Spain and North Africa while keeping Spain's Islamic heritage at arm's length, or rather, at time's length.

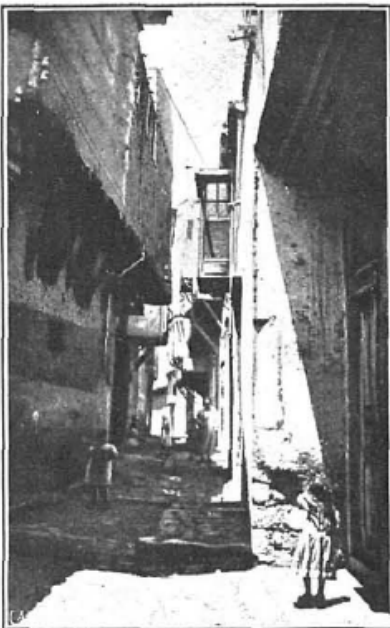
Appendix 1



SEVILLA. — Uno de los callejones próximo al Alcázar



DAMASCO. — La calle de Med'net-Tehnan



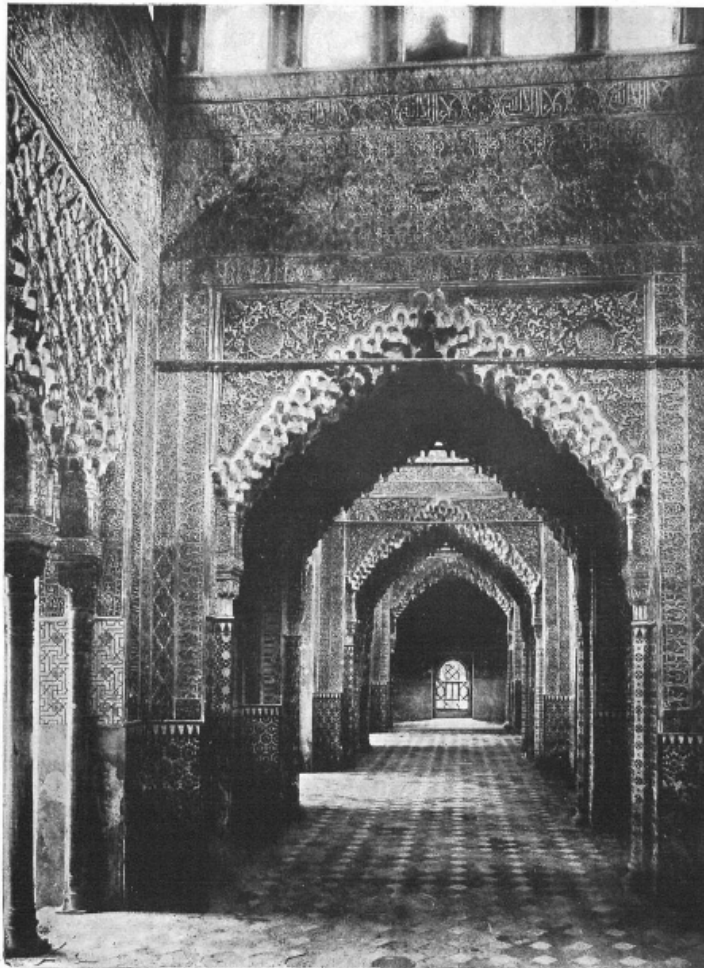
DAMASCO. — Calle de la ciudad antigua



SEVILLA. — Detalle del barrio de Santa Cruz

Figure 1: 'Andalucía en modernidad', *Nuevo mundo* 23 agosto 1918, pp. 8-9.

ESPAÑA * *
MUSULMANA



GRANADA: ALHAMBRA. PATIO DE LAS DOS HERMANAS

Figure 2: 'Granada: Alhambra, patio de las dos hermanas', *RTC*, septiembre 1925, p. 17.

ESPAÑA ***
MUSULMANA

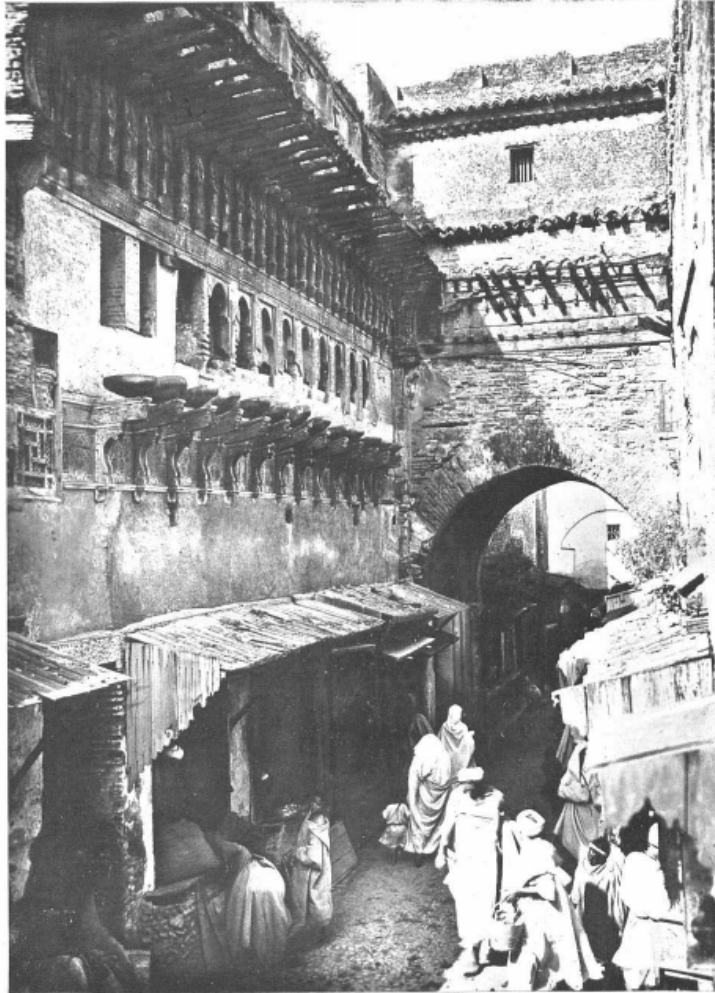


GRANADA: ALHAMBRA, SALA DE ABENCERRAJES

© Biblioteca Nacional de España

Figure 3: 'Alhambra: sala de abencerrajes', *África*, Febrero 1927, p. 13.

MARRUECOS
PINTORESCO



FEZ: El Reloj.

Figure 4: 'Fez: El reloj', *África*, agosto 1926, p. 20.



FEZ: PATIO DE UNA MEDARSA

© Biblioteca Nacional de España

Figure 5: 'Fez: patio de una medarsa', *RTC*, septiembre 1925, p. 11.

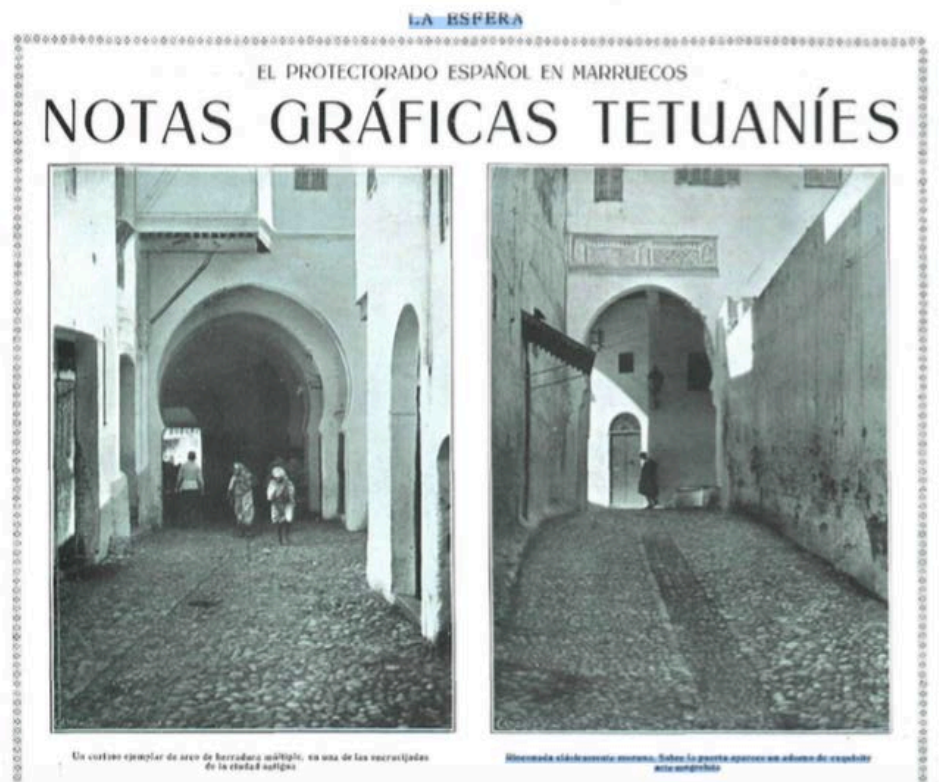
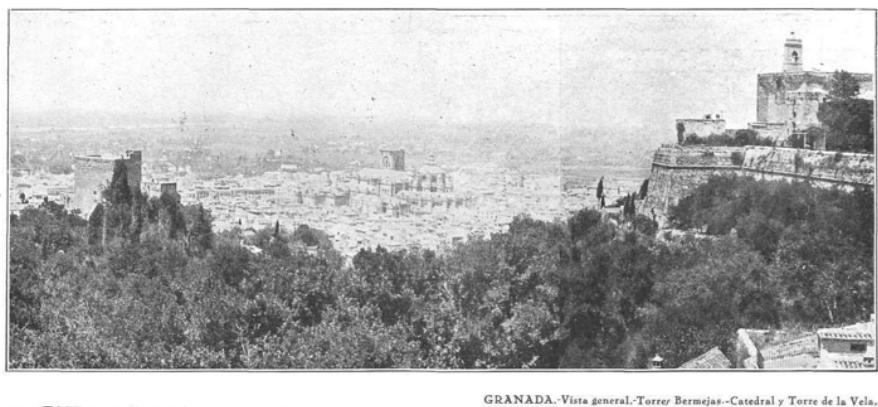


Figure 6: ‘Notas gráficas tetuanís’ *La Esfera*, 11 noviembre 1922, p. 22.



¡¡GRANADA!!

Figure 7: ‘Tipos y costumbres de Granada’, *Mundo gráfico*, 17 mayo 1916, p. 20.



Figure 8: Photo Unturbe, 'Un rincón laberíntico de la judería vieja', Rodolfo Gil, 'La judería segoviana y sus huellas', *La Esfera*, 11 junio 1927, p. 36.

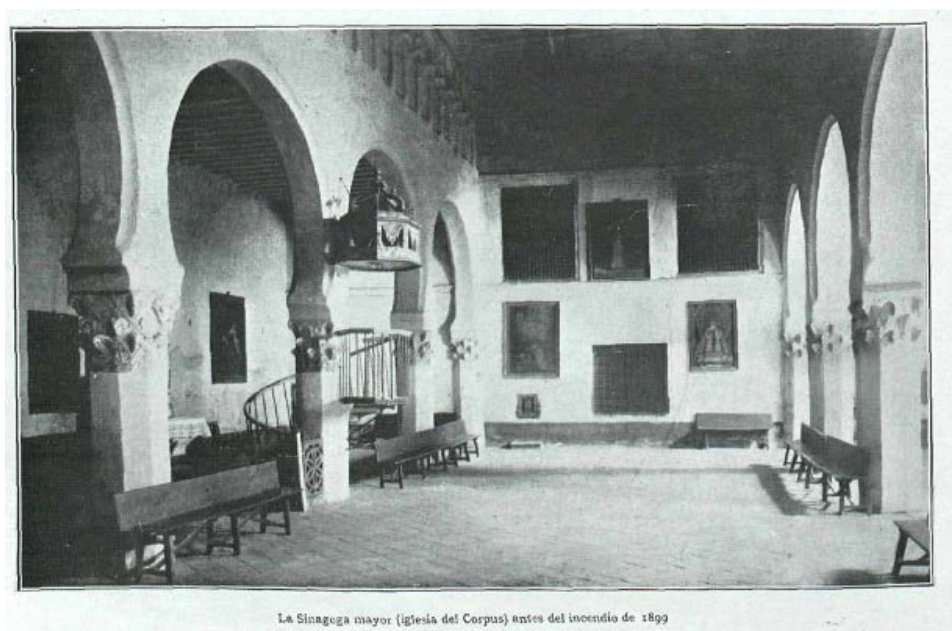
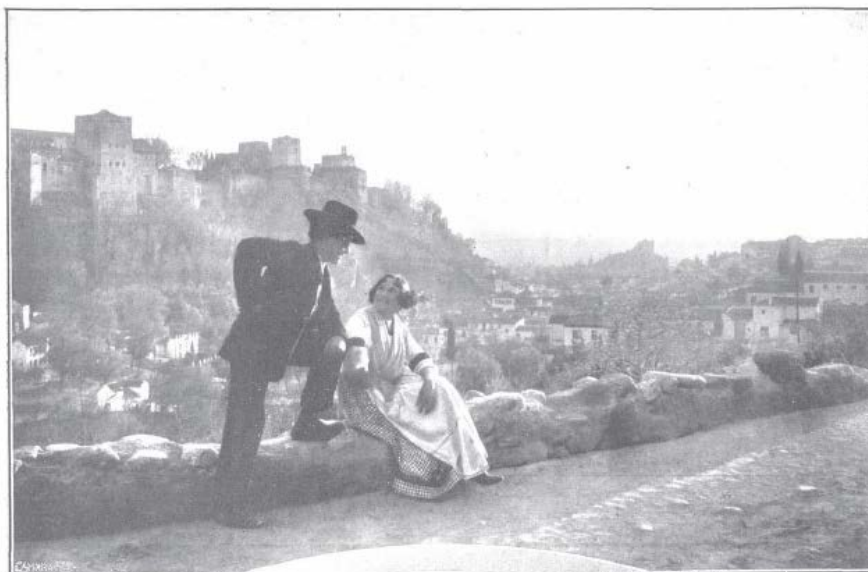


Figure 9: Photo Unturbe, 'La sinagoga mayor (iglesia del Corpus) antes del incendio de 1899', Gil, *La Esfera*, 11 junio 1927, p. 35.

TIPOS Y COSTUMBRES DE GRANADA



IDILIO GITANO.—DOS PERLAS DEL SACRO MONTE

FOTOS. TORRES MOLINA

«Dos preciosas fotografías ofrecemos en esta página que firren el poder de sugerirnos ante su contemplación esa vieja leyenda, esmaltada con los oros de luz, con la púrpura de los héroes y con la olorosa fragancia de los cármenes, los terrenales jardines del profeta musulmán en la ensañada Granada la mora, toda la historia pretérita de la vieja ciudad, por la que vagan atormentadas y melancólicas las sombras de las almas de los Kalifas, que un día fueron reyes en ella.»

© Biblioteca Nacional de España

Figure 10: Photos Torres Molina, 'Idilio gitano: Dos perlas del Sacro Monte', 'Tipos y costumbres de Granada,' *Mundo gráfico*, 17 mayo 1916, p. 20.



Una mocita rifeña

Foto Lázaro



Dos gitanillas del Albayzín

Figure 11: Photos Lázaro, 'Una mocita rifeña', 'Dos gitanillas del Albayzín', *África*, junio 1927, p. 19.



Figure 12: Photos Gallardo, 'Las mujeres de Santa María del Campo en nada se diferencian, en el tocado, de las moras'. Eduardo de Ontañón, 'Santa María del Campo: Un pueblo moro dentro de Castilla', *Ahora*, in García Figueras, *Miscelanea*, 1930-1936, pp. 106-109.

2:1:2 Ideal masculinity and colonial authority

In the age of imperial expansion, photography lent powerful support to ideologies of racial and cultural dominance. Beyond a mask of documentary neutrality, images in the press substantiated colonialist discourses by providing a rhetoric of racial and ethnographic difference between white Europeans and non-European ‘races’ and spaces. As a result, photographic representations were influenced by administrative practices, commercial enterprises, artistic and literary traditions, and the ongoing scientific investigation and classification of racial types.²⁰⁵ Their purpose was often to help the colonising nation feel secure and in control in an unfamiliar and sometimes threatening colonial environment.

In this aspect, photojournalism during the Rif campaigns served as an instrument to reassure Spanish audiences on the mainland that Morocco and its population were not a threat as many feared, as Barea writes of his mother’s impression of the protectorate, ‘nada más que un desierto de unas pocas palmeras solitarias, donde los soldaditos españoles eran brutalmente asesinados’.²⁰⁶ If visual representations of urban spaces in Morocco reaffirm a sense of Morocco as a non-threatening space to Spaniards in its familiarity, images of Moroccan men are used to display the ‘friendship’ of the colonial population towards Spain.

Spanish colonial discourse divides the Moroccans into ‘*moros amigos*’, those who collaborated with and catered to the Spanish (often the word is used to describe informers and spies for the Spanish), and ‘*moros enemigos*’, those who were hostile to the Spanish colonial venture. The manipulated distinction was

²⁰⁵ Hight and Sampson, 2002, p. 2.

²⁰⁶ Arturo Barea, *La ruta*, Barcelona, Debolsillo, 2007, p. 63.

necessary in particular because of the incorporation of indigenous soldiers in the colonial army.²⁰⁷ During the Rif campaigns there were certain Moroccan figures who featured often in the press as well known ‘friends’ of Spain, such as Maimon Mojatar and his brother Abdel Kader ‘el gato’, Mizzian ‘el bueno’, ‘El Checa’, and Dris-Ben Said, among others. Photographic portraits of them were often included in these articles. For example, in 1922, *RR* published a spread on el Raisuni, ‘el señor de la montaña’. The portrait shows a corpulent man in a relaxed pose looking directly into the lens of the camera (Appendix 2, Figure 1), and the author of the text comments on the image as follows:

Tiene la cara ancha, expansiva, la frente dilatada, los ojos grandes, la barba negra. Por debajo de la blanca, impecable jellaba que viste, se adivinan sus brazos hercúleos, su pecho de titán. Mira de una manera fija y penetrante, como si escudriñara el último rincón del espíritu de aquel con quien habla.²⁰⁸

The visual representation of Raisuni’s corporeality attests to the imposing masculine presence described in the text. His gaze is indeed penetrating, almost intimidating to the viewer. At the same time his relaxed pose is reassuring, and it is a victory of the colonial project that he has welcomed the Spanish press into his camp.

European pictorial Orientalism during the colonial period often sensualised the Oriental subject,²⁰⁹ but Spanish photography of Moroccan men, such as this report on Raisuni, often emphasises heterosexual virility and power rather than effeminacy or polymorphous sexuality. Photographs often show the subject upon a horse, an emblem of virility in Berber culture (Figure 2) and an image long associated with the ‘Moor’ in the Spanish imaginary. Similarly, a photograph in

²⁰⁷ From 1911 onwards, the army forces in Morocco included four Moroccan indigenous units: the military and indigenous police forces of the Mahkzen (*Mehal-las* and *Mejaznias*), the irregular auxiliary forces, the Sidi Ifni Tiradores, and the infantry regiments of the Regulares.

²⁰⁸ ‘Una visita al señor de la montaña: cuatro días en la zona rebelde’, *RR*, septiembre 1922, p. 4.

²⁰⁹ Tamara L. Hunt and Micheline R. Lessard (eds), *Women and the Colonial Gaze*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2002, p. 1.

Mundo gráfico of Abdel Kader shows him driving a car that was gifted to him by King Alfonso XIII for his services to Spain, an example of the policy of bribery that was employed often in Spanish colonialism to win over tribal leaders (Figure 3). The automobile was the modern European equivalent of the horse, a comfort of modernity wrought by masculine success. The image of a Moroccan man driving a European car shows the successes of colonialism in ‘lifting’ Moroccans up to a higher degree of civilisation.

La Esfera’s portrait of two Moroccan ‘amigos’ who had risked their lives to save a number of Spanish officers in the Battle of Annual (Figure 4) provides another example of ideal corporeal masculinity. The photograph shows a tribal leader, ‘El célebre caid Ben-Chel-Lal’, and Yamani, a sergeant in the Regulares. The tribal leader, who appears in the forefront of the photograph, represents an aesthetic ideal of virility. His alert and commanding gaze — penetrating like Raisuni’s — and his firmly closed fist provide a visual language of power and authority, and the contours of his large body evoke masculine strength. His features are not racialised in any way; rather they resemble visual stereotypes of ideal Spanish masculinity. *La Esfera* goes on to describe the ‘typical’ features of a Riffian as strong and virile, like this man, ‘fortísimo por naturaleza, de una sobriedad inconcebible, rudo y atlético físicamente,’ ‘su cara es ancha y llena [...] como la del romano, y su cuello fuerte y bien asentado sobre sólidos hombros’.²¹⁰ On the other hand, the body language and facial expression of the second man convey benignity; his pose is also relaxed and he is smiling at the camera. His body and demeanour make him an ideal male colonial subject; he is not threatening because he is neither over-masculine nor effeminate. The idealised

²¹⁰ ‘Nuestros amigos’, *La Esfera*, 18 febrero 1922, p. 5.

character of the photograph is reinforced by the airbrushed quality, which is typical of photographic reports in *La Esfera*. We know from the caption that these men carried out heroic acts for Spain in Monte Arruit, and the viewer is invited to connect with and be convinced of their heroism in these visual representations of Spain's allies in Morocco. These three photographs were published within months of the Disaster of Annual, which shows that although there was an upsurge in discourses that 'othered' Moroccans after the Disaster, representations of affinity also continued in the Spanish press during this period.

'Moros amigos' that serve in the Spanish colonial forces are often photographed in their Spanish uniforms (Figures 5-6). The body is significant in these images as a physical site that symbolises the colonising process. For example, Maimon Mojatar's body is described according to the photograph in *El Imparcial* as follows (Figure 5):

Siéntale a Maimon Mojatar maravillosamente el austero y gentil uniforme de los caballeros que pelean por España. La energética fisonomía del moro amigo se destaca rudamente con violencia heroica entre los vistosos matices del uniforme. Y esto [...] ha de ser el símbolo de una política mediante la que se convierta a los enemigos en amigos, se lleve al alma rifeña la idea de la grandeza y la superioridad del ideal español, y se acabe arrancándoles de los hombros los ropajes flotantes para encerrar cuerpo y alma en el [...] uniforme militar, que hoy llena de orgullo y de gratitud a Maimon Mohatar.²¹¹

Here it is the Spanish uniform that magnifies the masculine qualities of the Moroccan male body. The influence of Africanist culture and its glorification of violence and virility is clear in the phrase 'violencia heroica'. Likewise, Mojatar's 'metamorphosis' in shedding the jellaba (Figure 2) for a calvary uniform (Figure 5) is described as being symbolic of the civilising mission of Spanish colonialism. Mojatar is one of the most frequently cited of the 'moros amigos' and is often hailed as an example of the successes of the Spanish civilising process. He is categorised as a friend in particular because he has succeeded in assimilating

²¹¹ 'El día de ayer en Melilla', *El Imparcial*, 10 agosto 1909, p. 1.

Spanish military identity. This example conforms to the British and French models of colonial discourse in the desire for mimicry. The newspaper seeks to promote an image of a reformed, recognisable other, a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite, because true sameness implies equality and hence constitutes a threat.²¹² Portraits of Moroccan men in Spanish uniform attest to one of the primary aims of the colonial enterprise, which was to reform the colonial subject into a superior Other who was more like, but not quite, a Spaniard.

Likewise, photographs of Moroccans carrying the Spanish flag also serve to represent the ‘successes’ of Spanish colonialism (Figures 7-8). This gesture purportedly expresses loyalty to Spain and submission to Spanish authority. In 1909, General Marina required tribes that submitted to Spain to wear the Spanish flag on their arms, in order to distinguish ‘*moros amigos*’ from ‘*enemigos*’. However, this act conceals the ambiguities of Spain’s colonial relationship with Morocco and the reality of constantly shifting alliances and of indigenous troops at times turning their guns on their Spanish officers.²¹³ Ballesteros describes these acts as an expression of ‘*mal fingida humildad*’. ‘*Estos altivos montañeses de tez bruna y orgulloso mirar, nos han odiado siempre y nos seguirán odiando*’, he writes. ‘*Los colores de nuestra bandera no consiguen encubrir su rencor [...] Cuando puedan nos darán el zarpazo de fiera*’.²¹⁴ These pictures help to promote Spain’s colonial successes by ratifying gestures of submission. However, they deliberately offer only partial witness to them.

It is worth noting that the attention to the bodies of Jewish men and women is notably absent from these visual representations of the colonial relationship. As

²¹² Homi Bhabha, 2012, p. 122.

²¹³ The most widely publicised case occurred in the Battle of Annual, when native troops in the Spanish army turned their guns on their Spanish officers and joined Abdel Krim’s insurgent forces.

²¹⁴ Luis López Ballesteros, ‘*Nuestros amigos*’, *El Imparcial*, 13 agosto, 1909, p.1.

the following section discusses, philosephardic textual representations of Moroccan Jews are focused on cultural character rather than physicality, which is interesting considering the fact that conversely, in anti-Semitic discourse there is an obsession with the ‘degenerate’ features of the Jewish body. The attention to ‘Moorish’ bodies in photojournalism suggests that Spanish commentators were more preoccupied with the physicality of Moroccan Muslim identity, particularly masculinity, than by the appearance of the Moroccan Jews.

Lastly, the image of secure and benign affinity is expressed visually in photographs of ‘fraternal’ interactions between Spaniards and Moroccans. Images of meetings between Spanish officials or journalists and Moroccans often show them seated together on the ground (Figures 9-11). The body language of the subjects in these photographs often appears intimate to the European observer. For example, in Figure 9, which shows the Spanish journalist Manuel L. Ortega and his interpreter meeting with Raisuni and his officials, Menebbi — who had been minister of war to the Sultan — and Raisuni’s older brother Sidi Mohamed have their arms around or are touching their Spanish guests. Their gesture reflects the male-to-male contact that is common in North African culture. However, as Nancy Henley has shown in her study of the politics of gesture, individuals with power universally use physical closeness, touch, and eye contact, while those with lesser power lower their eyes and keep their distance.²¹⁵ El Raisuni was a powerful figure, and the gestures that he and his officials display do not embody submission, but rather the assertion of power.

Photographs in the press also show Spanish officers ‘conferenciando’ with Moroccan leaders (Figures 12-15). Again, these images do not display formality in

²¹⁵ In Laura Gowing, ‘The Manner of Submission’, *Cultural and Social History*, 10.1, pp. 25-45, p. 27.

terms of body language, but rather more relaxed and intimate gestures, particularly from the Spanish officers who are leaning in or taking the hands of the Moroccan leaders. Figure 15 presents a particularly interesting example. Lieutenant Ontaneda is grasping the hands of Abdel Kader Mojatar in his and appears to be making intense eye contact with him. His gesture resembles a medieval European commendation ritual, an act that established the mutual obligations and loyalty between a lord and his 'vassal'.²¹⁶ The vassal would clasp his hands before his lord in an ultimate gesture of submission, and the lord in turn would grasp the vassal's hands between his own to show that he was the superior in the relationship.²¹⁷ This appropriation of feudal symbolism in the gestures of Spanish colonial administrators in the early twentieth century reveals the power structures that Spain attempts to impose over Morocco. However, many of these images of Moroccan and Spanish officials show both parties making eye contact, which suggests a certain degree of ambiguity in the power relationship, despite textual statements that proclaim Spanish cultural superiority and colonial domination.

These visual representations of Spanish and Moroccan men carry cultural messages about masculine ideals, the successes and secure state of Spain's colonising mission, and processes of colonial subjugation. While the shared cultural legacy between Spain and North Africa is inscribed onto the bodies of women, colonial power structures are inscribed on the bodies of men and their gestural codes, reinforcing the domination discourses of Spanish colonialism but equally revealing their ambivalence. The politics of gesture both embody and reveal stark social hierarchies, and photographs in the press reveal these gestures,

²¹⁶ Dr. Ilya Afanasyev, 'Re: Imperial identities', message to the author, 27 October 2015, email.

²¹⁷ This gesture of homage survives in the ceremony for conferring degrees at Cambridge University.

which texts do not always do. In doing so, they are suggestive of the underlying power struggles of the colonial relationship.

Appendix 2

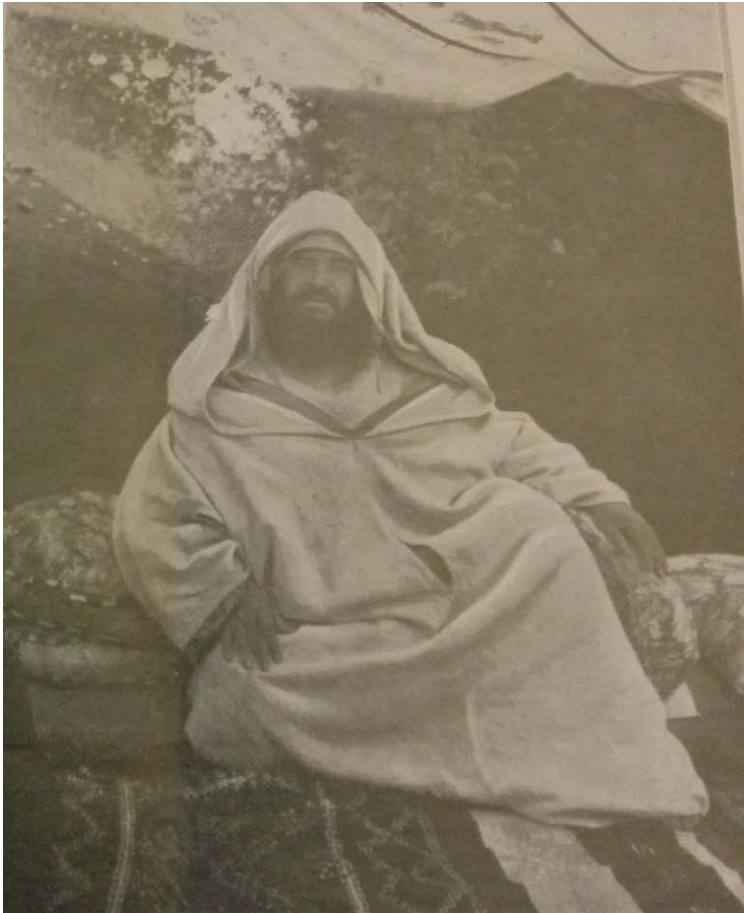


Figure 1: Photo Díaz, ‘Sidi Ahamed Ben Mohamed Er Raisuni el Hassani el Alami’. ‘Una visita al señor de la montaña: cuatro días en la zona rebelde’, *RR*, septiembre 1922, pp. 3-9.



Figure 2: Photo Alfonso Sánchez Portela, ‘Maimon Mojatar’, 1909-1925, Archivo Alfonso, AGA.



Ahd-el-Kader, el prestigioso moro amigo de España, con su hijo, conduciendo el automóvil que le ha sido regalado por S. M. el Rey en recompensa á sus servicios en favor de nuestra causa en Marruecos. Fotografías de nuestro enviado Sr. Díaz

Figure 3: Photo Díaz, ‘Regalo de S. M. El Rey a un moro amigo’, *Mundo gráfico*, 28 diciembre 1921, p 15.



El célebre caid Ben-Chel-Lal y el ex sargento de Regulares, Yamani, á quienes se deben varios actos humanitarios en favor de nuestros soldados

El primero salvó, durante el sitio de Monte Arruit, al general Navarro y á varios oficiales, llevándolos á su casa e incautándose de las cartas, dinero y alhajas que llevaba encima, para entregarlos todo, como lo ha hecho, á nuestras autoridades militares. El segundo salvó igualmente durante la retirada, á los oficiales Civantos, Dalias, Pajarero y Rueda.

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Figure 4: Photo Díaz, ‘El célebre caid Ben-Chel-Lal y el ex sargento de Regulares, Yamani, á quienes se deben varios actos humanitarios en favor de nuestros soldados. El primero salvó, durante el sitio de Monte Arruit, al general Navarro y a varios oficiales, llevándolos a su casa e incautándose de las cartas, dinero, y alhajas que llevaba encima para entregarlo todo, como lo ha hecho, a nuestras autoridades militares. El segundo salvó igualmente durante la retirada a los oficiales Civantos, Dalias, Pajarero, y Rueda.’ *La Esfera*, 18 febrero 1922, p. 5.



El confidente Maimón Mahatar con el traje de soldado de caballería del ejército español, hablando con el oficial D. Antonio Tovar, ayudante é hijo del general del mismo apellido

Figure 5: Photo Campúa, 'El confidente Maimón Mojatar con el traje de soldado de caballería del ejército español, hablando con el oficial D. Antonio Tovar, ayudante e hijo del general del mismo apellido, 'La campaña del Rif', *Nuevo mundo*, 2 septiembre 1909, p. 10.



El teniente coronel diplomado D. Claudio Temprano, jefe de los Regulares de Alhucemas, acompañado por su ayudante el capitán Mizzian, hijo del moro amigo Mizzian el bueno de Zequia Xeruta, días antes de hallar gloriosa muerte

Figure 6: ‘El teniente coronel diplomado D. Claudio Temprano, jefe de los Regulares de Alhucemas, acompañado por su ayudante el capitán Mizzian, hijo del moro amigo Mizzian el bueno de Zequia Xeruta, días antes de hallar gloriosa muerte’, *Los jefes españoles víctimas de la campaña marroquí*, *Mundo gráfico*, 26 noviembre 1924, p. 12.

SIGUEN LAS SUMISIONES DE LOS MOROS



Jefes moros de las kabilas de Quebdana, dirigiéndose al zoco el Arbaa de Arkeman para hacer acto de sumisión ante los jefes de nuestras tropas

Figure 7: Photo Díaz, 'Siguen las sumisiones de los moros', *Mundo gráfico*, 28 diciembre, 1921, p. 17.

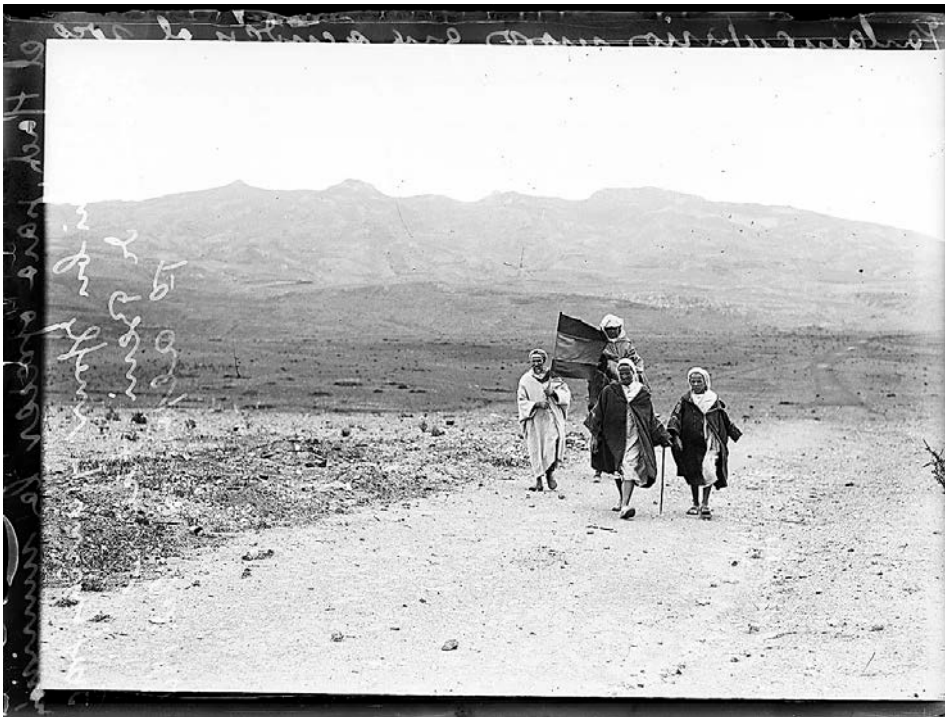


Figure 8: Photo Alfonso, 'Parliamentarios moros ofreciendo sumision', AGA.

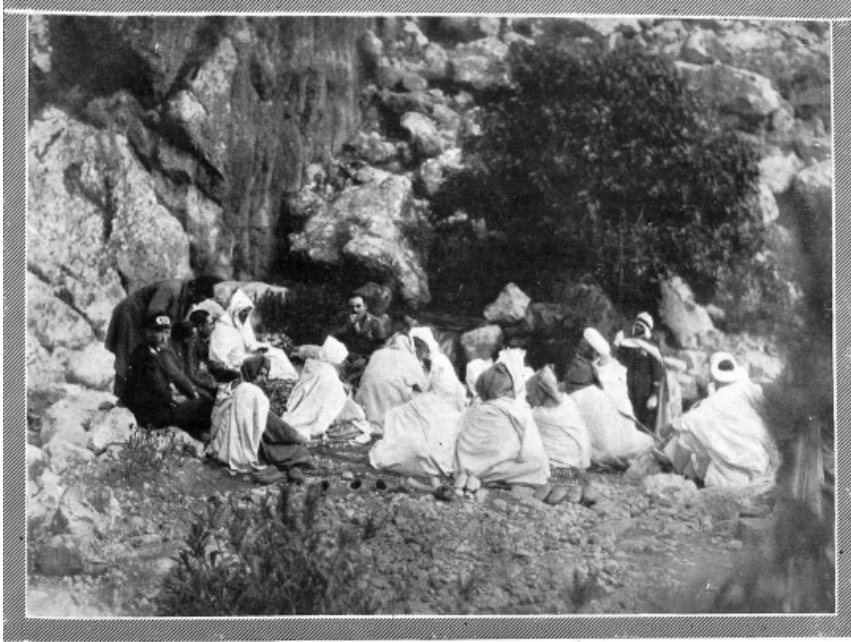


Figure 9: Photo Díaz, 'En la tienda del cherif. De izquierda a derecha, Manuel L. Ortega, Sidi el Kasi Ducali, secretario de Menebbi, ex ministro de la guerra del Sultán, el Raisuni, su hijo el Yaled, Sidi Mohamed, hermano mayor del caudillo de la harca, y Cerdeira, intérprete del alto comisario', 'Una visita al señor de la montaña: cuatro días en la zona rebelde', *RR*, septiembre 1922 pp. 3-9.



El Bachir, representante del Sultán, con sus secretarios y los periodistas Sres. Bejarano, de "El Liberal", y Tur, de "El Telegrama del Rif" FOT. «MUNDO GRÁFICO», FOR. G.

Figure 10: Photo Campúa, 'El Bachir, representante del Sultán, con sus secretarios y los periodistas Sres. Bejarano, de "El Liberal", y Tur, de *El Telegrama del Rif*. 'La campaña del Rif', *Mundo gráfico*, 31 enero, 1912, p. 18.



S. A. EL JALIFA EN XAUEN.—Arriba, recepción de notables. Abajo, visita a Ras el Maa.

Figure 11: ‘S.A. el jalifa visita Xauén: Visita a Ras el Maa,’ *África*, mayo 1929, p. 3.



El presidente del Consejo conferenciando en At-Latem con un jefe de la kabila de Beni-bu-Ifrur

Figure 12: Photo Campúa, ‘El presidente del Consejo conferenciando en At-Latem con un jefe de la kabila de Beni-bu-Ifrur’, ‘La acción de España en Marruecos’, *Nuevo mundo* 26 enero 1911, p. 17.



EL GATO CONFERENCIANDO EN EL MUELLE CON EL GENERAL MARINA
Fots. de nuestro enviado especial Sr. Alba.

Figure 13: Photo Alba, 'El gato conferenciando en el muelle con el general Marina,' 'Moros adictos a España', *Actualidades* 28 julio 1909, p. 15.



El jefe de la tercera "mia", Sr. Villegas, en la batería de Yazanen consultando con los moros Abdel-Kader, Maimon-Tajar y otros acerca del canje de los prisioneros
FOTS. «MUNDO GRÁFICO», POR CAMPÚA

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Figure 14: Photo Campúa, 'El jefe de la tercera 'mia', Sr. Villegas, en la batería de Yazanen consultando con los moros Abdel-Kader, Maimon-Tajar y otros acerca del canje de los prisioneros', 'La acción de España en el Rif', *Mundo gráfico*, 31 enero 1912, p. 14.

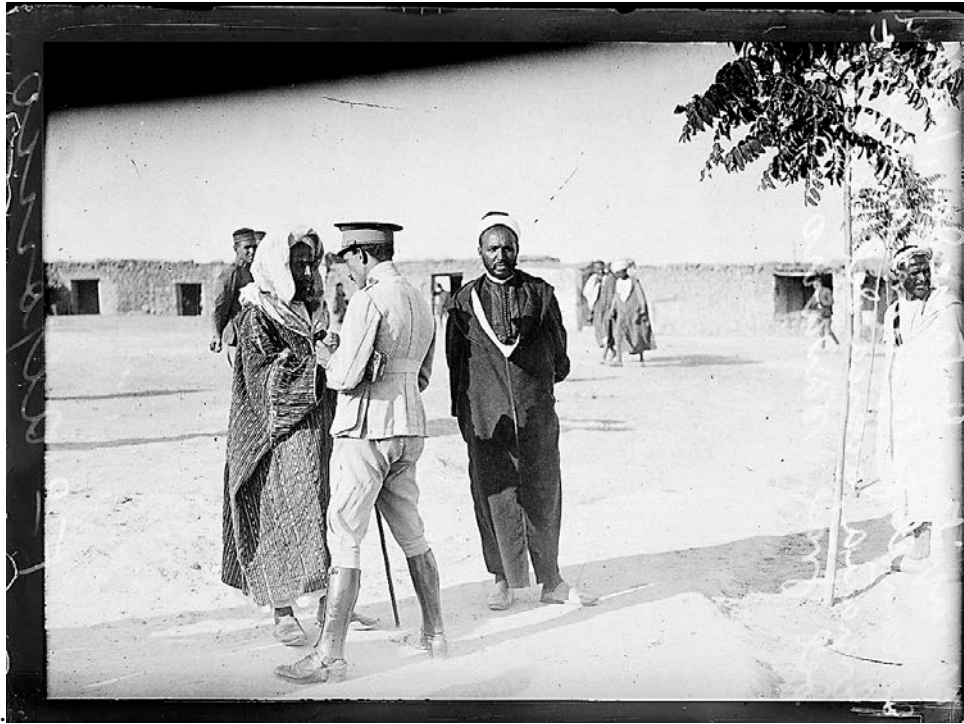


Figure 15: Photo Alfonso, 'El teniente Sr. Ontaneda hablando con el celebre moro 'el Gato', amigo de España, acerca del rescate del General Navarro y los que con el están prisioneros', 'Notas gráficas de la guerra', *Mundo gráfico*. 24 agosto 1921, p. 12.

2:2 Textual representations in the press

2:2:1. The Africanist discourse of brotherhood

During the colonial campaigns, *RTC* becomes a key propagator of the hegemonic colonialist discourse of brotherhood. The discourse of the Africanist press presents the inhabitants of Morocco as ‘nuestros hermanos de raza y sangre’,²¹⁸ a term that reveals the two fundamental components of this image of affinity. ‘Sangre’ refers to the purely corporeal or biological aspect of identity, while ‘raza’ denotes ethnic as well as cultural characteristics and incorporates the ethno-nationalist notion of ‘essence’ or spirit of the nation. This section explores textual constructions of these cultural, ethnic, and ‘spiritual’ ties between Spain and Morocco.

The notion of cultural affinity in Africanist discourse envisions a process of fusion and exchange between the cultures and ‘races’ on both sides of the strait. The celebration of hybridity in Spanish colonialism is unique among its contemporary European colonialist discourses. As Stoler (2010) has shown, hybridity or ‘métissage’ emerged in the age of European imperialism as a powerful trope for internal contamination within nations and for challenges to colonial rule that were morally, politically, and sexually conceived’.²¹⁹ However, intellectuals in fin de siècle Spain, particularly within the movement of Regeneracionalismo, saw the cultural and ethnic hybridity of the Spanish nation as a potential source for regeneration. *RTC* constantly makes reference to the theories of racial hybridity and the existence of a common race on both sides of the Strait articulated by intellectuals and ethnologists such as Ángel Ganivet, Isaac Ruíz

²¹⁸ Ángel Rodríguez del Barrio, ‘Divagaciones sobre Marruecos’, *RTC* marzo 1924, p. 10.

²¹⁹ Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2010, p. 81.

Albéniz, Antonio Sangróniz, and Joaquín Costa.²²⁰ The magazine emphasises that the blood of Berber and Jewish ‘races’ still flows through the bodies of Spaniards and that Spain should not reject these influences but rather embrace their Lybio-Iberian racial heritage as ‘bereberes latinizados’.²²¹ The shared ethnicity of Spaniards and Moroccans is traced to medieval al-Andalus and in some case further back to the existence of an ancient ‘Lybio-Berber’ race in pre-Roman Iberia, and often incorporates both Muslim and Jewish ‘racial’ influences under broader categories of ‘Semitic’ or ‘African’ races.²²² This notion of racial ties is also explored in discussions of physical features and categorisations of Moroccans and Spaniards into ‘hybrid’ racial taxonomies, which clearly reflects the influence of social Darwinism and its corresponding theories of biological determinism on discourses of identity in this period. Although these ethnic theories are referenced across European colonial discourses, they are usually invoked to separate the coloniser from the colonised, while in the case of Spain they are invoked to establish ties between them.

In representations of this fraternal relationship, colonialist writers in the mainland press as well as the Africanist military press constantly invoke the legacy of al-Andalus. The term ‘andalucismo’, which also refers to the regional movement of Andalusian nationalism that developed in the second decade of the twentieth century,²²³ is extended to the fraternal bond between Spain and

²²⁰ For examples, see Ángel Rodríguez del Barrio, *RTC*, marzo 1924, p. 11; Isaac Ruiz Albéniz, 1930, p. 57.

²²¹ Andrés Sánchez Pérez, ‘Una tribu bereber en España: maragatería’, *África*, enero 1929, p. 21-22. See also Amor Benomar, ‘El islam español y la “Reconquista” desde el sur’, *RTC*, septiembre 1925, p. 12.

²²² ‘Moorish’ and Jewish ‘racial’ features are sometimes fused in descriptions of Muslim inhabitants of Tetuán and Xauén as ‘Semitic’, ‘biblical’, or ‘semi-Hebraic.’ See Emilio Dugi, ‘Las razas del Rif’, *La Esfera*, 12 noviembre, 1921, p. 9; S.M. de la Escalera, ‘Mariano Bertuchi y su labor en Marruecos’, *África*, febrero 1926, p. 18-20; and ‘Libros, revista, conferencias’, *África*, septiembre 1935, p. 19.

²²³ The founding text of the movement was Blas Infante’s *Ideal andaluz* (1914). In the period between 1916-1923, Andalusian cultural centres (centros regionales andaluces) opened across the country, although their activities were suppressed by Primo de Rivera. Although andalucismo idealises the culture

Morocco. *RTC* defines it as ‘la modalidad geográfica y espiritual que participa de las tendencias particulares de los dos territorios’.²²⁴ The magazine expresses an essentialist preoccupation with the ‘spirit’ of Spanish culture and emphasises its ‘Oriental’ aspects such as individualism, irrationality, and, ironically considering Spain’s history of militant Catholicism, religious tolerance.

The Andalusian city emerges again here as a symbol of this cultural bond, upon which is inscribed an essential cultural ‘spirit’ shared between Spain and North Africa. *La Vanguardia* describes the cities of Andalucía as ‘muestras indelebles, nexos indestructibles, de antiguas e íntimas afinidades,’ and claims that Islamic Spain is ‘revived’ when one gazes upon the streets of Toledo, Ronda, and Seville.²²⁵ Similarly, Rodolfo Gil Benumeya writes in *RTC*: ‘Granada simboliza nuestra civilización árabe, que es la nota más original que España puede ofrecer al mundo, lo que origina su superioridad sobre las otras culturas europeas, menos apasionadas, más imitadoras, del consabido modelo romano’.²²⁶ The framework of andalucismo is further extended to a range of cultural commonalities. Popular music in Morocco is compared to flamenco, ‘esa forma espontánea y bellamente desordenada, que en Andalucía se expresa como un grito de corazón, como una manifestación externa de los propios sentimientos.’²²⁷ *Nuevo Mundo* emphasises that Christianity and Islam are ‘fraternal’ Abrahamic faiths that emerged from the same cradle of the Orient, and the saints venerated by Moroccans are depicted as ‘compatriotas nuestros’.²²⁸ One article presents a narrative of the Reconquista as a

of Al Andalus, and Blas Infante argues that the ‘blood of Africans’ runs throughout the Peninsula, he defines the Andalusians as ethnic Christians. See Stallaert (1998) for a detailed discussion on Andalucismo as a form of ethnic nationalism.

²²⁴ Gil Benomar, ‘El andalucismo’, *RTC*, mayo 1926, p. 9.

²²⁵ L. Lafuente Vanrell, ‘De Marruecos: Tetuán la encantadora’, *La Vanguardia*, 11 noviembre 1924, p. 9.

²²⁶ Rodolfo Gil Benumeya, ‘Escuela de estudios Árabes’, 1932, in García Figueras, *Miscelánea*, p. 101.

²²⁷ Emilio López, *El Telegrama del Rif*, 23 de febrero 1924, p. 1.

²²⁸ Ángel Cabrera, ‘Impresiones mogrebina’, *Nuevo mundo*, 25 agosto 1922, p.22

‘reacción nacionalista del español contra el extranjero’ in which Christians and Muslims fought side by side against foreign invaders.²²⁹ Another makes a somewhat weak case for the ‘insospechadas afinidades sentimentales entre cristianos y musulmanes’²³⁰ by highlighting the architectural similarities between Moroccan mosques and Spanish churches and the adaptation of mosques as churches in post-Reconquista Spain.²³¹

Romantic terms like ‘fraternidad’, ‘afinidad sentimental’, ‘hermandad espiritual’, and ‘lazos espirituales’ abound in this colonialist rhetoric, however, there are clear hierarchies of belonging underlying them. ‘Hispano-Arab’ Moroccan culture is made distinct from general Moroccan culture. ‘Arabs’, who primarily appear as historical figures or as an abstract cultural ideal, are portrayed as enlightened and tolerant adherents to ‘el Islam español’ and nearly always related to al-Andalus. The cream is skimmed off the milk in this process of identification: although the ‘sangre’ of Spaniards and Moroccans may be the same, the spirit of the Spanish ‘raza’ is superior. In this aspect, only the admirable aspects of Moroccan culture are linked to Spain. As *África* declares: ‘todo lo que vale de Marruecos, desde el misticismo, al arte decorativo y del idioma árabe a la música, es de importación islámico-española’.²³² García Figueras writes, ‘habíamos quedado *nosotros* como depositarios de todos los valores espirituales del pueblo retornado a África (literatura, artes, civilización)’.²³³ Spain’s role as the

²²⁹ Amor Benomar, ‘El islam español y la “Reconquista” desde el sur’, *RTC*, septiembre 1925, p. 12.

²³⁰ Antonio Coronel Velázquez, ‘El templo y la mezquita’, *RTC* enero 1926, p. 6.

²³¹ The protectorate was founded on a pact with the Moroccan sultanate, therefore the colonial administration had to tolerate Islam because it provided the basis for the legitimacy of the power of the sultan. This policy of tolerance was expressed for example, in the Spanish financing of the reconstruction of mosques in the 1920s that had been destroyed in the military campaigns. In terms of Christian religious activity in the protectorate, there were Franciscan missions in Morocco but they did not play nearly as central a role in Morocco as Catholic institutions on the mainland (Mateo Dieste, 2005, p. 36).

²³² Benomar, ‘La vida marroquí en la península’, *África*, agosto 1926, p. 24.

²³³ Tomás García Figueras, ‘Recuerdos de la campaña’, *África*, noviembre 1928, p. 20.

bearer of the Islamic Iberian cultural legacy gives it a claim over Morocco that no other European nation can contest.

The Africanist discourse of brotherhood was fundamentally pragmatic in that its underlying objective was to legitimise colonial domination. This is evidenced by the fact that the discourse did not match the reality of colonial policy. With the exception of a few 'enlightened' officers like General Marina and General Gómez Jordana, who spoke Arabic and demonstrated an interest in the languages and cultures of Morocco, colonial officers were not required to learn Arabic or the Riffian dialects, and few opted to do so. In terms of policy, while significant resources were devoted to extracting minerals from Moroccan land for the highest profit of investors in Europe or to providing entertainment to Spanish officers in Moroccan cities, little priority was given to economic and social development initiatives or to cultivating relations with local communities outside of a military context. Despite the official line of religious tolerance, the image of Islamic fanaticism was a recurring feature in the press and the colonial administration viewed Islam and superstition as the causes of the 'backwardness' of Moroccan society, an aspect that is discussed in further detail in Chapter 3.⁴² Despite proclamations of fraternity, Moroccan workers in the mines earned less than Spanish workers, and the *Regulares*, the indigenous infantry troops that fought alongside the Foreign Legion, were created to spill less Spanish blood in the colonial campaigns.²³⁴ The fact that the discourse of fraternity becomes most explicit during the Spanish Civil War, when the rebels are recruiting mercenary troops in Morocco to fight in Spain, further demonstrates its fundamentally pragmatic aims.

²³⁴ Emilio Mola, 'Los primeros regulares', *RTC*, junio 1924, p.3.

2:2:2. Duplicitous friendship: Fissures in the discourse of brotherhood

As discussed in Section 2:1, publications that favoured the colonial venture, such as *RTC* and more conservative metropolitan press organs like *Nuevo mundo*, emphasise the camaraderie between indigenous and Spanish soldiers. For example, Francisco Franco describes the demonstrations of affection by the indigenous troops towards their Spanish officers, and the fraternisation of ‘moros’ and legionarios ‘bajo las pardas lonas de los lobregos cafetines morunos’.²³⁵ During the colonial campaigns, *Nuevo mundo* publishes a regular war chronicle, ‘Memorias de un legionario,’ that glorifies — and homoeroticises — the bond between the Regulares and their Spanish officers. The chronicler describes the Regulares using the melodramatic rhetoric that characterises the Foreign Legion:

Como lebreles flexibles, tenaces, sufridos, como hombres muy hombres para la guerra, y tan leales que no parecen hombres, son estos Regulares. ¿Cómo se consigue esta sumisión absoluta, este entusiasta fanatismo, esa ceguera apasionada?

He likens their devotion to romantic love, ‘esa locura heroica del verdadero amor [...] que hasta ahora sólo creí que fuera posible en la pasión de hombres á mujeres’.²³⁶

Luis López Ballesteros, the director of *El Imparcial*, published a slightly less melodramatic chronicle on Morocco entitled ‘Nuestros amigos,’ in which he describes the Mojatar brothers, tribal leaders in the cabile of Frajana, who collaborated with the Spanish and served in the colonial forces. Maimon Mojatar was a cavalry officer in the colonial army and is described glowingly as ‘the greatest confidant of all confidants’, with loyal eyes and a handsome face that

²³⁵ Francisco Franco de Bahamonde, *Papeles de la guerra de Marruecos*, Madrid, Fundación Nacional Francisco Franco, 1986, p. 67.

²³⁶ Juan Ferragut, ‘Memorias de un legionario’, *Nuevo mundo*, 7 octubre 1921, p. 5.

inspires confidence.²³⁷ Maimon's brother Abdel Kader Mojatar, 'el gato', was an overseer of Moroccan workers in a Spanish mine and also served in the army as an officer of the indigenous police force. *RTC* describes him as 'venerable', 'el caid perfecto', with 'arraigadas virtudes raciales [...] y una fidelidad firme y decisiva'.²³⁸ *RR* records his effusive proclamations of loyalty to Spain, his thankfulness for Spain's civilising works in Morocco '[habiendo] mejorado nuestra condición de cabras salvajes y morataces',²³⁹ and his promise to defend Spain to the death, fighting against his rebel fellow countrymen. However, there is a note of irony in this transcription of Abdel Kader's 'exaltaciones,' which is reinforced by his concealed figure and evasive gaze, 'la mirada baja y pasiva', suggesting the duplicity of the character of this 'friend'.

In his aforementioned chronicles, Ballesteros depicts Abdel Kader as friendly and amiable but notes that an occasional 'ráfaga de odio' crosses his eyes when he speaks to his Spanish companions. 'He aquí nuestros amigos', he writes,

Como este Abdel Kader que a duras penas sabe ocultar la irreductibilidad de sus sentimientos, el rencor de su raza, son todos los rifeños que están a nuestro lado.... Cuanto más conflatos nos hallemos en la lealtad de sus sentimientos amistosos, veremos surgir de este pueblo, como de las pupilas de 'nuestro amigo' Mojatar, ráfagas de venganza y de odio.²⁴⁰

This notion of the Moroccan 'Moors' as treacherous and untrustworthy emerges across the ideological spectrum of the media. Like the above example of Ballesteros's chronicle, many portrayals of 'moros amigos' express clear anxieties about betrayal or rebellion within the colonial population. *RR* warns, 'hay que tener cien ojos con el moro',²⁴¹ and *El Socialista* asks: '¿Es sincera la amistad de

²³⁷Luis López Ballesteros, 'Nuestros amigos', *El Imparcial*, 10 agosto 1909, p. 1.

²³⁸'Nuestros caídos: Abdel Kader', *RTC*, julio 1024, p. 13.

²³⁹Manuel Chacón, 'Hablando con Abd-el-Kader', *RR*, mayo 1922, p. 3.

²⁴⁰Ballesteros, 'Nuestros amigos', *El Imparcial*, 10 agosto 1909, p. 1.

²⁴¹Chacón, *RR*, 1922, p.3.

los mezquiteños? No perdamos el tiempo en averiguarlo'.²⁴² In a war poem published in *Mundo gráfico* the soldier-author declares: 'No creo en el moro amigo/ Confías en ellos/ te digo que estoy mejor entre toros'.²⁴³ Moroccans are portrayed as astutely concealing their 'innate' hatred for Spain behind fawning proclamations of loyalty and affection. As the aforementioned article in *RR* states, 'aparentan ser hombres-niños, llenos de zalamerías y de candor, aquel que únicamente le conociera bajo este aspecto no dudaría en entregarle la administración de su hacienda y los secretos de su conciencia'.²⁴⁴

These stereotypes about the obsequiousness, duplicity, and false flattery of the 'Moors', which have formed part of Spanish cultural attitudes towards Muslims since the sixteenth century, abound even in the Africanist press. In a series of articles published in *RTC* in 1924 discussing the formation of the Regulares, General Gonzalo Queipo de Llano describes the 'Moor' as 'tornadizo por naturaleza',²⁴⁵ and General Emilio Mola portrays them marching alongside the Spanish troops singing songs about the price the *cherif* would pay for their Spanish heads 'puestas en la punta afilada de una bayoneta'.²⁴⁶ Franco, who during the Civil War and the dictatorship would become the chief propagator of the discourse of brotherhood between Spain and Morocco, did not express that same confidence in Morocco in his writing during the Rif War. In 1926, the Carlist *El Siglo futuro* cites Franco's opinion on alliances with Moroccans:

El general Franco conoce bien al moro, y advierte que lo mismo pasa de la amistad a la enemistad, lo mismo se somete que se subleva, lo mismo pide perdón que ataca, sin

²⁴² 'Sin comentarios', *El Socialista*, 20 agosto 1909, p.1.

²⁴³ Juan Pérez Zuñiga, 'Carta de un soldado,' *Mundo gráfico*, 31 enero, p. 28.

²⁴⁴ Chacón, *RR*, 1922, p.3.

²⁴⁵ Gonzalo Queipo de Llano, 'Algo sobre las primeras fuerzas regulares', *RTC*, febrero 1924, p. 6.

²⁴⁶ Mola, *RTC*, 1924, p. 3.

que el sacrificio de un ternero signifique absolutamente nada. Lo esencial, lo eficaz y lo que asegura la paz es que el moro no posea armas.²⁴⁷

This statement certainly does not accord with his choice to involve the Regulares in the offensive launched by the rebel generals in July 1936, nor does it match the discourse of brotherhood that he used to justify this involvement.

The problem with the grossly oversimplified categories of Moroccan amigos and enemigos was, as Balfour notes, that groups defined as ‘hostile’ and ‘friendly’ were constantly shifting and interchanging because of the fluid structure of Riffian tribal alliances, which was further unbalanced by the Spanish policy of divide and rule.²⁴⁸ Within these rapidly shifting alliances, figures like el Raisuni and Abdel Krim became notorious examples that confirmed Spanish fears of the treachery of the ‘Moors’. El Raisuni was a powerful sharif in the northwest of Morocco who became identified with the struggle to defend Islam against the Christian penetration of Morocco, but who also often negotiated treaties with the Spanish, the terms of which he hardly ever kept. Similarly, Mohammad Abdel Krim personally profited from the sale of mining and oil exploration rights in their lands to European companies. These profits were later used to finance his rebellion against the Spanish in 1921.²⁴⁹ During the Battle of Annual, entire regiments of colonial troops turned their guns on their officers and joined Abdel Krim’s insurrectionary forces. Experiences like this reinforced the stereotypes of ‘Moors’ as canny, untrustworthy, and ultimately self-seeking.

However, the fact that Africanist as well as metropolitan discourse on the ‘moro amigo’ is underlined by serious misgivings about the reliability of these so-called friends demonstrates the internal incoherence of the hegemonic discourse of

²⁴⁷ Mirabal, ‘La situación en Marruecos: la táctica de sentido común’, *El Siglo futuro*, 5 febrero 1926, p. 1.

²⁴⁸ Balfour, 2002, p. 42.

²⁴⁹ Balfour, 2002, p. 47.

fraternity. Representations of duplicitous ‘amigos’ reveal the ambivalences of the discourse, but they are also slippages that expose the failures of the colonial power structure that Spain had attempted to edify in Morocco. A ‘moro amigo’ is a Moroccan that has been dominated, while a ‘moro enemigo’ is one that has not submitted to domination. The uncertainty of Spanish writers as to whether these Moroccans are friends or enemies betrays their anxieties their ability to dominate the protectorate.

2:2:3. Counter-hegemonic discourses of fraternity

The discourse of affinity with Morocco is not limited to the colonial Africanist discourse. During the Rif War, non-hegemonic as well as hegemonic discourses explored notions of the cultural proximity. A more nuanced representation of cultural ties is revealed, for example, in the recurring accounts of Spaniards living among Berber tribes in the Rif. According to María Rosa de Madariaga, at the beginning of the twentieth century there were at least thirty Spanish ‘renegados’ living in the Riffian cabilas of Mazuza, Beni Sicar, and Beni Bu Ifrur. These were mostly convicts who had escaped from the prisons in Melilla or army deserters who had joined Riffian cabilas, where they converted to Islam, married Berber women, and assimilated into the local population.²⁵⁰

An article in *El Telegrama del Rif* described a ‘Spanish’ cabila founded by a fugitive from Tarifa.²⁵¹ The Africanist journalist Isaac Ruiz Albéniz claimed that it was common in the 1920s to encounter Spaniards ‘que se habían pasado al

²⁵⁰ M. Rosa de Madariaga, *España y el Rif: crónica de una historia casi olvidada*, 2nd ed, Melilla, Consejo Cultural, 2000, p. 278.

²⁵¹ ‘Las cabilas de españoles que fundó José Centeno,’ *El Telegrama del Rif*, 22 enero, 1924, p. 1.

moro' among the Riffian tribes in the province of Guelaya.²⁵² *El Imparcial* published a story recounting how a Moroccan, upon being called a Jew by a group of Spanish soldiers who were mocking him, retorted, '¡Tan judío soy yo como usted! [...] hablando con el más castizo acento de la parroquia de San Pablo en Zaragoza'.²⁵³ This statement reveals the blurred lines between North African and European identities in the protectorate as a result of the closeness that is perceived between Spaniards and Moroccans. The blurred lines centre on a likeness in physical appearance that allows Spanish men to cross over, 'pasar por moro' or 'pasarse al moro' and assimilate into Moroccan society. *El Imparcial* references the tradition of nineteenth-century travel writers who disguised themselves as 'Moors', including José María Murga and Domingo Badía: 'Y así ha habido muchos, muchísimos, sin contar los exploradores, que con motivos políticos o científicos han fingido ser moros con triunfante habilidad'.²⁵⁴

An image of permeability and assimilation between Spanish and Moroccan culture emerges from these texts. The fact that Spaniards are easily able to become 'Moors' suggests that there are few visible differences between Spaniards and Moroccans. It also suggests an underlying fantasy in the possibility of transgressing cultural boundaries, to be able to give up one's Spanish identity and take on that of the 'Moor'; to disguise oneself, and mimic, the Other. This is not the mimicry of the European travel writer disguised as an 'Oriental', which is

²⁵² Another example is found in Manuel de Corral's chronicle of the Rif campaigns of 1909, where he recounts meeting a Valencian among a group of Moroccan prisoners of war. 'En la Legión extranjera, al servicio de Francia, hizo la campaña del 1870 a 1871, al volver a Argelia desertó, refugiándose en Marruecos, abrazando para lo sucesivo la religión y las costumbres musulmanas,' he writes, 'y tras mucho rodar por el imperio, cayó en el territorio de las numerosas kábilas de Guelaya' (De Corral, 1910: 421-22) This man hears a group of Valencian soldiers speaking, and tries to speak to them but can only utter a few words, 'porque al cabo de su dilatada convivencia con los moros, había llegado a olvidar casi por completo la lengua nativa' (422)

²⁵³ Isaac Ruiz Albéniz, *España en el Rif, Estudios del indígena y del país. Nuestra actuación de 12 años. La guerra del 21*, Melilla, 1921, p. 56.

²⁵⁴ Mariano de Cavia, 'El problema del Rif: La opinión y el gobierno', *El Imparcial*, 14 julio 1909, p.1.

another way of exploring the unknown and tabooed, but the mimicry of a European seeking refuge in a new society.²⁵⁵ What is occurring here is the opposite of Bhabha's theory of mimicry, where the other is expected to mimic the European, but can never quite become European.²⁵⁶ Here the coloniser mimics the colonised to such an extent that he becomes undistinguishable from him.

El Socialista, the press organ of the PSOE and one of the metropolitan newspapers that was most outspoken in its opposition to the Moroccan campaigns, provides a different angle to the notion of cultural affinity. The Socialist newspaper identifies with Morocco in social terms by defending the cause of the resistance movement, criticizing the army and industrialists who in their view exploit the common Spanish soldiers and the Moroccan people for their own interests, and highlighting the injustices suffered by Moroccan civilians as well as Spanish soldiers. In his column 'Contra la guerra' Pablo Iglesias, the founder of the PSOE, regularly defends the cause of the Riffian insurgents, comparing them to the Spanish resistance to Napoleon's invasion in 1808-1814 and arguing that the Spanish men who defended the independence of their nation are considered heroes, and that by the same logic, the Berber insurgents should also be considered heroic.²⁵⁷

In *El Socialista's* critique of capitalist exploitation and oppression, the victims are the Moroccan people as well as the Spanish. An article sarcastically entitled 'Camino de la civilización'²⁵⁸ highlights the exploitation of European imperialism in North African, criticising the debt that France and Spain has

²⁵⁵ Patricia Plummer, 'Glimpses of the Harem in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth- Century literature and the Fine Arts', in Michael Meyer (ed.), *Word and Image in Colonial and Postcolonial Literatures and Cultures*, New York, Editions Rodopi, 2009, p. 51.

²⁵⁶ See Bhaba, 2012.

²⁵⁷ Pablo Iglesias, 'Contra la guerra', *El Socialista*, 16 julio 1909, p. 1.

²⁵⁸ 'Camino de la civilización,' *El Socialista*, 13 agosto 1909, p. 2.

imposed on the Moroccan sultanate, which amounts to 206,000,000 francs, a debt that ultimately results in the Sultan being forced to accept the French and Spanish spheres of influence in Morocco in 1912.²⁵⁹ The newspaper protests the fact that Spanish colonialism is robbing the African people of their independence²⁶⁰ and decries the brutality of the war in aspects such as the Spanish bombardment of villages, the use of chemical weapons against the civilian population and the brutal treatment of the enemy.²⁶¹ It asks: ‘¿Podrá nadie llamar todavía salvajes a los moros? ¿Qué calificación merecen los causantes de tales enormidades?’²⁶²

The fraternal bond that the socialist press envisions is the shared experience of oppression and cultural backwardness. One of the key arguments in their protest of the war is that Spain cannot pacify or colonise another culture when Spain itself is uncivilised and destitute. In the Socialist narrative, the Spanish people live in worse conditions than the tribes of the Rif: ‘En España estamos hambrientos, humillados, perseguidos, y viviendo una vida incivil. Régimen que vive en tal vilipendio carece moralmente de toda fuerza para realizar misión civilizadora en otra parte’.²⁶³

In 1921, *El Socialista* published a series of articles in a series entitled ‘De Marruecos’, which describes a primitive society where dirty, hungry, diseased families of peasants live crowded in with their animals in mud huts.²⁶⁴ These texts

²⁵⁹ Crippled by a debt of war reparations imposed by France and Spain, the regime of Sultan Mulay Hafid, had virtually collapsed by 1912.

²⁶⁰ ‘El avispero’, *El Socialista*, 9 octubre 1909, p. 2.

²⁶¹ The use of chemical warfare in the Rif War remains a taboo subject in Spanish history and politics. For a recent article on the subject, see

http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2015/02/16/actualidad/1424122202_627593.html

²⁶² Pablo Iglesias, ‘Contra la guerra’, *El Socialista*, 23 julio 1909, p.2.

²⁶³ ‘Doloroso desastre en Marruecos’, *El Socialista*, 23 julio 1921, p. 1. See also ‘Magnitud del desastre de Marruecos’, *El Socialista*, 25 julio 1921, p.1.

²⁶⁴ ‘Los poblados son todos iguales. Una alquería es un montón informe de tugurios metidos en la falda de una loma y cuajados de heleichos y jaras. Las viviendas son hechas de barro y trozos de pizarra, techadas con losas de la misma roca, sin más puertas ni ventanas que un pequeño hueco de poco más de un metro de altura, por donde apenas puede entrar un hombre. En el interior, una sola habitación, donde

are intended to evoke an image of the Rif (‘¿Son estos los territorios que vamos a pacificar y colonizar por la misión civilizadora que se nos ha confiado como nación europea?’) but are then revealed to be from Santiago Pérez Argemí’s book *Las Hurdes*, which describes life in a destitute rural village of Extremadura that would become the subject of Luis Buñuel’s 1933 film, *Terre sans pain*. Rather than distinguishing Spain from Morocco, *El Socialista* presents an image of Spain as equally backward and uncivilised, and of the bodies of the Spanish lower classes and their environment as virtually indistinguishable from the bodies of Moroccans. In a sense, again here the colonising gaze is turned inwards, away from Morocco and onto the lower classes of Spain. ‘¿Cuándo abandonamos el derroche de vidas y de millones de pesetas que se pierden en Marruecos’, the newspaper asks, ‘para dedicarnos a colonizar todo lo inculto y misérrimo de España?’²⁶⁵ In misleading its readers into thinking that the description of Las Hurdes is actually about the Rif, *El Socialista* represents the two cultures as interchangeable and challenges the Africanist’s claims of Spanish cultural superiority and colonial entitlement. Through its discourse of non-difference, the socialist press rejects the patriotic vision of the Spanish nation as a superior civilisation and attacks the perceived bourgeois power structures that underlie it. Pablo Iglesias’ writing reflects the revolutionary narrative of the Rif War, which over the course of the 1920s became a landmark of oppression in working class

viven reunidos los padres y los hijos, con la cabra, el cerdo, y el jumento [...]El ajuar, un montón de helechos que sirven de cama, una sartén, unas cucharas de palo y unos asientos de corcho o de madera. Los caminos nos existen, porque no podemos dar este nombre a los tortuosos senderos de medio metro de anchura, de increíble desnivel, que sirven para ir de una alquería a otra.¿Son estos los territorios que vamos a pacificar y colonizar por la misión civilizadora que se nos ha confiado como nación europea? No, estos poblados ocupan una extensión de más de 5.000 hectáreas de terreno en la provincia de Cáceres, región de las Hurdes, que ha descrito el Señor Pérez Argemí en un libro recientemente publicado. Cuando abandonamos el derroche de vidas y de millones de pesetas que se pierden en Marruecos, para dedicarnos a colonizar todo lo inculto y misérrimo de España? (‘De Marruecos’, *El Socialista*, 2 agosto 1921, p. 1.)

²⁶⁵ ‘De Marruecos’, *El Socialista*, 2 agosto 1921, p.1.

memory, yet another arena where the class struggle was being played out.

2:2:4. Philosephardism, medievalist nostalgia, and the Sephardic romance

In 1919, Manuel Ortega, journalist and editor of *RR* published an influential study of the Jewish community of Morocco entitled *Los hebreos de Marruecos*. The study was well received and reviewed by his contemporaries, including General Gómez Jordana, the High Commissioner of the colonial administration in Morocco, who wrote the prologue to the first edition.²⁶⁶ It focuses primarily on the Sephardic Jews and their cultural ties to Spain and includes a collection of Castilian romances preserved by these communities through oral tradition since the sixteenth century. Ortega writes of the ballads, ‘parece que resucita con ellas la vieja España de los triunfos y las grandezas [...] Esas cantigas y leyendas de nuestros abuelos, como ha dicho alguien, levantan en el alma como polvo y efluvios’.²⁶⁷ In this context, the Romancero, like the medieval city in Morocco and Spain, is elevated by Spanish commentators as a precious trace of the Iberian past. Just as photographs of medieval Jewish architecture on both sides of the strait ‘revive’ the historical image of medieval Iberia, in this case the medieval Castilian ballads recited by Sephardic women ‘resurrect’ medieval Castile to the author. This resurrection is articulated through the feminine figure of a long-lost sister:

Es como si una hermana que la infancia nos hubiese arrebatado y creyéramos perdida para siempre o muerta, de repente la encontráramos en el albergue de gentes

²⁶⁶ Gómez Jordana was one of the ‘enlightened’ colonial officers, an Arabist scholar who advocated peaceful penetration and was receptive to the ideas of the Philosephardites.

²⁶⁷ Manuel L. Ortega, ‘Los sefardíes y el idioma castellano’, *RR*, septiembre 1922, p. 15.

humildes que la hubieron cuidado y vestido a su modo, con atavíos distintos de los nuestros, pero que nos la hubiera conservado honesta y viva.²⁶⁸

Again here the figure of a woman is associated with the preservation of culture. In fact it was Jewish women who recited Castilian romances and lullabies and passed them on through the generations, making them the principal bearers of the Castilian tradition.

The Sephardic ballads became a source of fascination for historians, philologists, and writers in the 1920s, including Américo Castro, Menéndez Pelayo, Giménez Caballero, Manrique de Lara, and Rodolfo Gil, and most notably the philologist Ramón Menéndez Pidal, whose research and efforts to recover medieval Castilian ballads laid the foundation for current scholarship on this Spanish literary form. For Menéndez Pidal, the *Romancero viejo* had played a fundamental role in consolidating Spanish national identity because it represented the Iberian Christian community, and the conflicts that eventually united it, to audiences across social classes throughout the Iberian Peninsula, and in doing so helped to give shape to that ‘imagined’ community.²⁶⁹ Although this view is an over-mystification when we consider the fact that the Castilian ballads were written before the Spanish nation existed, it was widely influential among Spanish intellectuals who sought to define the essential character of Spain. For example, Ángel Ganivet described the *Romancero* as ‘nuestra ‘summa teológica y filosófica’. ‘De esa poesía popular’, he writes, ‘nacieron las tendencias más marcadas del espíritu religioso español’.²⁷⁰ The recovery of these medieval Castilian ballads formed part of a wider cultural project that sought to achieve

²⁶⁸ Manuel L. Ortega, *Los hebreos en Marruecos*, Madrid, Cía. Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones, 1929, p. 19.

²⁶⁹ See Pidal, 1973, Chapter 1: ‘Sus orígenes y carácter.’

²⁷⁰ Ganivet, 1897, pp. 15-16.

national regeneration through a return to ‘traditional’ or ‘essential’ values, which were revealed in their purest form in the classic canon of Castilian literature.²⁷¹

In 1911, *El Heraldo de Madrid* reviewed a collection of Judeo-Spanish romances published by the senator and writer Rodolfo Gil.²⁷² The newspaper exalts the ‘primitive purity’ of the romances in contrast to the perceived decadence of the Spanish language in its modern form: ‘guardan los judíos como preciosa joya la lengua que de ellos aprendieron [...] mientras nosotros la profanamos y adulteramos con ingratos barbarismos’.²⁷³ The use of the word primitive refers to a return to the Spanish language in its medieval form, what Unamuno termed ‘la lengua castiza.’²⁷⁴ Unamuno — who also described the Spanish language as ‘la sangre de mi espíritu’ —²⁷⁵ and many of his literary contemporaries elevated language above other factors of cultural identity and sought to restore the purity of the Spanish language out of the belief that the language and cultural essence or ‘spirit’ of a people were intimately connected, and therefore when language was corrupted, the spirit likewise suffered debasement.²⁷⁶ Ironically, some commentators, such as Antonio Maura, likened this mission of linguistic purity to that undertaken to preserve the purity of blood against Jewish contamination in the

²⁷¹ For a detailed discussion of Spanish cultural and academic interest in Sephardic romances in the early twentieth century, see Paloma Díaz Más, *Sephardim: The Jews from Spain* (1992). Likewise, in her article ‘Ishica, (sic) de quien sos tu?’ Nostalgia for a Mother Tongue in Rosa Nissan’s Novels’ (*Hispania*, September 2009), Tabea Linhard provides a rich discussion of the relationship between gender, identity and the use of Ladino in Latin American Jewish communities.

²⁷² The collection was entitled *Romancero judeo-español*. Rodolfo Gil was the father of Gil Ben-Umeya, a medievalist scholar, Arabist, and Andalusian nationalist who exalted the ‘Moorish’ heritage of Andalusí culture.

²⁷³ Emilio Ferrez Revenga, ‘Romancero judeo-español’, *El Heraldo de Madrid*, 29 agosto, 1911, p. 3.

²⁷⁴ Derrida disputes the claims of language purity and language ownership in the essay *Monolingualism of the Other* (1998), which deals with the possession and imposition of language in the colonial context of French Algeria. There can be no master of language, he argues, although the master (or colonist) can ‘pretend historically’ that language is his natural possession (23).

²⁷⁵ Miguel de Unamuno, ‘La sangre de mi espíritu’ in *Rosario de sonetos líricos*, Madrid, Imprenta española, 1911.

²⁷⁶ Fredrick B. Pike, *Hispanismo, 1898-1936: Spanish Conservatives and Liberals and their Relations with Spanish America*, London, University of Notre Dame Press, 1971, p. 134.

sixteenth century.²⁷⁷ In this case, it was the Jews themselves who had preserved the ‘purity’ of the Castilian language, which had fallen into decadence in Spain:

Y fue desde luego tal el hechizo de estos romances para los judíos de España, que [...] se los asimilaron como cosa propia, incrustándolos en sus costumbres [...] arrullaron con ellos, al vaivén de la cuna, el sueño de sus hijos [...] los entremezclaron con sus plegarias, los escondieron el día de la inevitable rota en su pecho, como retazos de la bandera gloriosa, a cuya sombra descansaron en horas de paz y libertad, y a la postre fueron paño de lágrimas en los páramos del destierro, y rayos de luz y de consuelo para sus nostalgias.²⁷⁸

The Sephardim’s preservation of the Spanish language is interpreted as evidence of the existence of a spiritual bond between the Moroccan Jews and Spain. General Gómez Jordana describes the Sephardic romance as ‘el lazo de la tradición,’²⁷⁹ and *RR* writes, ‘sus cantares [...] son de Castilla la Viexa, y por [eso] están estrechamente ligados a España’.²⁸⁰ This view ties into the ideology of pan-Hispanism, a neo-imperialist vision that developed in the wake of Spain’s loss of its American colonies of a spiritual community of races and cultures that owed their civilisation to Spain and Portugal and maintained a sense of unity and permanent loyalty to the Spanish nation. The Castilian language was regarded as the strongest unifying factor for this community,²⁸¹ as Unamuno asserts, ‘nuestra unidad es, o así bien será, la lengua, el viejo romance castellano convertido en la gran lengua española.’²⁸² Similarly, Ramón Menéndez writes, ‘tantos pueblos de ambos hemisferios han podido estar separados por los mayores cataclismos históricos, guerras, secesiones, diásporas; pero afirman su indisoluble fraternidad

²⁷⁷ Pike, 1971, p. 134

²⁷⁸ Ferrez Revenga, ‘Romancero judeo-español’, *El Heraldo de Madrid*, 1911, p. 3.

²⁷⁹ ‘Los hebreos en Marruecos’, *El Telegrama del Rif*, 27 octubre 1919, p. 1.

²⁸⁰ José M. Estrugo, ‘De la vieja patria: el retorno del éxodo’, *RR*, octubre 1922, p. 10.

²⁸¹ The erection of the Monument to Cervantes in Madrid in 1916 illustrates the spiritual value attributed to the Spanish language. The monument shows Cervantes seated on a throne, flanked on either side by Quijote and Sancho Panza. Beneath them is a fountain, which the architects of the fountain describe as the source of the Castilian language, and on its basin is carved the coat of arms for all Castilian-speaking nations (Britt Arredondo, 2005, p. 23).

²⁸² José Venegas, ‘Unamuno, Epistolarity, and the Rhetoric of Transatlantic Hispanism’, *MLN* 124.2, 2009, p. 439.

hispana en el *Romancero*'.²⁸³ Liberal Philosephardism and traditionalist nationalism (with the exception of Catholic integrist discourses) coincide in this representation of Spain's intense spiritual ties with Sephardic Jewish culture. In this aspect, the relationship between Spain and the Moroccan Jews is the precise opposite of its relationship with the Moroccan 'Moors'. While the 'Moors' are represented as inadequate guardians of an Islamic Iberian cultural heritage that has been preserved in Spain, the Jews are posited as faithful guardians of a medieval Castilian culture and language that has been lost in Spain.

The preservation of the Sephardic ballad also serves as a powerful symbol of the perceived nostalgia of the Moroccan Jews for Spain, a cliché that characterises much of philosephardic discourse. A ballad by Agustín de Foxá, a writer who would become integrated in the Spanish Falangist circle of intellectuals only two years later and who would serve as a Nationalist propagandist during the Civil War, illustrates this representation of Sephardic nostalgia. The poem incorporates the traditional ballad form (octosyllables, assonantal rhyme in even lines and non-stanzaic form) and is entitled 'Romance de la casa del sefardita'.²⁸⁴ In its form and content, which describes the home of a Sephardic family in Bulgaria, where Foxá was serving as a diplomat at the time, it uses language and space to evoke the medieval past. Though the house is located in Eastern Europe, it is 'anchored' in Toledo, and as the father speaks of the homeland, his words evoke an image of a garden in Spain, a home lost in exile. The sentiment of displacement attributed to the Sephardic father in the poem suggests a reflective form of nostalgia, where the

²⁸³ Pidal, 1973, p. 445.

²⁸⁴ La casa del sefardita / cortinas de rosa tenue / piano de cromos chillones / ventana de grajo y nieves / toca la niña; almohadones / nido de luces calientes / bajo un faisán disecado./ Puntilla y floreros verdes./ La casa del sefardita/tembla en montañas de fiebre / casa con ancla en Toledo / flotando en mares agrestes. / 'Hace cuatrocientos años' / comienza el padre y le vienen/ naranjales de Valencia/ y Alicante bereberes. / En la nieve de Bulgaria/ Derrite palmeras de Elche.

past shows no signs of decay and the lost home can never be recovered.²⁸⁵

However, this representation of Jewish nostalgia, and of the lost home, is also instrumental. As a nationalist and eventually a fascist, Foxá lamented the disappearance of the old traditional order and the destruction that in his view accompanied modernity. Sephardic nostalgia serves, in this context, as a vehicle for his own cultural nostalgia and his regenerative vision for the Spanish nation.

An article published in *ABC* by the Basque novelist and journalist José María Salaverría, who would also become a prominent nationalist propagandist during the Civil War, provides a similar example of instrumental nostalgia. Salaverría also views the preservation of the Castilian language in Sephardic communities as evidence of their faithfulness to Spain, ‘significa que el desterrado no renuncia a su Patria y que se obstina en llevársela consigo en la forma más integral, más íntima’.²⁸⁶ In addition, he highlights the mythical preservation of Sephardic exiles of the keys to their Spanish homes, a motif that appears in many accounts of Spanish encounters with the Sephardim in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, most notably Pedro Antonio de Alarcón’s *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África* (1859), which describes the Jews in Tetuán bringing out the keys to their homes in Toledo when Spanish troops entered the city.

In literary and historical sources across cultures, handing over the keys of a property or of an entire city served as a recurring motif to represent surrender of that place to a conqueror; notable instances include the Nasrid king’s handover of the key to Granada to Fernando and Isabel and the Jews’ handover of the key of

²⁸⁵ Boym, 2001, p. 49.

²⁸⁶ José María Salaverría, ‘Interpretaciones: los desterrados’, *ABC*, 18 julio 1929, p. 1.

Seville's Jewish quarter to Fernando III.²⁸⁷ In Sephardic exile, the act of retaining keys can therefore be interpreted as an act of resistance to these formal, historical gestures of submission. However, in this context, the mythical keys also serve as a nostalgic metonym, 'la preservación de las llaves de las casas antiguas supone una singular perseverante en el recuerdo, en el dolor de la ausencia, en la esperanza mística de poder regresar alguna vez, características psicológicas del verdadero desterrado'.²⁸⁸ Like the father in Foxá's poem who dreams each night of returning to Spain, the Sephardim remain in a state of expectant longing for their lost Iberian home. The key can also be interpreted as a metaphor for their preservation of the medieval Castilian language and traditions, which gives the Sephardic Jews access, so to speak, into the pan-Hispanic community.

This representation of Sephardic nostalgia allows Salaverría to aggrandise his image of Spain. 'Todo esto prueba que efectivamente... la tierra española, por tanto maldecida, vilipendiada o menospreciada, tiene no se sabe qué fuerza de atracción o de veneración que cae del lado de la mística.' He attributes the elite character of Sephardic culture to the influence of Castilian culture:

No debemos olvidar que los judíos españoles, los llamados sefardíes, dentro de la universal familia hebrea componen la clase aristocrática. Su larga convivencia con los españoles indígenas les dio acceso a las virtudes españolas. Fueron contagiados por el espíritu de nobleza español. España les libértó en lo posible, de los estigmas que tradicionalmente pesan sobre la raza [...] Hace poco me contaba un literato argentino que los judíos marroquíes de ascendencia española en Buenos Aires son muy diferentes de otros judíos que llegan del centro de Europa y de Rusia, diferentes por su sentido moral, por su gesto... en suma, por la superioridad de su carácter.²⁸⁹

Salaverría's focus here is not on the tragedy of Sephardic exile, but on the glory of Castilian culture. The Sephardic Jews long for Spain because of the

²⁸⁷ Other examples include the Dutch keys of Breda, depicted famously in Velázquez's 'La rendición de Breda'.

²⁸⁸ Salaverría, *ABC*, 1929, p. 1.

²⁸⁹ Salaverría, *ABC*, 1929, p. 1.

greatness of Spain. Like in Foxá's poem, although the nostalgia that is projected onto the Sephardim appears to be merely reflective, in reality it also has a restorative agenda. Salaverría's writing, initially characterised by the pessimism of Regeneracionalismo in the wake of the crisis of 1898, evolved over the course of the 1920s into an optimistic desire to affirm a new nationalist identity for Spain, particularly in the face of growing Catalan and Basque nationalism.²⁹⁰ In this instance, he employs an image of Sephardic nostalgia that he regards as faithfulness to the homeland and the enduring hope of return, to construct an exalted image of the historical and contemporary identity of the Spanish nation.

Salaverría's image of the Sephardic Jews fuses notions of nostalgia and patriotism. In fact Sephardic nostalgia is often represented as devotion to Spain, 'un alto ideal patriótico'²⁹¹ 'un vivo amor a la patria'²⁹² 'el amor inextinguible a España'²⁹³ 'un cariño intenso, tradicional'.²⁹⁴ In 1929 the novelist, essayist, and literary critic Azorín published an article in *ABC* entitled 'Hebreos españoles: patriotismo'. Like the aforementioned writers, he makes reference to the Castilian ballads and the archaic Spanish language that the Moroccan Jews have maintained, as well as the mythical keys: 'Tal vez, en lo más recatado de un arcaz, se encuentra guardada una llave que corresponde a la cerradura de una vieja casa de Toledo, de Cuenca, de Teruel', he writes. 'Y en ciertos días, en momentos solemnes, esta llave es sacada de su escondrijo y mostrada, con reverencia, con tristeza, a los pequeños de la familia'.²⁹⁵

²⁹⁰ Antonio Carbajosa Pérez, 'José María Salaverría', *Diccionario biográfico español*, Vol. XLV Madrid: Real academia de la historia, 2009:, p. 536

²⁹¹ 'Los hebreos en Marruecos', *El Telegrama del Rif*, 1909, p. 1.

²⁹² Cabrera, 'La acción de España: los hebreos', *RR*, 1923, pp. 22-23.

²⁹³ Azorín, 'Hebreos españoles: patriotismo', *ABC*, 2 agosto 1929, p. 3.

²⁹⁴ Juan B. Yuste, 'La construcción de una iglesia española en Jerusalén', *ABC*, 6 abril 1928, p. 20

²⁹⁵ Azorín, *ABC*, 1929, p. 3.

The key again serves as a nostalgic metonym. It is a symbol of the Sephardim's persistent longing to return home to Spain, an almost prophetic talisman that points to a teleology of return and renewal. As the title of the article indicates, Azorín identifies this persistent, transcendent longing for the fatherland with a heightened form of patriotism. Santiago Riopérez y Milá writes of Azorín: 'Todas sus páginas exhalan idealidad inefable, amor al pasado con proyección al futuro [...] y afán de elevación de la cultural nacional'.²⁹⁶ In this article, the image of Sephardic nostalgia allows him to project his own nostalgia for the past as well as a vision for imperial regeneration. He calls for greater interest in the Sephardim, 'estos compatriotas nuestros', because they could prove instrumental in the diffusion of Spanish language and culture worldwide. Sephardic nostalgia also allows him to exalt the Spanish nation. The article concludes with a dramatic representation of nostalgia that is almost interchangeable with prototypical nationalist representations of patriotism:

Con precipitada violencia late el corazón de expatriado cuando oye mentar el nombre del pedazo de planeta en que ha nacido. Con precipitada violencia quisiera volver a la amada patria. Con precipitada violencia recorrería las calles de las ciudades y cruzaría las plazas. Con precipitada violencia iría estrechando las manos de los compatriotas [...] Precipitada violencia en que ponemos todos nuestros afanes, todos nuestros más caros, y escondidos, y delicados sentimientos.²⁹⁷

The repetition of the phrase 'precipitada violencia' emphasises the urgency of the exile's desire to return home, a desire that holds all of his deepest hopes and sentiments, a desire that embodies the nationalist ideals of patriotism. In contrast to the Moroccan 'Moors,' whose proclamations of loyalty and friendship are always in doubt, the Sephardim are represented as an unwavering example of patriotism.

²⁹⁶ María del Carmen Alfonso García, 'José Martínez Ruiz, "Azorín"', *Diccionario biográfico español*, Vol. III, Madrid: Real academia de la historia, 2009, p. 527.

²⁹⁷ Azorín, *ABC*, 1929, p. 3.

It is strikingly paradoxical that the Jews that were expelled in the name of patriotism in the fifteenth century should become a symbol of patriotism in the twentieth century. Liberal Philosephardic writers lamented the expulsion of the Jews in 1492 as ‘insano fanatismo’.²⁹⁸ The liberal nationalist narrative that took shape over the course of the nineteenth century saw the expulsion as the cause for Spain’s eventual decline because it eliminated a cultural group that had made significant cultural and economic contributions to the society of medieval Castile. However, again with the exception of Catholic integrist texts, traditionalist discourses on the Sephardic Jews during the Rif War romanticised Sephardic nostalgia without acknowledging the persecution that drove them out of Spain. The aforementioned article by Azorín makes no reference to the causes of the exile of these expatriated Jews.

Similarly, an article by the young colonial officer Francisco Franco published in *RTC* in 1926 describes the Jews of Xauén after Spanish troops had withdrawn from the city in 1924. The Jewish quarter had been attacked by Berber insurgents who had occupied the city and now lay deserted because its inhabitants had fled as a result of the Muslim pogrom. Franco presents an image of the Moroccan Jews as innocent victims of Muslim fanaticism and brutality. There is no hint of the image of brotherhood that later characterised his discourse on Moroccan Muslims, nor is there any hint of the anti-Semitism that was adopted by the Nationalists and to a certain extent by Franco himself during the Civil War.

‘Esta pequeña colonia hebrea que no quiere volver a vivir en la servidumbre innoble de los pasados años, con lágrimas abandonando sus pobres viviendas y el humilde barrio que durante siglos fue todo su mundo,’ he writes. ‘Sus doncellas ya

²⁹⁸ See for example Ferraz Revenga, *El Heraldo de Madrid*, 29 agosto 1911, p. 1; Colombine, *RR* mayo 1922, p. 15; Cabrera, *RR*, enero 1923, p. 10.

no serán mancilladas por la barbarie indígena en los días de saqueo. Las colonias hermanas de Tetuán y Tánger les abren sus puertas con la tradicional fraternidad de la raza'.²⁹⁹

The portrayal of unjust persecution of the Jews of Xauén allows Franco to aggrandise his image of the Spanish troops, who appear as gallant saviours and restorers of civilisation in this melodramatic and propagandistic narrative. In this case, the persecution of these Jews under Isabel and Ferdinand not only remains unacknowledged, but the historical narrative is ironically reconfigured so that when the Spanish troops enter Xauén in 1920, the Jews patriotically (and mistakenly) hail the 'good' Queen Isabel II, who had been the Monarch when Spain had conquered Tetuán in 1859.³⁰⁰ Michael Kammen has argued that nostalgia is history without guilt.³⁰¹ In these representations of Sephardic Jews, a nostalgic image is constructed of medieval Iberia, one that merits the persistent faithfulness of the descendants of the Sephardic exiles to this culture, but one that omits the religious fanaticism and xenophobia that forced them into exile.

The Sephardim's preservation of the Castilian language and perceived persistent nostalgia for Spain ultimately merit their inclusion in the cultural community of Spain as 'hebreos españoles' 'israelitas españoles' or 'judíos de España.' Unlike the Jews, the Moroccan Muslims who were descendants of the moriscos expelled from Spain in 1609 did not maintain their Castilian traditions or language. This suggests that the persistence of Judeo-Spanish in Sephardic communities was the result of a protectiveness of their cultural identity as a

²⁹⁹ Francisco Franco Bahamonde, 'Xauén la Triste', *África*, julio 1926, p. 6. .

³⁰⁰ Spanish troops did not enter Xauén until 1920 and were the first European army to conquer the city. The fact that the Jews thought that the queen of Spain was still Isabel II illustrates how isolated the community had been from the outside world.

³⁰¹ Cited in Boym, 2001, p. xiv.

marginalised ethnic-religious minority. However, as a result of this, a hierarchy of belonging is established in the categorisation of the ‘Moor’ as a brother or friend but of the Jew as a fellow Spaniard. *RR* articulates this hierarchy clearly:

El moro puede ser y debe ser un amigo, no habrá para nosotros una hora de paz en el Rif y el Yebala si no practicamos esa hermandad [...] El hebreo debe ser más que un hermano, debe convertirse en español, y constituir el eje de nuestra política, el fundamento de nuestro derecho y la justificación que puede alcanzarse la cruz sobre el templo católico, al lado de la sinagoga y de la mezquita.³⁰²

This statement reveals the pragmatic aims that underlie Philosephardic discourse. Colonial penetration is an underlying objective of this discourse just as it is in the discourse of Hispano-Arab brotherhood.³⁰³ However, the fundamental aim of Philosephardism was not to colonise Sephardic Jewish communities, but to establish cultural and economic ties with them and ultimately reincorporate them into the Spanish nation. In order to advocate this agenda, Philosephardic writers emphasise the perceived modernity and affluence of the Sephardic Jews in relation to the rest of Moroccan society. Newspapers of diverse political orientations such as *ABC*, *El Telegrama del Rif*, and *RR* discuss the moral characteristics of the Sephardic Jews that had enabled them to succeed: honesty, laboriousness, prudence, shrewdness, intellectual vitality, and a spirit of endurance and sacrifice in the face of persecution. *ABC* describes the Moroccan Sephardic community as ‘rica, poderosa y plena de iniciativas’.³⁰⁴ Similarly, *El Telegram del Rif* cites General Gómez Jordana praising the Jews’ social ascent: ‘desde las negras simas de la degradación de la servidumbre envilecedora en que llegaban a Marruecos, en pocos años han sabido colocarse a muy poca distancia del nivel intelectual del

³⁰² Mínimo Español, ‘La cuestión hispano-hebraea’, *RR*, 1923, pp. 15-16.

³⁰³ For a detailed discussion of the commercial aims of Philosephardism, see Isabelle Rohr, ‘Spaniards of the Jewish Type: Philosephardism in the Service of Imperialism in Early Twentieth-Century Spanish Morocco’ (2011).

³⁰⁴ ‘El pueblo hebreo sefardí’, *ABC*, 9 marzo 1920, p. 21.

europeo, igualándole en múltiples casos'.³⁰⁵ Although Jordana also suggests that there is a ruthless and overbearing quality to the Jews' 'inteligencia avasadora and prepotenta', he advises the Spanish nation to turn its attention to the Jews of Morocco, both in terms of emulating them and in terms of establishing cultural links with them.³⁰⁶ Francisco de A. Cabrera highlights the moral qualities of the Jews; 'caritativos enemigos de la violencia, callados, sufridos, contrarios al crimen', and their 'economic' shrewdness, concluding, 'el pueblo que les alberga, va en camino de ser un gran pueblo'.³⁰⁷ These writers urge their readers to put aside prejudices and look to the 'high ideals' of Sephardic culture as inspiration.

The ultimate aim of the Philosephardic movement was to reincorporate Sephardic communities across the world into the Spanish nation, but this aim was also shared by more traditionalist publications such as *El Telegrama del Rif*, which declared: 'este pueblo sólo espera que nosotros vayamos a él, que le reconstituamos en su viejo solar, como ciudadanos de España, y debemos ir deprisa, antes de que otros países se nos adelanten en esta labor nacional'.³⁰⁸ The repatriation campaign caused a great deal of controversy and was vehemently opposed in particular by Catholic integrist publications. Carmen de Burgos responds to fears concerning Sephardic naturalisation in an article in *RR* writing: 'no se trata de una importación de judíos, porque ese millón de sefarditas que está diseminado en Europa constituye una irradiación de nuestra mentalidad, una colonia espiritual apreciable'.³⁰⁹ Burgos distinguishes between 'judíos' and 'sefardíes': the first group would not be welcome in Spain, but the latter, as a

³⁰⁵ 'Los hebreos en Marruecos', *El Telegrama del Rif*, 27 octubre 1919, p. 1.

³⁰⁶ 'Los hebreos en Marruecos', *El Telegrama del Rif*, 1919, p. 1.

³⁰⁷ Francisco de A. Cabrera, 'La acción de España: los hebreos', *RR*, enero 1923, p. 21-22.

³⁰⁸ 'Los hebreos en Marruecos', *El Telegrama del Rif*, 1919, p. 1.

³⁰⁹ Colombine, 'Los israelitas y el idioma castellano', *RR*, mayo 1922, p.11.

cultural elite with ‘spiritual’ ties to Spain, should be welcomed into the national community.

Burgos’ statement illustrates that even in Philosephardic discourse, the Sephardim are often associated with a monolithic Jewish community that is attributed characteristics that transcend history and nationality. *RR*, undoubtedly the most Philosephardic publication at that time, describes the Moroccan Jew under the category of ‘el hebreo’: ‘Es Karl Marx, el socialista, y Rothschild, el capitalista [...] en lo más bajo fue Judas, y en lo más alto fue Jesús’.³¹⁰ Within this imagined entity of world Judaism, the Sephardic Jews are considered culturally superior to Arab and Ashkenazic Jews, Jews from Eastern and Northern Europe, due to their ‘Spanish’ origins. Just as ‘Hispano-Arab’ Moroccan culture is made distinct from general Moroccan culture, Sephardic culture is highlighted as superior in Philosephardic texts. This distinction is exemplified by the following statement in *ABC*: ‘prescindiendo deliberadamente de los judíos alemanes, polacos, rusos, y demás que se conocen por el nombre de *Yiddish*, con los cuales no tenemos motivo alguno para simpatizar, algo quiero contar a los lectores acerca de *los nuestros*, de los sefarditas’.³¹¹ In this aspect, while the discourse of affinity towards the ‘Moors’ exalts their racial and cultural ties with Spain, it does not advocate their reintegration into the Spanish national community. As the ‘younger brother’ in need of the guidance of a more advanced civilisation, Muslims are positioned below Spaniards in a conventional colonial power structure, while Jews are positioned alongside or even above Spaniards culturally and economically. The discourse of affinity towards Moroccan Jews

³¹⁰ Estrugo, *RR*, 1922, p. 10.

³¹¹ M. Zarraga, ‘ABC en Nueva York el año nuevo de los judíos’, *ABC*, 17 octubre 1920, p. 5.

explicitly argues that establishing links with the Sephardim offers the potential for the regeneration of the Spanish nation.

As the aforementioned articles show, during the Rif War the Sephardim are at the centre of an emerging vision of Spain's imperial regeneration, a liberal modernising movement, but they also form part of the restorative nostalgia of intellectuals like Menéndez Pidal, Azorín, Salaverría, and Foxá, who idealise medieval Iberia as the golden age of Spanish culture and call for a return to the 'traditional' values of this historical period. As Svetlana Boym notes, the preoccupation with tradition and interpretation of tradition is a distinctively modern phenomenon that is born out of anxiety about the vanishing past. Myths or fantasies about the past are determined by the perceived needs of the present, in this case, a need to combat the perceived corrosive effects of modernity on the Spanish language and society. Restorative nostalgia evokes a national past and future, attempting a transhistorical reconstruction of the last home. This kind of nostalgia characterises national and nationalist revivals all over the world, which engage in the anti-modern mythmaking of history by means of a return to national symbols.³¹² Unlike the nostalgic reimagining of the medieval past through photographs of urban spaces, which merely dwell on history and the passage of time, representations of the Sephardic ballad and of the nostalgia that motivated its preservation for over five centuries are fuelled by a desire to restore the essential character of Spanish culture.

What is most remarkable about this phenomenon is the fact that the Sephardic Jews serve as a symbol of patriotism and tradition for conservative,

³¹² Boym, 2001, p. 19.

traditionalist, and proto-fascist intellectuals in the 1920s whose ideas provided a foundation for the Falangist and National-Catholic movements that emerged in Spain in the 1930s and are often associated with an acute anti-Semitism. Foxá became integrated in the Falangist circle of intellectuals from 1933 onwards and became a Nationalist propagandist during the Civil War, Salaverría was a correspondent for the Nationalist *ABC Sevilla* during the war, and Azorín's vision of Castile as the cultural and linguistic heartland of the ascetic, mystical values needed to counter the hedonistic and secular tendencies of the modern world became a literary icon in Francoist Spain.

A variety of factors caused the rise of anti-Semitism in Spain after 1929. The U.S. stock market crash and its economic impact on Spain reintroduced an image of Jewish capitalist greed in newspapers like *ABC* that had previously refrained from embracing this type of discourse. The disintegrating pressure of separatist movements and the rise of international labour movements in Spain fueled fears of international conspiracy and foreign penetration, which were increasingly associated with Bolsheviks, Freemasons, and Jews. With the rise of Nazi Germany and the spread of fascism in Europe, other forms of European racial anti-Semitism began to influence the discourse of the Spanish right towards the Jews, who became an image of modern decadence rather than tradition, of anti-patriotism rather than patriotism, and of foreign disruption rather than continuity with the Spanish medieval past. The vehement anti-Semitism that had been limited to Catholic integrist publications in the decades before became an intrinsic feature of traditionalist and nationalist discourse in Spain. Before the 1930s, however, anti-Sephardic and anti-Judaic rhetoric did not form part of all precursors of Spanish right wing nationalist movements. In fact, as this section has

demonstrated, in the first three decades of the twentieth century, traditionalism and Philosephardism were not incompatible. During the Rif War, the Sephardic Jew was an emblem of traditional, 'essential' Spanish culture and the centre of discourses that glorified the past and resisted the onslaught of modernity.

2:3 Textual representations in literature

2:3:1. Arturo Barea, *La ruta*

At the beginning of the passage that describes the aftermath of the disaster of Annual, the narrator of *La ruta* proclaims, ‘Lo que yo conozco es parte de la historia nunca escrita, que creó una tradición en las masas del pueblo infinitamente más poderosa que la tradición oficial’ (87). This is a strong claim of testimony that stems from the autobiographical roots of the narrative. Barea is asserting that he is the first to ‘write’ the collective narrative of the Spanish people on the Rif War. The ‘tradition of the masses’ is the collective memory of the Spanish working class of Morocco; the image of the Rif War as a ‘matadero’ for the common soldier, as a landmark of oppression and injustice, and as yet another arena where the class struggle was playing itself out. This repertoire of images is shared across literary and non-literary discourses, and this section explores how Barea’s narrative of the Rif War draws on the socialist narrative discussed earlier on in the chapter, where the colonising gaze is turned back on Spain. *El Socialista* presents an image of Spain as equally backward and uncivilised as Morocco, asking, ‘¿Cuándo abandonamos el derroche de vidas y de millones de pesetas que se pierden en Marruecos para dedicarnos a colonizar todo lo inculto y misérrimo de España?’³¹³ Barea echoes this question through the voice of the Spanish soldier:

¿Por qué tenemos nosotros que luchar contra los moros? ¿Por qué tenemos que civilizarlos [...] Nosotros, los de Castilla, de Andalucía, que no sabemos leer ni escribir. Tonterías. ¿Quién nos civiliza a nosotros? Nuestros pueblos no tienen escuelas, las casas son de adobes, dormimos con la ropa puesta, en un camastro de tres tablas en la cuadra, al lado de las mulas, para estar calientes. Comemos una cebolla y un mendrugo de pan al amanecer y nos vamos a trabajar en los campos de sol a sol [...] Reventamos de hambre y de miseria. El amo nos roba y si nos quejamos, la guardia civil nos muele a palos. (87)

³¹³ ‘De Marruecos’, *El Socialista*, 2 agosto 1921, p.1.

The same objection is voiced again later in the text, this time by the protagonist Barea to his family in Córdoba, which shows how the author presents the protagonist Barea as aligned with the plight of the common soldier:

Yo he estado allí dos años y que me digan a mí qué es lo que civilizamos nosotros. Los soldados, mejor dicho la clase de soldados que se manda a Marruecos, son la gente más miserable e inculta de España, tan incivilizados como los moros. O más. ¿A qué los mandan a Marruecos? A matar y a que los maten (103).

The first excerpt presents a protest of the war by highlighting the destitute poverty of rural Spain in a similar way to *El Socialista's* article on las Hurdes. The Moroccan village or kabila is described much like the Spanish village above: 'La kábila era chozas de paja y esterillas de paja [...] adosadas a la pared para dormir. El pan era tortas chamuscadas, hecho con el grano machacado entre piedras [...] Los hombres salían de las chozas apaleando el borriquillo mísero' (8).

Throughout the text, Spain and Morocco are represented within this same framework of cultural backwardness. Their markedly similar physicality is a key manifestation of this shared backwardness. The narrator describes the bodies of the recruits from rural Gerona and Andalucía as 'primitivos y rudos, casi salvajes' (158), men who suffer from hunger and live in many cases in worse conditions than the 'Moors' in their straw huts.³¹⁴ He describes the bodies of Moroccans in similar terms: 'muy sucios y feos, muy largos y flacos, en fin, salvajes, completamente' (135). The terms 'salvaje' and 'primitivo', both antitheses of civilised, are applied to the Spanish and the Moroccans alike. Spanish soldiers are described as accepting the Rif War 'con el fatalismo racial frente a lo irremediable, "sea lo que Dios quiera"' (67), the Muslim 'inshallah' which for Spanish commentators at the time represents the anti-thesis to modern notions of the freedom of man and the belief in progress.

³¹⁴ See Barea pp. 61 and 161.

Barea also echoes press discourses on the assimilation of Spaniards into North African culture. The character of Sidi Yusef provides an example of this process of trans-cultural identification. Sidi Yusef is a tribal leader who befriends Barea after he provides medicine to a family in his kábila and who protects his regiment from Riffian aggressors in the region. He is described as a noble and virile figure, ‘un moro con una amplia barba blanca, erecto y fuerte como una torre’ (50). He also proves to be an intelligent and cultured man who discusses his ideas on Spanish colonialism with the narrator. ‘Los españoles son malos conquistadores [...] pero son buenos colonizadores’ he explains,

El español tiene una adaptabilidad peculiar [...] Puede adoptar todas las características del mundo que le rodea y sin embargo mantener su personalidad intacta. La consecuencia es que a lo largo, absorbe el pueblo que ha invadido (51).

Later on the reader is told that Sidi Yusef is rumoured to be a Spaniard who escaped prison in Ceuta. The narrative never reveals whether he is Spanish or Moroccan, which is significant because it shows that Barea does not draw clear boundaries between Spanish and Moroccan society, but rather represents the boundaries between the cultures as permeable and easily transgressed.

Barea’s representation of shared un-civility and cultural permeability between Spain and Morocco stands in contrast to the views voiced by other characters in *La ruta*. For example, the officer Córcoles sees the Moroccans as racially and socially inferior, ‘toda esta gentuza es peor que los gitanos’ (55), and his female relatives in Córdoba regard the Moroccans as sub-human, ‘esas gentes no son cristianos pero salvajes a civilizar’ (102). Just as Barea distinguishes his narrative of the war from the ‘official’ version, he distinguishes his view of the Moroccans from the ‘official’ view, and does not racialise the Moroccan people in social or ethnic terms.

Barea's narrative also aligns with that of the socialist press in its focus on the class struggle, in other words, on capitalist interests in the colonial project, on the class power structures within the army in Morocco and the oppression and injustice inflicted on the lower class recruits. *La ruta* clearly underscores the industrial interests behind the colonial venture. Natural landscapes are brutally violated — trees blown apart by dynamite, mountains cut into pieces, water left gushing uncontained in a dry and arid land — in order to build mines and military outposts to defend them. A Riffian village is razed to the ground because the mountain on which it stands is filled with iron and coal (9), and the wine that the legionnaires drink is described as having the taste of copper sulphate (74). The protagonist Barea tells his family in Spain, 'Marruecos es bueno sólo para los oficiales y los contratistas' (103). His indictments of the officer class are particularly cutting. The war is portrayed as an enterprise where officers come to get rich through corrupt practices. A contractor openly takes a cut from the funds allocated the Spanish government for the construction of a road, resulting in the Moroccan workers and Spanish soldiers employed in the project being deprived of nearly half of their wages (15). Soldiers are forced to go barefoot because their commanding officers pocket a large portion of the budget allocated for shoes and other equipment for their troops (132).³¹⁵ In the account of Alfonso XIII's involvement in military strategy for Silvestre's offensive that resulted in the disaster of Annual, the king is quoted as dismissing the potential loss of human life in the battle saying, 'la carne de gallina es barata' (117). Barea draws attention to the nepotism, elitism, and 'enchufismo' of the Spanish army in Morocco, where a good word from a powerful figure or a healthy bribe carry more weight than any

³¹⁵ See other examples of military corruption on pp. 17, 56, 61, and 71.

government policy. Within this corrupt system, both the Spanish soldiers and the Moroccan people are portrayed as victims.

However, despite his representation of a shared oppression in a social context, Barea constructs a strongly ‘othered’ image of the Berber enemy in the context of war, as I will discuss in Chapter 3. In this sense, his representation of Morocco is also highly ambiguous, oscillating between portrayals of a monstrous Berber enemy on the battlefield and a victimised Moroccan people that, just like the Spanish people, suffer the consequences of the greed and nepotism of the Spanish military and powerful industrialists.

2:3:2. Ernesto Giménez Caballero, *Notas marruecas de un soldado*

Unlike Barea, Giménez Caballero does not engage with social or political issues in his narrative portrayal of the Rif War. The modernist character of *Notas marruecas* is evident in the author’s use of symbolism, focus on the aesthetic, fascination with ‘primitive’ rituals, and emphasis on abstract notions of national character over concrete discussions of social phenomena. Cultural rather than social identity is the key concern of *Notas marruecas*, and the desire to *locate* Spain in relation to Northern Europe and North Africa is expressed throughout the book in the comparisons the author draws between these cultures. This section argues that *Notas marruecas*’ fusion of modernist aesthetics and fascist ideals in its portrayal of Spain’s cultural relationship with Morocco represents an early articulation of Giménez Caballero’s conception of Spanish fascism.

In his first ‘notes’ on Morocco, Giménez Caballero establishes the Orientalist culture dichotomy between East and West through a comparative

discussion of cannabis (kif) and cigarettes. The vividly sensory passage opens with a confrontation: ‘en la tenue oscuridad, se entabla un duelo de ambos aromas y de ambas lumbres. La lumbre del kif instantánea, excesiva, y fugaz. La lumbre del cigarrillo lenta, febril y persistente’ (18). The scents, light, and smoke of the substances are presented as symbols of the essence of European and Moroccan culture. Cigarettes represent persistence, restraint, rationalism, intellectualism (‘liricismo’, un ‘quid filosófico’, ‘los pensamientos en germen’ (18)), and European luxury and cosmopolitanism, ‘ese cuerpecillo delicado y lujoso, tan bien perfumado con oros discretos y cuya función parece un vivo ensayo metafísico’ (18). Kif represents the opposite of tobacco: instant gratification, excess, religious fatalism, and desolation:

El kif es el oasis donde el Oriental descarga el peso y la gravedad de soportar su vida, sin esperar a más ni más.
El kif pertenece a esos hombres del mundo cerrado en un dogma; de un paraíso con placeres contados, donde toda aspiración termina.
El kif conduce a una nada, a un país idiota de nirvana donde se quiebra para siempre la voluntad [...] trae a la memoria los campos calcinados, con chumberas, con riachuelos míseros [...] una calma trágica del cielo inmóvil y abrasado (19).

Here Giménez Caballero presents an image of Moroccan culture and Islamic religion that stands in opposition to the West as irrational, fanatical and fatalistic, robbing man of the openness of his mind and the freedom of his will. He also reproduces European imperial discourses of anthropology that associated the colonised culture with nature — rugged, wild, and barren landscapes — and of the colonising culture with the mind — knowledge, philosophy, and intelligence. The gendered aspect of this dichotomy is multifaceted: on the one hand, the restraint and rationalism of European culture conforms to hegemonic constructions of masculinity, but at the same time, both kif and cigarettes evoke an image of femininity, ‘el kif recuerda a la mujer Oriental en un ambiente entre sucio y lujoso,

practicando el amor subitamente, El cigarillo trae a la memoria la cocotte europea, que sabe una técnica metódica del placer' (20). This analogy, which conforms to Said's argument that Orientalism constructs an image of the East as having a luxuriant and unbounded sexuality, will be explored in further detail in Section 3:3. In his use of French and English words (flirt, bumler, music hall) and his self-identification as a cigarette smoker, the narrator aligns himself with Europe. In this sense, his image of Morocco serves to affirm the author's construction of himself as a Western, cosmopolitan, intellectually cultivated man. However, in terms of its wider cultural reflections, the passage compares Europe to Africa, not Spain to Africa. The narrator has a clear vision of the differences between Europe and Africa, but he does not locate Spanish culture within this vision.

The note 'Cogiendo higos' offers a further reflection on the character of Moroccan culture. Here again the symbol of the Moroccan 'spirit' is an object of nature, the fig tree and its fruit, 'el árbol representativo del genio marroquí' (16). The word 'genio' can be understood as an abstract notion of the spirit or *volkgeist* of the nation, what Renan defined as its 'soul or spiritual principle'.³¹⁶ In Giménez Caballero's later works, the transcendent notion of 'genio' is almost synonymous to tradition; it is identified with the soul of a country, which is contained in every aspect of its landscape, culture, and people and is passed on through the generations.³¹⁷ In his *Genio de España* (1932) he expands on the significance of 'genio', defining it as 'la fuerza genesiaca, creadora, vital y función inmanente [...] El modo específico de manifestarse la Vida, la Divinidad, en un Tiempo y Espacio determinado'.³¹⁸ The essence of Moroccan culture is imagined to be

³¹⁶ Bhabha, 1990, p. 19.

³¹⁷ Selva, 2000, p. 32.

³¹⁸ Ernesto Giménez Caballero, *Genio de España; exaltaciones a una resurrección nacional y del mundo*, Barcelona, Ediciones Jerarquía, 1939, p. 24.

figuratively twisted, disharmonious and excessively passionate: ‘armazón de ramas retorcidas, bajas, sin armonía, impulsivas y bárbaras’. ‘Muchas veces he figurado que así será el artilugio, el esqueleto de sus pasiones,’ he writes, ‘si se sacara al aire libre del fondo del alma de uno de estos moros’ (17).

This notion of imbalance and twistedness suggests that Giménez Caballero is defining the Moroccan against an ideal of harmony and wholeness, which in colonial discourse is usually the European self. However, almost in the same breath he claims the fig tree as a symbol of his own nation, ‘¡Higueras de Castilla! ¡Árbol castizo y viejo de España!’ (16). The symbolism of land represents a central theme for the writers of 1898. The fig tree can be read as a representation of Spanish stoicism, what Menéndez Pidal described as ‘el espíritu áspero y seco del pueblo español’.³¹⁹ In Morocco, however, it is found in a wild, untamed landscape, while in Spain it grows in a cultivated, domestic garden, ‘huerto de frailes’ (17). The implication is that Morocco and Spain have the same ethnic and cultural roots and that Spain is distinguished from Morocco only by its location in Europe. There is a sense here that Giménez Caballero privileges the North African heritage of Spain over other influences (such as that of Gothic and Celtic cultures). In his recognition of what Ángel Ganivet refers to as ‘the paternity of Africa’,³²⁰ the author inserts himself into the Africanist current of thought that began in the mid-nineteenth century and can be traced through to many of his literary contemporaries.

Giménez Caballero also develops the notion of the city as a manifestation of cultural characteristics. In the episode ‘Terrados’ he compares Tetuán to Strasbourg and Seville from a position at the height of an eminent monument from

³¹⁹ Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Los españoles en su historia*, Buenos Aires, Espasa-Calpe, 1959, p. 26.

³²⁰ See Ganivet, *Idearium español*, 1897.

which, he claims, the traveller can discern the essential character of the culture he is observing (89). The sharp, geometric lines of Strasbourg's skyline ('ciudad puntiaguda, ojival [...] chimeneas clavadas aquí y allá'), the dynamic and busy street scenes ('rapidez y orden callejero') and the noise of machines ('silbos de locomotoras, aullidos de automóviles') suggest order, efficiency, and cold rationalism. The architecture of Seville conveys the complete opposite: a stagnant, silent city crushed by a blazing sun and surrounded by a dry and arid desert, with flat roofs and streets that break the landscape unevenly 'resquebrajamiento de la masa, encalada y compacta, de las casas' (90). On the other hand, the view of Tetuán's 'terrados' is drenched in Orientalist tropes: 'hermosas plataformas de colorido en los atardeceres. Llenas de mujeres inmóviles, hieráticas que andan como los gatos [...] remansos de luna en las noches de verano, donde esta gente bárbara se debe de emborrachar de poesía y de silencio' (91). The narrator seems to regard the poetic spirituality and languid sensuality of Morocco as more desirable than the cold rationality of Northern Europe. As for Spain, it is constructed as opposite to Northern Europe: flat and inactive rather than dynamic, streets that appear as jagged cracks rather than neat, orderly lines. Seville's cityscape suggests a stagnant decadence that is reminiscent of Ganivet's diagnosis of Spain's aboulia. In this instance, Spain is located cultural and geographically far from Northern Europe, but not romantically Orientalised in the way that Moroccan culture is.

The use of landscape as a symbol either of cultural degeneracy or vitality is developed further in a note on Gibraltar, where the narrator stands looking across the border to Spain and across the strait to North Africa, 'como ciudadano del mundo se agradece este pasillo culto, refinado, entre dos zonas descuidadas, entre

estos pueblos muertos de Andalucía y esa tierra salvaje de África' (180). Again, the dead 'pueblo', which refers to the towns but also to the people of Andalucía, reflects the author's concerns about the inferiority of Spain in relation to the rest of Europe, the result of the Orteguian Europeanism that characterised his writing in the early 1920s.³²¹

It is not surprising that the state of the Spanish nation appeared moribund to the author. The economic downturn that followed the First World War had led to violent social struggle, including nationwide strikes and the political assassination of the prime minister, Eduardo Dato, by anarchist gunmen, and Annual had starkly revealed the incompetence of the Spanish military. In light of these events, Giménez Caballero regards the colonial ventures as a tragi-comical farce: 'estamos en Marruecos algo así como de comparsas, con un papel triste y ridículo' (173). He portrays the colonial army in particularly harsh terms as 'ineptos con galones y estrellas' (186), and 'trastos que convierten esto en un desván nacional' (116), which recall the satirical portrayals of the military in Valle Inclán's esperpentos.³²² Unsurprisingly, these statements landed him in military prison when *Notas marruecas* was first published. In this aspect, he and Barea share a distaste for the officer class in Morocco as well as a vision of the shared cultural 'backwardness' of Morocco and Spain. As the narrator of *Notas marruecas* comments to Moroccan friends in Tangier, 'aparte de ser de una raza cercana a vosotros, somos un pueblo débil' (173).

³²¹ In fact, Ortega's influential *España invertebrada* was published in 1921, while Giménez Caballero was in Morocco. As mentioned in the introduction, Giménez Caballero studied philosophy under the philosopher in Madrid and frequently contributed articles for his journal, *Revista del Occidente*, until the late 1920s, when his conversion to fascism led to an ideological break with Ortega.

³²² See *Los cuernos de don Friolera* (1921), *Las galas del difunto* (1926) and *La hija del capitán* (1927). For example, in *Las galas del difunto* (1926), Valle-Inclán 'strips the historical events of 1898 of any glory or transcendence, reducing the war to an ignominious skirmish conducted by pompous generals, whose conscripts are left destitute on their return to the mother country' (Lonsdale, 2013, p.7).

Giménez Caballero also represents Spain's cultural infirmity, so to speak, through the body of the Spanish soldier. The nationalist and imperialist ideologies that developed at the end of the nineteenth century adopted the image of the integral, vigorous male body as a means of representing national vitality and notions of European cultural superiority. Discourses on national identity, particularly those concerned with degeneration, increasingly described the nation using metaphors surrounding the body and its organs, and the health of the national community was envisioned as intrinsically linked to the health of the bodies and minds of its citizens.³²³ Within these discourses, the image of the weak male body was a reflection of a weak and degenerate nation.

In his note 'Nuestro soldado desconocido', an epitaph to the Spanish dead in the Rif War and a reference to the monuments erected across Europe to commemorate the unnamed fallen in the First World War, Giménez Caballero addresses the unknown Spanish soldier with pathos as a weak and broken creature, the opposite of the masculine stereotype: 'eras una bestia tímida, amarilla, llena de barro, de rotos, algo que no parecía un hombre' (32). Like Barea, he makes reference to the poverty, poor training, and unsanitary conditions experienced by Spanish recruits, but unlike him he does not seek to convey a message of social oppression but rather one of cultural degeneracy. The powerful, courageous, heroic soldier, the central fantasy of nationalism, is rendered meek, broken, and diseased here, ultimately dying not in the glory of battle but in a filthy hospital bed. The note ends with a reference to heroic male figures in the Spanish and European imaginary: Pre-modern Germanic and Frank warriors, el Cid campeador, the legionnaires of Flanders of Spain's golden age, and lastly don Quijote,

³²³ Christopher E. Forth, *Masculinity in the Modern West: Gender, Civilisation, and the Body*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, p. 123.

lamenting that nothing of them remains in the modern Spanish soldier, as the age of heroism is over:

¿Qué te traía a esta guerra? ¿Un estímulo del don Quijote, o una fatalidad? De Quijote, al fin hijo suyo, trajiste su carne macilenta y triste y quizás también su magín erróneo y fantástico. Ante el acto de Annual tuviste un momento generoso y admirable. Pero eran molinos de viento, fantasmas, nuevos fantasmas! (32)

In his monograph *Quixotism*, which examines the figure of don Quijote in the writings of the intellectuals associated with the Generation of 1898, Christopher Britt Arrendondo argues that ‘quixotism’ denotes a nationalistic heroic idealism that helps explain the cultural climate out of which Spanish fascism is born.³²⁴ The writers of 1898 saw don Quijote as a symbol of the essential moral and spiritual character of the Spanish nation and an ideal of ‘regenerative madness,’ a view of irrationality as a mystical force that could counter the destructive rationalism and materialism of the modern world.³²⁵ In his essay, ‘El sepulcro de don Quijote’ (1905), Unamuno calls for an awakening of this irrationalist spirit, writing: ‘y tú y yo estamos de acuerdo en que hace falta [...] llevar a nuestro pueblo español, la locura de uno cualquiera de sus miembros que esté loco, pero loco de verdad’.³²⁶ Unamuno’s ‘Caballero de la Locura’ represents the faith and irrationality of an idealised medieval culture that had been destroyed at the advent of the Enlightenment by ‘los hidalgos de la Razón.’ Giménez Caballero affirms this notion of the death of the medieval heroic ideal and the feminisation of the modern man in his representation of a soldier who has lost his physical strength and psychological willpower’.³²⁷ ‘El estímulo de don

³²⁴ Christopher Britt-Arendondo, *Quixotism: The Imaginative Denial of Spain's Loss of Empire*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 2005, p. 13.

³²⁵ Britt-Arendondo, 2005, p. 47.

³²⁶ Miguel de Unamuno, *Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho*, ed. Alberto Navarro, Madrid, Cátedra, 1988, p. 140.

³²⁷ Giménez Caballero in Roberta Johnson, *Gender and the Nation in the Spanish Modernist Novel*, Nashville, Vanderbilt University Press, 2003, p. 15.

Quijote' refers to a spirit of irrationality which no longer motivates the Spanish warrior.

If *Notas marruecas* clearly diagnoses Spain's cultural degeneracy, it also identifies a source for its regeneration in the perceived virility, violence, and irrationality of Moroccan culture. In this aspect the author gives particular attention to Berber rituals, in particular the rituals of the Muslim sect of the 'Hamacha', a Muslim brotherhood devoted to a religious figure, Sidi Ajmed, known for their complex ceremonies that use symbolic dances and often self-inflicted violence to bring the participants to a state of ecstatic trance.³²⁸ The narrator describes the ritual as follows:

Solemnemente surgieron formados [...] eran adolescentes la mayoría, una joven milicia de fanáticos de testas rapadas y mirar desequilibrado [...]
La danza se fue enardeciendo. Los sones de las roncadas derbukas y los quejidos de las chirimías se fueron precipitando. Se les veía brincar embriagados, hiperestésicos, irracionales.
La brutalidad del sacrificio se iba acercando. Efectivamente, primero fue uno el que se destacó impetuoso a abarcarse al sacerdote, convulso por recibir el arma sacra. Un hacha de filo Redondo [...] Apenas el muchacho la tuvo en la mano adolora un momento, intensamente, y, enseguida, dio principio a la ceremonia de abrirse la cabeza lentamente, con golpes rítmicos, y sin dejar de bailar la sagrada danza. (105)

The practices of sects like this one first drew the revulsion and fascination of European travellers in the nineteenth century, for example, the French romantics Eugène Delacroix and Théophile Gautier recorded the practices of a similar sect, the Aïssaoua, during their visits to Algeria.³²⁹ In his painting, *Les convulsionnaires de Tanger* (1838), Delacroix depicts an Aïssaoua rite similar to the one recounted here by Giménez Caballero, and the writer's chaotic imagery seems to draw inspiration from Delacroix's painting style, which prioritises emotion and chaos over form. The narrator of this scene in *Notas marruecas*

³²⁸ The sect originated in Meknès — a city in Northern Morocco that was part of the French protectorate in 1921 — among the Hamacha tribe, which is why Giménez Caballero calls it the dance of the Hamachas.

³²⁹ Gautier also describes Spain in his *Voyage en Espagne*, a portrayal that is no less exotic than his depictions of North Africa.

positions himself as modernist flâneur, describing the rite in vivid detail while maintaining a distance from it, like a critic commenting on a work of art. He presents himself as a neutral conduit in the manner of the modernist chronicler, a medium receiving and transmitting the experiences of travel for the benefit of readers.

The instinctive and irrational character of ‘primitive’ cultures that drew the attention of the romantics also captured the attention of the European modernist movements of the early twentieth century. Cubists elevated and appropriated ‘primitive’ art forms such as African tribal art, and expressionists sought to explore the hidden world of the subconscious, inspired by the writings of Freud. Primitivism, which in this context refers to the European appropriation of non-European sources in art and literature, was seen as a revelation of truths that lay beneath the veneer of modern culture. For example, the French poet Guillaume Apollinaire, one of the forefathers of surrealism and a fervent champion of primitivism, saw religious passion as the source of the purest art. A fascination with ritual and a focus on ‘extra-linguistic expressionism’, or the language of bodies, is associated in particular with the surrealist movement, which Giménez Caballero would become associated with later on in the 1920s.³³⁰ Lorca wrote of ‘el duende’, the term he applied to the dark spirit of art: ‘en España (como en los pueblos de Oriente donde la danza es expresión religiosa) tiene el duende un campo sin límites sobre los cuerpos de las bailarinas de Cádiz, y en toda la liturgia de los toros, auténtico drama religioso’.³³¹

³³⁰ In the early years of *La Gaceta literaria*, Giménez Caballero drew attention to the surrealist enterprise in the publications of the journal, and his novel *Yo, inspector de Alcantarillas* (1928) is considered to be one of the earliest examples of Spanish prose surrealism.

³³¹ Federico García Lorca, *Conferencias*, Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 1984, p. 37.

For Giménez Caballero, the convulsing bodies of the ‘Hamacha’ are a display of a similar ‘primitive’ spiritual authenticity. Although the narrator objects to the violence of the ritual (‘se sentía un deseo violento de acabarlo’ (105)) and makes an imperialist reference to how Spain’s Christianising mission brought an end to similar barbarous cultures on the American continent, he finds himself almost unwillingly mesmerised by the spectacle. ‘El caso es que era hermoso’, he declares. ‘Aquellos ritmos salvajes y elementales, aquellas rondas de efebos, aquella música perturbadora, y tanto espectador inmóvil, todo sobre el fondo magnífico del cementerio en ruina’ (105). And despite his reaction to the ritual as barbarous, he associates it with the most Castilian of all rituals: ‘Parecía una tarde de toros [...] y en efecto, esa sensación me perduró toda la fiesta’ (106).

Again, this association evokes the romantic fascination of nineteenth-century travellers to Spain with spectacular rituals involving violence and death, particularly bullfighting, which in its perceived brutality confirmed for many observers the ‘Moorish’ heritage of Spain. But Giménez Caballero is not expressing fascination because the ritual is radically foreign and exotic, but because it is strangely familiar. In his autobiography he relates his reaction to a North African religious dance at a French colonial exhibition in Strasburg after he returned from the war in Morocco.³³² ‘Contemplando aquella faz sentí cómo un vaho inexplicable de fraternidad’, he writes. ‘En sus bailes, ¡qué flamenco! ¡Qué africano me fui viendo de repente [...]; qué emoción ibérica, patriótica! Si para un alsaciano una aldea africana merecía su curiosidad, para un español, además su emocionada turbación.’³³³ It is this type of ‘emocionada turbación’ that constitutes

³³² This ‘African’ dance representing the movement of a horse was being performed by a native (Giménez Caballero does not specify the African culture or religion in question).

³³³ Giménez Caballero, 1979, p. 49.

the underlying tone of his literary representation of the 'Hamacha', because for Giménez Caballero, the primitive authenticity of the ritual belongs not only to North Africa, but also lies beneath the veneer of modern Spanish culture.

The virility of the Moroccan male body is a central focus of these passages and stands in stark contrast to the body of the Spanish soldier. The body of the 'Hamacha' penitent is hyperactive and in constant movement, trembling and convulsing as if it were a conduit of masculine vitality, and the flow of blood is erotised, as the violence of the ritual culminates in what resembles a moment of sexual climax: 'comenzó a brotar la sangre. Primero, en un manchón. Luego en hilos que se deslizaron por el rostro. Luego, a borbotoncitos, que cubrieron su testa enloquecida, transformándola en una masa trémula' (105). The body of the Spanish soldier, on the other hand, is immobile rather than active, timid rather than unrestrained, 'de carne macilenta,' rather than covered in blood.

In her seminal study of Italian fascism (1996), Barbara Spackman asserts that a cult to virility is the central feature of fascist ideology. A mystification of masculinity can be universally observed, she argues, but in fascism it is elevated above all other elements and intrinsically tied up in the belief in the regenerative power of violence.³³⁴ Violence was seen as a way of re-masculinising cultures that were believed to have become soft, feminine and corrupt as a result of the conditions of modern European existence. This mystification of masculinity and of violence as regenerative would come to define the Africanist military subculture that took shape in Morocco during the Rif War, in particular the culture of the

³³⁴ See Barbara Spackman, *Fascist Virilities: Rhetoric, Ideology, and Social Fantasy in Italy*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

Tercio or Legionnaires, who referred to themselves as ‘novios de la muerte’.³³⁵ It was violence that would lead to the ultimate fulfilment of masculine desire.³³⁶ It also came to define Giménez Caballero’s formulation of Spanish fascism, which took shape over the course of the 1920s. His fascist ideology was distinct from its German and Italian counterparts, however, in its elevation of irrationality alongside virility and violence. His depiction of the ‘Hamacha’ peninents in many ways foregrounds this unique regenerative vision of masculine identity. It idealises not only virility and violence, but also the chaotic, irrational religious spirit that drives the rite. It is perhaps this spirit that Giménez Caballero had in mind in his reference to ‘el estímulo de Don Quijote’ that was lacking in modern Spanish masculinity.

Mark Antliff (2002) has argued that concepts associated with modernist aesthetics — including cultural and biological regeneration, primitivism, and avant-gardism — were integrated into the anti-Enlightenment pantheon of fascist values, with the result that many artists found common ground in the two movements.³³⁷ The exaltation of primitive forms was also a feature of fascist and proto-fascist movements that were beginning to take shape in Europe: for example, fascist avant-gardists in France and Italy treated the European peasantry and their rural setting as ‘mythic ciphers for primitivist aesthetics’.³³⁸ In his portrayal of Berber rites, Giménez Caballero ultimately fuses modernist and proto-fascist aesthetics in his positioning of the Berber tribesman as a ‘primitive’

³³⁵ The subculture of the Legion is discussed in further detail in relation to Barea’s narrative of the Rif War, in Section 3:3.

³³⁶ For a discussion of masculine stereotypes in the culture of the legion, see Susan Martín-Márquez, ‘Performing Masculinity in the Moroccan Theatre of War’, *European Review of History: Revue européenne d’histoire*, 11.2, 2010, pp. 225-40.

³³⁷ Antliff (2002) and others have explored in details the modernist dimension of fascism’s cultural politics, showing that many of the paradigms that spawned the development of modernist aesthetics were also integral to the emergence of fascism.

³³⁸ Mark Antliff, ‘Fascism, Modernism, and Modernity,’ *The Art Bulletin*, 84.1, 2002, pp. 148-69, p. 157.

masculine ideal for Spain. Germanic tribes, Roman soldiers, and medieval peasantry, all figures from a pre-modern or medieval past, served as primitive signifiers in German, French, and Italian fascism. For Giménez Caballero, the Moroccan ‘Moor’ represents the Spanish ‘primitive’, a figure from the Iberian pre-modern past and an ideal of instinct and irrationalism.

Notas marruecas also posits the Moroccan man as an ethnic ideal. He describes a Muslim man he meets in Tangier as ‘un hombre fino, pulcro, de puro perfil griego, vestido a la europea’ (172).³³⁹ In his note ‘moro loco,’ he emphasises the aesthetic features of the Berber man that the passage centres on:

‘Inmediatamente me sorprendió por la nobleza y distinción de sus rasgos’, he writes. ‘Era esbelto, arrogante, fuerte [...] Tenía una nariz pura, hermosa. Una barba rubia, corta [...] Y sus ojos eran de azul claro, serenos, de gran señor. Debía ser una de esas herencia germánicas de los vándalos aquí conservadas’ (158). Both men are aligned here with European aesthetic masculine ideals. The Muslim from Tangier is likened to the classical Greek sculptures that embody an early European ideal of beauty and the Berber man possesses Germanic features that reflect a medieval Visigothic image of virility. The aesthetic harmony, wholeness and strength of these classical and pre-modern aesthetic ideals became integrated into the aesthetics of modernist art and its intermingling with fascist ideology in the 1930s. In linking the ethnicity of the Berbers to the Germanic tribes, Giménez Caballero also draws on the theories of ethnic nationalism that informed Africanist thought, such as Joaquín Costa’s claim that Spaniards and Moroccans shared a common ancestry in an ancient ‘Ibero-Berber’ race that was once found on both sides of the strait:

³³⁹ It is also the elite status of the man that Giménez Caballero comments on: his multilingualism, his wealth and his level of education (like the author, he is an academic).

Una raza ha sido común a Marruecos y España, quince o diez siglos antes de la Era Cristiana, una raza de cabellos rubios y ojos azules (tamehu u hombres del norte, de las inscripciones egipcias) acaso la misma raza céltica, invadió la península, pasó el estrecho, se extendió por el Mogreb y se estableció en ambas regiones, habiéndose conservado hasta hoy en Marruecos el testimonio de ese hecho histórico en una tercera parte de su población, que es rubia.³⁴⁰

Giménez Caballero makes explicit reference to Costa's theory when he writes:

‘Los bereberes tienen muchas cosas occidentales [...] Se podrían explicar tales cosas —creo yo— como el resultado de una última oleada de la cultura europea que [...] viniera a romperse sobre estas costas’ (158).

This description also reflects the Germanophile phase in Giménez Caballero's thinking, which began during his year in Strasburg and which had an ethnic as well as a cultural dimension. In his work *Circuito imperial* (1928) he writes, ‘ser godos, ser rubios, tener un poco de ojos azules, un cráneo redondo, un poco de barbarie. ¡Barbarie=Vitalidad! ¡Ah, la vitalidad gótica! ¿Qué podía significar ya un Jordán, un Tíber, un Guadalquivir al lado del Rin?’³⁴¹ The Germanic vitality that Giménez Caballero appreciates in the ‘moro loco’, however, is not that of a rational, enlightened, urban European of the twentieth century, but a medieval gothic vitality. The ‘crazed’ Moor is the opposite of rational; he appears in a state of grief, driven to insanity by a tragedy involving his family that remains unknown to the reader. The masculine ideal that the narrator is drawn to here is closer to the Quixotic ideal, described by Laín Entralgo as ‘la figura del hombre triste, grave, no pesimista [...] más espiritual que racional, poco griego y muy hijo del medievo’.³⁴² Ángel Ganivet saw the ‘Quixotic’ spirit of Spain as a direct result of the influence of the African invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in the

³⁴⁰ Costa, ‘Los intereses de España en Marruecos’, in Flores Morales, 1949, p.144.

³⁴¹ Giménez Caballero, 1979, p. 48.

³⁴² Laín Entralgo, 1997, p. 48.

Middle Ages,³⁴³ and Giménez Caballero seems to draw on this view in his portrayal of the moro loco as an ideal of mystical irrationality.

Giménez Caballero claims in his autobiography that in Morocco he discovered his 'espíritu euromoro':

¡Cuántas veces, como Ganivet, percibí la paternidad de África! [...] Sentía que me había españolizado y semitizado en Marruecos [...] Ahora mi lema será otro, después de haber sentido otro grito de sangre además del europeo; el bereber.³⁴⁴

In Africa he identified a primitive force capable of countering the cold rationalism and materialism of the North, and was spurred on by the call for national regeneration that his 'noventaiochista' role models had made. This becomes evident when we observe the direction that the young writer took artistically after returning from Morocco in 1922. For example, in his article 'Eántropo', published in Ortega's *Revista de Occidente* in 1928, he exalts the cult of the primitive and the irrational as a revitalising force in modern art. In 1929 his review in *La Gaceta literaria* of Buñuel and Dalí's *Un Chien Andalou* states: 'señala el camino de la España futura: un poco mas de irracionalidad, de barbarismo [...] y de fe'.³⁴⁵ He soon becomes a repentant vanguardist, criticising modernism for its 'instinto diabólico de imitar a Dios'.³⁴⁶

In terms of his political trajectory, the image of 'Moorish' culture that he projects in *Notas marruecas* influenced his later formulation of Spanish fascism in *Genio de España* in 1932. In this manifesto, Giménez Caballero creates a dichotomy between the spirit of the West ('El Hombre sobre dios': reason, order, materialism, individualism) and the East ('Dios sobre el hombre': irrationality, religious fatalism, mysticism, excess). In the East, man is forever crushed under

³⁴³ Ganivet cited in Andrés Sánchez Pérez, 'Una tribu bereber en España: maragatería', *África*, enero 1929, p. 2.

³⁴⁴ Giménez Caballero, 1979, p. 23.

³⁴⁵ In Foard, 1975, p. 11.

³⁴⁶ Giménez Caballero, 1939, p. 124.

the demands of a cruel and insatiable deity, the God of the violent ‘Hamachas’ and the convulsing dancers of Xauén. In the West, man is set free by reason, but reason creates the machine that destroys man, as modern weapons did during the First World War. Giménez Caballero locates the spirit of Spain, ‘El genio de Cristo’, as a third way between the West and the East. Spain has been ‘anointed’ with ‘gran misterio doble de Oriente y Occidente’.³⁴⁷ His construction of the ‘Christian’ spirit does not seem to draw much inspiration from the figure of Christ. Rather, it reframes true Catholicism as a unique harmony between the spirit of the East and of the West. Spain carries the spirit of freedom and possibility of intellectual moral progress of the West but is strengthened by the paternity of Africa, which contributes the instinctive impulse, barbarism, and religious devotion of the Orient. For Giménez Caballero, this national spirit is ethnic as well as cultural, ‘[lo] lleva uno en la sangre, esa mezcla de Oriente y Occidente que nos hace libres y al mismo tiempo fatalistas’.³⁴⁸ His ideology is explicitly anti-racist, celebrating the fusion of races and cultures in Spanish history.

Giménez Caballero’s positioning of Spanish culture here is reminiscent of that of Donoso Cortés in the previous century: ‘Entre las costumbres bárbaras y primitivas del africano, están las costumbres del español, a un mismo tiempo primitivas y culturas’, writes Cortés in 1847, ‘entre el mahometismo fatalista del africano y el fatalismo filosófico francés está el catolicismo español, con sus tendencias fatalistas y sus reflejos orientales’.³⁴⁹ Giménez Caballero is by no means the first Spanish intellectual to acknowledge the European-African hybridity of Spain. However, he is the first to draw on this ‘Euro-Moorish’ heritage to legitimise a Spanish form of fascism. The significance of *Notas*

³⁴⁷ Giménez Caballero, 1939, p. 178.

³⁴⁸ Giménez Caballero, 1939, p. 15.

³⁴⁹ Donoso Cortés in Flores Morales, 1949, p. 55.

marruecas in the formation of Giménez Caballero's fascist ideology is stated in the prologue to the 1983 edition of the book, where he writes, 'fue como un prólogo todo este libro mío a mi *Genio de España*, el libro que resucitó el alma nacional y ganó una guerra que de otro modo hubiera terminado en un decimonónico pronunciamiento militar'.³⁵⁰ Although this claim is presumptuous, *Genio de España* and *La Nueva Catolicidad* (1933) pioneered the concept of National Catholicism, which was to become the ideological basis for the Franco Regime. Likewise, although the notion of Hispano-African hybridity was not integrated into the ideology of the Falangist party, it did form part of Africanist and later Francoist ideology.

Although this study is centred on examining Giménez Caballero's representations of Spain and Morocco in *Notas marruecas*, his artistic and political trajectory over the course of the decade following the war is worth noting because it demonstrates the fundamental ways in which Morocco — or the author's representation of Morocco — influenced his vision of Spain, helping shape his subsequent regenerative construction of an 'España venidera' that was more irrational, more barbaric, and more fatalistic than the European cultures that surrounded it.

2:3:3. The Moroccan Jew in the writings of Burgos, Barea, and Giménez Caballero

Of the three literary works examined in this thesis, *Notas marruecas* devotes the most attention to the Jews. Like the photographers and journalists portraying the cities of northern Morocco, Giménez Caballero describes Tetuán as a trace of

³⁵⁰ Ernesto Giménez Caballero, 1983, p. 5.

medieval Spain ‘una ciudad de calles tortuosas como toledanas [...] donde los judíos, y aún los moros, guardan un eco fiel a la España vieja’ (GC, 140). Again he constructs an image of the architecture and of the Castilian language of the community as traces of the literary medieval past:

A veces, en líneas fundamentales [...] es la sociedad que contemplaron en Arcipreste de Talavera o el de Hita, y los mismos Cervantes y Mateo Alemán. Es el ambiente de los romances, del teatro primitivo [...] de algunas novelas picarescas. La clásica Celestina de nuestra literatura terminó sus días en uno de estos rincones de la judería (GC, 140).

The language in this passage indicates the strength of the association: this Sephardic community in Morocco in 1922 is not merely likened to medieval Iberia, it is depicted as a fragment of medieval society that has been preserved by the exiled Spanish Jews who settled in North Africa. The Jewish community of Tetuán is historicised; in other words, it is represented in terms of the medieval past rather than the colonial present. They are also fictionalised, because they are represented in terms of Spanish medieval and sixteenth-century literary production. The Sephardim allow Giménez Caballero to reimagine medieval Castile, in his words, ‘con un poco de sensualidad histórica’ (140), through the romantic lens of literature and historical myth. He compares Macni, the old Jewish woman he meets in Tetuán who recites medieval Castilian romances — which she calls *cuartasitos* — to Rojas’ character of *La Celestina*. ‘Yo voy muchas tardes a contemplarla y escucharla,’ he writes, ‘como quien asiste a un acontecimiento literario’ (141). Upon seeing a procession of mourning women, he speculates that these must be *plañideras*, women who in the medieval tradition were paid to mourn at funerals, wondering if any such tradition remains in Castile. His reflections exalt the culture and the literature of medieval Castile in the style of his ‘*ídolos*’, Baroja, Azorín, and Unamuno, who forged an idea of Spanish identity partly based on literature. If Moroccan Muslim culture to Giménez Caballero

represents a primitive cypher for Spain, Jewish culture represents a trace of 'literary' medieval Spain.

Giménez Caballero's encounter with the Sephardic Jewish community in Morocco also had a profound impact on the formation of his nationalist ideology. He claims in his autobiography, 'me semiticé en Marruecos', and his interest in the Sephardim assumed a focal position in the heightened nationalism that he developed over the course of the 1920s as a key source for the potential regeneration of the Spanish nation.³⁵¹ As editor of *La Gaceta literaria*, Giménez Caballero placed Sephardism on centre stage in the journal. The Sephardic section featured reports about Jewish cultural events worldwide, reviews of books by Jewish authors, historical accounts about prominent Jewish figures in medieval Spain and their contribution to Spanish culture, and essays advocating a Spanish presence with the Sephardic world based on the presumably shared history and lineage of the two peoples. In 1929, he was sent by Primo de Rivera on a tour of Eastern Europe for the purpose of establishing links with Sephardic communities in the Balkan countries. Upon his return he produced a silent film, *Judíos de la patria española* (1929), a documentary of his travels in the Balkans that also highlighted the Jewish legacy of Spain. It showed footage of Jewish archaeological remains in Toledo, Córdoba, and Seville as well as images of contemporary Spanish Jews, such as 'el rostro auténticamente sefardí del joven y conocido escritor madrileño Samuel Ros'. The film ends with a close shot of Giménez Caballero's own face, suggesting that his features also provide evidence of a racial 'Semitic' influence on Spain.³⁵² This aspect distinguishes his narrative

³⁵¹ Giménez Caballero, 1979, p. 2.

³⁵² Michal Friedman, 'Reconquering "Sepharad": Hispanism and Proto-fascism in Giménez Caballero's Sephardist Crusade', *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 12.1, 2011, p.35-60, p. 37.

from the press narratives on Hispano-Sephardic fraternity, in which discussions of Jewish ‘racial’ influences on Spain are hardly ever mentioned.

It should also be noted, however, that Giménez Caballero’s favourable view of the Jews is limited to the Sephardim. In an article published in *La Libertad* in 1924, when he had returned to Strasbourg after completing his military service in Morocco, he describes an evening spent with a family of Alsatian Jews in Strasbourg:

Es muy posible que los españoles tengan bastante sangre judía en las venas [...] Aquí nos toman a menudo por israelitas. Yo, como todos los restantes españoles, no he sentido nunca ese asco ingenuo que el anglosajón experimenta por el hombre que no es de su misma piel. Y, sin embargo, esa noche, rodeado de aquellos judíos, glotones, cargados de joyas y de gestos duros y utilitarios, me sentí lleno de repugnancia.³⁵³

Again, he highlights the shared ethnic heritage of Spain and the Jewish ‘race’, not just with the Sephardic Jews but with the Ashkenazic Jews as well. Álvarez Chillida cites comments by the author after his visit to the Balkans in 1929 about the ‘Judaic and anti-Christian’ character of Russia, and ‘la invocación secreta de lo israelita’, also in reference to Eastern European Jewish ‘capitalists and communists’.³⁵⁴ Giménez Caballero is not drawn to the Ashkenazi Jews of Europe, despite his recognition of a sense of racial affiliation. The Sephardic Jews hold a special fascination for him only because of their linguistic ties to Spain. By the time he published *Genio de España* in 1932, he had abandoned his Philosephardic agenda and adopted much of the anti-Semitic discourse on Jewish capitalist and socialist conspiracy and greed that characterised other radical forms of nationalism in Europe.

What can be ultimately deduced from Giménez Caballero’s representation of Sephardic culture in *Notas marruecas* and his subsequent involvement in the

³⁵³ Ernesto Giménez Caballero, ‘Desde Estrasburgo: judíos’, *La Libertad*, 22 junio 1924, p. 4.

³⁵⁴ Álvarez Chillida, 2002, p. 273.

Philosephardic movement is that the author was more interested in the ‘Spanish’ traces within Sephardic culture than in Sephardic culture itself. While his construction of Moroccan Muslim culture represents a synthesis of proto-fascist ideals and avant-garde aesthetics, his romanticisation of the Sephardic Jews forms part of his noventaiochentista medievalist nostalgia and fascination with the Castilian language and literature of that historical period. In fact, until the 1930s, his interest in the Sephardim was far more prominent than his interest in Muslim culture and occupied a more significant place in his vision for national regeneration, which was centred on pan-hispanism rather than fascism.

Both Ernesto Giménez Caballero and Carmen de Burgos were involved in the Philosephardic movement, and both writers articulate many of the views about the Sephardim discussed in Section 2:2:4. In this aspect, the existence of a common pool of cultural references and images shared across press and literary discourses during the Rif War is particularly evident. The authors under study marvel at the striking modernity of the Moroccan Jews, who own prosperous businesses, subscribe to international newspapers, speak multiple European languages, and have family in high places in Europe and North America. In Tetuán, Giménez Caballero is invited into the home of a Jewish banker and is so impressed by his cosmopolitanism that he suggests that the cultural refinement of the Jews is above that of Spanish social circles in Morocco: ‘Nos trató con una urbanidad y un mundo, chocantes en este rincón de la morería, y donde tampoco la sociedad española ofrece altos ejemplos de distinción (GC, 134).’ Both Burgos and Giménez Caballero focus on the high status occupied by Sephardic Jews in the hierarchy of Moroccan society and admire their affluent position. In this sense, their portrayals are fundamentally elitist. Likewise, their interest in their economic

status betrays the underlying motive of Philosephardic discourse, which was to forge commercial as well as cultural ties with the prosperous Sephardic communities of Morocco. Giménez Caballero makes reference to this motive when he writes, ‘estoy de acuerdo en que estos elementos de nuestra zona marroquí era menester utilizarlos con más acierto y delicadeza de lo que se ha hecho hasta ahora’ (GC, 134).

However, these representations are also tinged with European anti-Semitic stereotypes about usurious Jews and their disproportionate influence in banking and politics. Giménez Caballero asks in his memoirs, ‘Por qué se encuentran [los judíos] en todas partes, invisibles y dirigentes?’³⁵⁵ Similarly, Burgos describes the Jews as ‘raza elegida, de la religión, del dinero’.³⁵⁶ In fact most North African Jews lived in dire penury, and yet they are overwhelmingly portrayed in Spanish novels, short stories, and plays as prosperous bankers or usurers.³⁵⁷ Giménez Caballero and Burgos also represent the Sephardim as a paradox of archaism and modernity. Burgos refers to ‘la separación de castas’ in the Jewish quarter, writing, ‘no había términos medios para los hijos de Jacob, o el engrandecimiento con la paciencia astuta y el trabajo, o las persecuciones injustas que les convierten en parias del mundo moderno’ (Burgos, 21). Giménez Caballero establishes two types of ‘representative’ Jews in Tetuán: ‘El judío cambista, callejero [...] tipo de financiero medieval. Y frente a él, europeo moderno, el banquero moderno vestido de chaquet; manejando los más delicados instrumentos de cambios y finanzas’ (GC, 132). In his first visit to the Jewish quarter, he relays a sense that, as Hamlet exclaimed upon seeing his father’s ghost, ‘time is out of joint’, he has been

³⁵⁵ Giménez Caballero, 1979, p. 33.

³⁵⁶ Federico Utrera, *Memorias de Colombine, la primera periodista*, Madrid, HMR Hijos de Muley-Rubio, 1998, p. 98.

³⁵⁷ Hazel Gold, ‘Illustrated Histories: The National Subject and the “Jew” in Nineteenth-century Spanish Art’, *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 10, 2009, pp. 89-109, p. 93.

immersed in the past. Although he makes reference to ‘una época bíblica, milenaria’, this strong association with the past is not made in terms of the biblical patriarchs, but in terms of medieval Spain, as mentioned earlier.

Barea’s portrayal of the Moroccan Jews is also rooted in references to medieval Spain. Describing his first impression of Xauén, he writes: ‘Cuando nos encontrábamos allí, en medio de tal mescolanza de razas y de odios [...] era para mí como si la España medieval hubiera resucitado y estuviera ante mis ojos’ (Barea, 86). Again it is the use of a medieval form of the Castilian language that evokes the image of medieval Spain — Jews ‘canturreando en viejo romance’ — and the architecture of Xauén, which the narrator likens to Toledo ‘con sus callejuelas solitarias y tortuosas’ (Barea, 84). However, Barea’s references to medieval Spain are born less out of medievalist cultural nostalgia and more out of his own nostalgia for his lost homeland and his experience of exile and displacement.

In this aspect, he represents the Sephardim less as ghosts from the medieval Spanish past and more as tragic exiles who continue to cling to the past; projecting his own longings for Spain onto the Jewish characters he creates in the novel. This portrayal is best illustrated by the prostitute Luisa’s description of her family:

Al abuelo le echaron de España, le echaron de lo que vosotros llamáis la Imperial Toledo y se vino aquí con sus monedas y su llave. Cuando la llave vuelva a su antigua cerradura, las viejas monedas se cambiarán por moneda nueva. Padre sueña con ir a Toledo. Dicen que es una ciudad de calles muy estrechas y que allí tenemos nosotros una casa construida en piedra. Porque me han contado que todas las casas que una vez fueron de los judíos existen aún en Toledo. (Barea, 39)

There is a metaphorical lack of closure in the empty home in Toledo that awaits the return of its inhabitants that mirrors Barea’s hurried flight from Spain in 1938 and the uncertain possibility of ever returning to his homeland, which must have

been very present in the mind of the author as he wrote the memoir as an exile in England in 1943.

Conclusion

The range of cultural forms examined in this chapter reveal that Spanish writers, journalists, and photographers during the Rif War used Morocco as a starting point for explorations of the primitive origins of the Spanish nation. In textual representations across the press and literary texts under study, the medieval Castilian ballad emerges as a powerful symbol of these primitive origins, and a key reason for the cultural affinity between Spain and the Sephardic Jews not only in Morocco, but also across the world. Traditionalist intellectuals regard the *Romancero* as an 'essential' element in Spanish cultural identity. As a trace of the culture of medieval Castile, which was venerated as the ultimate reference for Spanish cultural authenticity by these intellectuals, it prompts a nostalgic re-imagining of this historical period through the lens of literature, as Giménez Caballero writes, 'con un poco de sensualidad histórica'. In this aspect, although the preservation of Castilian ballads is posited as evidence of the Jews' unwavering nostalgia for Spain, in actual fact it serves as a vehicle for the cultural nostalgia of writers and journalists like Giménez Caballero, José María Salaverría, Foxá, and Azorín. This nostalgia, as I have argued, is restorative in the sense that it evokes a national past for the purpose of constructing a national future. In this restorative vision, because of their preservation of a 'pure' form of the Castilian language, the Jews are regarded as a potential source for the cultural regeneration of Spain. Their preservation of the medieval romance also merits their

categorisation in a more intimate hierarchy of belonging than Moroccan Muslims as ‘españoles’ rather than ‘hermanos’. The classification of Sephardic Jews as Spanish reflects the importance of language in conceptions of the national community during this period. The Castilian language was regarded as the deepest unifying element of national identity, one that would unite a wider community of races and cultures who owed their ‘civilisation’ to Spain and Portugal, and therefore a framework of identity is established around the parameters of the medieval Castilian language and traditions that encompasses the Sephardic Jews of Morocco.

The motif of the city serves to represent the historical affinity between the two cultures, particularly in visual terms. The medieval Iberian past shared between Spain and North Africa is invoked consistently in discourses of fraternity, particularly in the Africanist press, and urban spaces are posited as a relic of this shared past. Photographs of medieval urban spaces in Spain as well as the protectorate lend support to Africanist and traditionalist ideology and their nostalgic medievalism by mimicking the memory of medieval Spain, again prompting its imaginative reconstitution. This reconstitution also suggests a process of self-Orientalisation, where urban spaces in Morocco and Spain and the bodies of Spanish women are posited as bearing the imprint of the Muslim and Jewish cultures that once formed part of the Iberian Peninsula. However, by focusing on a distant historical period and on women, the Other to the male journalists and writers examined here, this shared cultural legacy is kept at arm’s length. This is because the underlying aim of the Africanist discourse of cultural brotherhood is to legitimise colonial domination by establishing Spain’s cultural superiority alongside cultural affinity between Morocco and Spain.

On the other hand, the body is central to textual representations of ethnic affinity, visual representations of the ‘friendship’ between Spain and Morocco, and visual and textual depictions of ideal masculinity, which was elevated in the cult of virility of the Africanist military and the germinating fascist ideology that is articulated in Giménez Caballero’s literary narrative of Moroccan culture. In this aspect, although it is a motif that is used to uphold notions of Spanish colonial dominance, in some cases it also undermines them. Visual narratives of ‘moros amigos’, which are intended to assure the Spanish public of the safety of the colonial venture and ratify the submission of the Moroccan people to colonial domination, reveal some of the ambiguities in the relationship between collaborative Moroccan leaders and Spanish colonial officials, which are further undermined by textual representations of ‘duplicitious’ Moroccan friends. The likeness between the bodies of Spanish and Moroccan peasants is used in the socialist press and in Barea’s narrative — which share a common script about the oppression of the working class and Moroccans alike — to create an image of shared cultural backwardness, of permeability and exchange between Moroccan and Spanish society. These narratives reject the patriotic vision of the Spanish nation as a superior civilisation by turning the colonising gaze back on the destitute lower classes of Spain. Likewise, Giménez Caballero employs the body of the Spanish soldier, ‘de carne macilenta’ to allude to Spain’s cultural degeneracy, which stands in stark contrast to the hyperactive, virile, irrational body of the Moroccan ‘Hamacha’ penitent, a primitive cypher for Spanish masculinity that influenced the regenerative vision for Spain that he would ultimately formulate in *Genio de España*.

Ultimately this chapter reveals that the image of affinity between Spain and Morocco was not merely a tool of colonial domination, but rather was harnessed in a range of cultural discourses, in some cases to support the colonial venture, in others to challenge it, and yet in others to explore the pre-modern origins of the Spanish nation. As a result, as a whole, Spanish cultural discourse on Morocco during this period constructs an image of permeable boundaries and cultural fusion and exchange. The notions of cultural hybridity that it produces is unique among European colonial discourses, surprisingly modern for its historical context, and highly significant in the formulations of Spanish nationalism that would develop over the course of the 1920s up until the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in July 1936.

Chapter 3: Representations of Muslim and Jewish Alterity

Juan Goytisolo's description of the 'Moor' in the Spanish imaginary as 'el espejo en el que de algún modo nos vemos reflejados, la imagen exterior de nosotros que nos interroga e inquieta', which could also be extended to the Jew, provides a useful starting point for a discussion of the ambivalence of Spanish constructions of Morocco.³⁵⁸ These constructions oscillate constantly between representations of affinity (*espejo*) and alterity (*imagen exterior*) alongside and sometimes within discourses of cultural fraternity. In representations of alterity, the body and the city again emerge here as key motifs, but in this case they serve to distance Spain from the protectorate rather than establish links with it. In claims of cultural fraternity, the instability and permeability of cultural boundaries is emphasised, but the notion of Spanish difference from North Africa requires the delineation of clear and rigid boundaries between the two cultures. The assertion of difference is related to the assertion of dominance in the colonial relationship; in order to establish colonial dominance, the colonising culture must create an image of itself as different and superior. However, this chapter argues that many of the Spanish writers and photographers examined in this thesis did not have a clear conception of Spanish identity as culturally superior or different. The following sections seek to draw out crises of colonial power and anxieties of non-difference in these assertions of difference and show that they provide a fundamental underpinning to Spanish constructions of Morocco during the Rif War. From this vantage point, they explore the relationship between bodies, colonial spaces, and colonial power across modes of representation.

³⁵⁸ Goytisolo, 1982, p. 32.

3:1. Visual representations

3:1:1. Urban spaces, female bodies, and colonial power

The secretive space of the body of the Muslim woman hidden behind the veil and the world of women concealed behind the walls of the harem have long been recurrent tropes in Western conceptualizations of Muslim cultures. This image of the secretive Orient fosters male imperialist fantasies of conquest and access to the forbidden space of the (feminine) Other. Within postcolonial and colonial studies, the veil has widely been read in terms of gender and colonial power relations, both within Islamic societies and in the European male colonist's assertion of power over the Muslim colonial woman, by 'unveiling' her in fictional narratives (Orientalist painting and travel narratives), as well as direct colonial rule. For example, Malek Alloula's influential study on French photography of North African women, the *Colonial Harem*, presents the pornographic postcard trade in French Algeria as a male power fantasy that is played out when the photographer in his studio 'unveils the veiled and gives figural representation to the forbidden'.³⁵⁹ Franz Fanon interprets the French colonial policy of encouraging Algerian women to unveil as an effort to 'destroy the structure of Algerian society and its capacity for resistance'.³⁶⁰ Fanon equates the colonisation of Algeria with the unveiling of its women, arguing that the *Algérienne* becomes a metaphor for the colonised land itself. More generally, Edward Said has argued that Orientalism sexualises a feminised Orient for

³⁵⁹ Malek Alloula. *Colonial Harem*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1986, p. 30.

³⁶⁰ Franz Fanon, 'Unveiling Algeria', in Prasenjit Duara (eds), *Decolonisation: Perspectives from Now and Then*, London, Routledge, 2004, pp. 42-56, p. 44.

Western possession, and the historian Anne McClintock has described all colonial conquest as an ‘erotics of ravishment’.³⁶¹

This section examines visual representations of the veiled (secretive) body of the Moroccan woman and the secretive architectural space of the Moroccan home in relation to textual representations in press narratives of the Spanish colonial campaigns. The focus here is on ‘documentary’ representations, which were posited as realistic depictions of the protectorate. It explores the relationship between female bodies, urban spaces, and colonial power, contending that in this context, the secretive space suggests a crisis of colonial power rather than an assertion of power, as Fanon, Said, and Alloula, among others, have argued. Firstly, I question how representations of veiled women might reveal these absences of power, even while they are imposing a Spanish narrative of Moroccan culture. Secondly I explore the use of the metaphor of the city as woman, questioning whether representations of urban architectural spaces in Morocco might be interpreted, like the veil, as obstacles to colonial penetration.

Unlike in modern European cities, where the grandness of the exterior of a home displayed the social status of its inhabitants, the façade of a Moroccan home in the early twentieth century was of little importance. Rather it was the private space that was intended to display the wealth of its owners. The façade reveals nothing of this private space. The cities within the Spanish protectorate of Northern Morocco, such as Tetuán, Xauén, Arcila, and Larache, and their streets with low arches, lined with residences with tall, heavy whitewashed walls, heavy doors and small windows, often covered in bars (Appendix 3,

³⁶¹ Anne McLintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest*, London, Routledge, 1995, p. 364.

Figures 1-4), show this guardedness of the interior domestic space of the Moroccan home. These tall, whitewashed buildings with interiors that remained inaccessible to the outsider bore some resemblance to the bodies of their inhabitants, both Moroccan men clothed in their *jellabas* and women in their long white burkas. As a result, in Spanish narratives of the protectorate, the Moroccan dwelling often serves as a metaphor for the Moroccan body. The popular Madrid magazine *Nuevo mundo* writes of the Moroccans: 'su traje es como su casa, borra y desdibuja cuanto puede la forma del que lo lleva'.³⁶² A cover of *África* (Figure 5) by the artist Mariano Bertuchi illustrates this analogy. The body/dwelling simile is strengthened by the symbolic image of eyes as windows to the soul, which is visually suggested in these illustrations by Bertuchi (Figures 5-6).

In traditional Muslim societies there is a strict allocation of space to each sex; men are allocated the exterior public space and women are not only allocated but ideally limited to the interior domestic space. According to the Moroccan sociologist Fatima Mernessi, the seclusion of women, which in Western eyes is a source of oppression, was a source of prestige for women in traditional Moroccan society.³⁶³ Their presence in the public sphere was transgressive and was limited to few occasions and bound by specific rituals, such as the wearing of the veil. Only necessity could justify women's presence outside the home, so it was only poorer women (such as maids and prostitutes), driven by necessity, that were seen on the streets. The notion that the most beautiful women in Morocco were hidden from sight was frequently articulated

³⁶² Mínimo Español, 'Las calles musulmanas', *Nuevo mundo*, 1918, p. 8.

³⁶³ Fatima Mernessi, 'The Meaning of Spatial Boundaries', in Reina Lewis (ed.), *Feminist Postcolonial Theory: A Reader*, Hoboken, Taylor and Francis, 2013, pp. 489-500, p. 493.

in the Spanish press, nurturing the desire for access to the secretive space of the Moroccan home.

The fact that the elite Muslim female body was anchored in a private place that remained inaccessible to the European male further fuelled the association of secretive architectural spaces and concealed women in Spanish discourse. These Moroccan cities are feminised drawing on a vocabulary of virginity and coyness, ‘Xauén la misteriosa’ ‘Tetuán la blanca’, ‘una ciudad sugeridora, un secreto entreabierto’,³⁶⁴ which reflects the sexualisation of a feminised colony for Western possession. For example, *La Esfera* writes of Tetuán, ‘todos los días sabe mostrarme un nuevo encanto sutil, pero aún no se me ha entregado íntegramente, y *no* se me entregará nunca, ¡Secreto entreabierto que nunca penetraré!’³⁶⁵ The personification of a nation, region or city as a woman is longstanding and can be traced back to Mesopotamian traditions that depicted a city-state as a larger-than-life goddess, sometimes as the wife of a deity, sometimes as a more independent maternal figure.³⁶⁶ It is also a key allegory in monotheistic texts, such as Old Testament portrayals of Zion as a virgin or harlot, in Greek mythology (in the portrayal of Athena as the patron warrior goddess of Athens) and later on in modern representations of the nation, such as the iconography of Marianne as a symbol of France. In the context of Spain, as noted in Section 2:1:1, the feminisation of the Islamic Iberian cities of Al-Andalus first appears in the romances fronterizos and is a poetic device that builds upon a tradition in the Arab poetry of Al Andalus, which often portrayed the lord of a kingdom as a bridegroom and the city he desired to conquer as a

³⁶⁴ Correa Calderón, ‘Una ciudad sugeridora’, *La Esfera*, 11 noviembre 1922, p. 12.

³⁶⁵ Calderón, *La Esfera*, 1922, p. 12.

³⁶⁶ See Warner, 1996.

bride. Menéndez Pidal asserts that this is an ‘Oriental’ trope that was unique to the Spanish medieval literary tradition.³⁶⁷

Urban spaces and women are favourite subjects in the ‘reportajes gráficos’ on Morocco that colour the pages of Madrid newspapers like *El Heraldo* y *El Imparcial* and magazines like *Nuevo mundo*, *La Esfera*, and *Blanco y negro*. Although these articles were presented as documentary realism, what was deemed worthy of photographing was mediated through the vast body of existing European writing and painting on the Orient that preceded the colonial ventures. Photojournalism gave a visual depiction of the mysterious North Africa described in the romantic travel narratives of Théophile Gautier and Gustave Flaubert, and in the case of Spain, travel writers like José María de Murga and Joaquín Gatell.³⁶⁸

In pursuing the picturesque, photographers also sought the type of scenes depicted by Spanish Orientalist artists like Mariano Fortuny and Mariano Bertuchi (Figures 7-8). Fortuny travelled to Morocco with Pedro Antonio de Alarcón during the first Spanish colonial war of 1859-1860 and provided a visual chronicle of the war. Bertuchi held the office of chief inspector of the Servicios de Bellas Artes in the protectorate in the 1920s. He also taught Bellas Artes in Tetuán and devoted himself to various architectural restoration projects there. This sketch by Fortuny (Figure 7) depicts a scene that is typical of romantic Orientalist painting: men reclining idly on a street corner, the menacing figure of an Arab horseman with his weapon, wrapped in his *jellaba*, and a

³⁶⁷ Menéndez Pidal, 1973, p. 34.

³⁶⁸ Gatell was the author of *Memorias de las observaciones hechas durante su viaje al Sus y al Uad-Nun* (1865). Murga published his observations of North African culture while travelling under the alias of El Hach Mohamed el Badadi in a series of articles that were compiled in a volume entitled *Recuerdos marroquíes del moro Vizcaíno* (1868).

partially veiled woman peering around the corner. This Bertuchi sketch (Figure 8) presents a similar impressionistic image of the typical small windows and low arches of a Moroccan city street scattered with cloaked figures. In both images, the secretive Orient is represented through shadowy spaces in the background and figures that conceal themselves from view.

Drawing on these fictional narratives of North Africa, press photographs present a self-conscious dramatisation of Moroccan spaces around this theme of the 'secreto entreabierto'. The photographer of Figures 1-2, in this case the famed Alfonso, depicts steep, narrow, winding cobbled streets, where the fact that the viewer cannot see around the corner heightens the thrill and curiosity awaked by the image. Low arches that form dark tunnels and doors that are barred shut give a sense of confinement and mystery. Perhaps most striking is the interplay between light and darkness in these photographs, light at the end of a narrow street or cast upon a figure rushing past (Figure 11), or shadows concealing spaces within the photograph, such as the area where the woman stands in Figure (10).

The contrast between light and darkness is significant in relation to the dichotomy between modernity (enlightenment) and backwardness (darkness, shadow) that underlies European colonialism. European post-enlightenment positivism, which propelled the colonial ventures, was predicated on making the world visible, and this focus on exposure shaped the use of the camera in colonial explorations. As John Berger writes, 'all that was dark and hidden would be illuminated by empirical knowledge'.³⁶⁹ The dark corners and turns of the Moroccan streets are an invitation to explore, or to pursue. The journalist and

³⁶⁹ Berger, 2013, p. 73.

playwright Agustín de Figueroa comments on a photograph of a street in Tetuán in the magazine *Ahora* writing: ‘el europeo siente vencida su curiosidad por la inquietud ante esta escondida calleja, junto a cuyos moros se desliza una figura sigilosa’.³⁷⁰ Some of these images suggest that the photographer is pursuing, even stalking, women through the streets of the city, which undoubtedly would have been how many of these photographs were taken.

Secrecy is also conveyed in the way that the bodies of Moroccan women are concealed from the photographer, in their interaction with the space around them, and in the anonymity they possess when wearing the veil. In these photographs, both men and women conceal themselves. The hooded faces of men are often in shadow and the faces and bodies of women are hidden by their long white veils (Figures 9, 10, 13). This may have been a response to the camera, which was regarded with hostility and suspicion by Moroccans, particularly because Islam prohibited the reproduction of human images, or it may have been what drew the photographer initially to the scene.

In terms of their interaction with the space around them, the women in these photographs are evasive. Unlike the men, who appear immobile, secure in the space of the street, the women are usually turning their backs, concealing themselves, moving out of the space that the photographer has access to (Figures 10-11). In Figure 10, a sliver of darkness reveals a half open door that a woman is entering. In Figure 1 a Moroccan man stands in front of a door as if to bar the viewer (photographer) from entry. The ubiquitous presence of the photographer, though unseen to the viewer, is clearly intrusive to these subjects. There are very few images of Moroccan women in the Spanish press who are static, facing

³⁷⁰ Agustín de Figueroa, ‘El alma indescifrable de Marruecos’, *Ahora*, in García Figueras, *Miscelánea*, 1933-36, pp. 165-166.

the camera, and allowing themselves to be photographed. Even in those rare instances, like this image in *La Esfera* (Figure 12) of a woman posing for the camera, the veil remains a refusal to the photographer, a denial of his voyeurism.³⁷¹

Therefore, the first thing that the foreign eye catches about Moroccan women is that they do not want to be seen. As Fanon noted, the North African woman, in the eyes of the European observer, 'is unmistakably she who hides behind a veil'.³⁷² The veil indicates this desire to remain invisible in public spaces, and the photographer violates this desire by making them the subject of photography. This very obstacle to sight is a powerful prod to the photojournalist operating in urban environments. The white islets that dot the landscape are aggregates of prohibition, as Malek Alloula writes, 'mobile extensions of an imaginary harem whose inviolability haunts the photographer'.³⁷³ Perhaps it was because of this suggestiveness of the harem that images of crowds of women appear often in the press. For example, in Figures 14-16, a multitude of white figures, like ghosts, gather outside the city walls. Their white veils are a uniform that gives them anonymity as well as invisibility, they do not want to be seen or known. The veil unifies the perception that the outsider has of North African feminine society. As *La Esfera* writes, 'todas las mujeres moras podían ser representadas por una sola'.³⁷⁴

In this way, the veil and the wall of the Moroccan home visually display the closure of a private space to the Spanish colonist. They disrupt colonial authority in this sense, because they deny the gaze, and physical access, of the

³⁷¹ Alloula, 1986, p.30.

³⁷² Fanon, 2004, p. 44.

³⁷³ Alloula, 1986, p.36.

³⁷⁴ Federico García Sánchez, 'El misterio blanco', *La Esfera*, 26 noviembre 1921, p. 19.

Spaniard into these intimate spaces. These images of veiled women and their architectural simile, buildings with tall walls that reveal nothing of their interior, can be read as suggestive because they ‘nurture’ a desire to access the secretive space. Or, as I suggest, they reinforce the boundaries imposed by Moroccans to Spain. What Fanon calls the ‘bold and impatient glance of the occupier’ is not satisfied here. It may be satisfied in fictional narratives or in pornographic postcards, but it is not satisfied in ‘documentary’ representations of the protectorate. The intimate space, both corporeal and architectural, is guarded; colonial penetration does not reach it. These spatial structures, the veil and the wall, can therefore be read as structures of power that the colonised culture wields over the coloniser.

The secretive space of the female body and the interior of the Moroccan home remain inaccessible to the Spanish coloniser except by a leap of the imagination. Photographic representation in the press does not allow for this leap, but textual representation facilitates the process of imagining. Spanish journalists present a sensual image of what lies unseen behind the walls of the cities. For example, *RTC* writes, ‘palpita tras los murallones incoloros, algo que nos han dicho, no sabemos quién, que es riente y pasional, voluptuosa y enervadora’.³⁷⁵ References to the vast body of Orientalist imagery abound in these ‘documentary’ representations of the protectorate: harems full of voluptuous women, beautiful odalisques owned by cruel and sadistic lords, reminiscent, the journalists write, of the tales of *Calila et dimna* or Scherezade’s *Thousand and One Nights*. Morocco, in the Spanish imagination, is full of these

³⁷⁵ A. M. De la Escalera, ‘La vida marroquí: realidad de ensueño’, *RTC* septiembre 1924, p. 9.

‘germinaciones ocultas, pero seguras’.³⁷⁶ For the most part the private space is imagined as sensual, but there are also depictions of the interior space as contemplative and peaceful, more monastic than sensual, a sanctuary and place of worship for the devout Muslim.

The streets of the Moroccan city are the space where this Orientalist imagination unfolds. The seemingly endless labyrinth of the medina provides a space for the imagination of the writer that traverses them to extend itself beyond every turn, with the hope of ultimately fulfilling the fantasy of entering the secretive space. *RTC* writes of this Spanish traveller ‘le veréis errabundo recorrer extraviado una vez y otra las callejuelas más tenebrosas... con el sueño de la esperada aventura, la intriga amorosa orientalizada, la mano que ofrezca la manzana de la promesa’.³⁷⁷ The street is evocative of ‘la cosa presentida, pero no revelada’.³⁷⁸ Lined by homes that are closed off to the outsider, it traces the boundaries of the secretive space. Its darkness and mystery only heighten the desire for the pleasures that are imagined to be behind the walls. The street is where the traveller embarks on a dangerous journey that ultimately leads him to an Eden, the intimate space, as *Nuevo mundo* writes, ‘el paraíso donde está nuestro placer’.³⁷⁹

Yet the street, in its mystery, is also a place of vulnerability. The streets of any foreign city, but particularly the small alleyways of North African medinas, are not spaces where an outsider feels secure. Even less so in this context, where there would have been hostility to the Spanish colonisers, particularly in moments of conflict during the colonial campaigns. The street is

³⁷⁶ Federico García Sánchez, ‘El misterio blanco’, *La Esfera*, 26 noviembre 1921, p. 19.

³⁷⁷ De la Escalera, *RTC*, 1924, p. 9.

³⁷⁸ Calderón, *La Esfera*, 1922, p. 12.

³⁷⁹ Español, *Nuevo mundo*, 1918, p. 8.

often portrayed as a dangerous place where one must be vigilant, where one is exposed to attack. Unsettling emotions, such as ‘ansia’, ‘inquietud’, ‘temor’, and ‘timidez’ form part of the language used to describe the experience of travelling the streets of Moroccan cities. For example, *RTC* writes,

El viajero que por primera vez se pierde en este laberinto de arcos y túneles, callejuelas y encrucijadas, suele detenerse respetuoso a la entrada de algunas rúas, con la timidez que nos inspira el umbral ajeno y aún más la proverbial abstención del hogar musulmán. El temor de haber traspasado los límites de la vía pública surge en él a cada nueva caprichosa revuelta de los sinuosos callejones.³⁸⁰

There is a longing to penetrate here, but also a fear of crossing boundaries. This passage does not present an image of a bold European colonist walking the streets with an air of cultural superiority, breaking down doors to take possession of what has been withheld from him. Rather it presents an image of timidity in the face of a prohibition imposed by the culture that Spain is attempting to colonise.

In these narratives there is also a fixation on barred windows (‘celosías’) and eyes, which represent the threshold of the secretive space. The eyes of Moroccan women are often described in detail, dark and almond shaped, framed in long eyelashes, on milky white skin, outlined in kohl, luminously bright, ‘como una cisterna profunda en la que hubiese un reflejo de luz’.³⁸¹ ‘Envuelta en largo y denso ropaje, la mujer mora no deja más recuerdo que el de su mirada, de grandes ojos negros’, writes *Ahora*.³⁸² Comparing the veil and the exterior of a Moroccan home, *Nuevo mundo* comments, ‘Su traje borra y desdibuja cuanto puede la figura del que lo lleva [...] sus casas tienen la misma fisonomía; al exterior las ventanas indispensables, cubiertas con celosías; lo necesario para ver

³⁸⁰ De la Escalera, *RTC*, 1924, p. 9.

³⁸¹ Calderón, *La Esfera*, 1922, p. 12.

³⁸² Figueroa, ‘El alma indescifrable de Marruecos’, *Ahora*, García Figueras, *Miscelánea*, pp. 165-166.

sin ser visto, como vemos con los ojos sin que se nos vea el alma'.³⁸³ Eyes and windows are significant for this reason; they allow the Moroccan to see without being seen (see Bertuchi sketches in Figures 5, 6). Again this gives the Spanish writer or photographer a sense that he is not in control, because he is both dispossessed of his gaze and subject to the gaze of the Other. This too places him in a vulnerable position.

Like the photographs that appear in the press, textual narratives of Moroccan femininity are couched in a rhetoric of impenetrability. 'La abstención y la hurañez musulmana', 'mujeres guardadas por los celos de esta raza',³⁸⁴ 'escondidas a toda ajena mirada'.³⁸⁵ Likewise, the physical structures that dominate the photographs of the protectorate also dominate its textual representations, 'la amplia y total envoltura del albornoz'³⁸⁶, 'mullarones blancos y portaladas herméticas, reforzadas con enormes clavos de bronce'.³⁸⁷ 'En las casas moras [...] nos ofrecerán el té', writes *La Esfera*,

Nos mostrarán las más bellas estancias; pero siempre habrá un camarín impenetrable donde suspiran y cantan las mujeres detrás de las celosías. ¡Nunca poseeremos el secreto en toda su plenitud!³⁸⁸

Again, I want to suggest here that this is more than an expression of a male longing to unveil, and enter, the secretive female space. This discourse reveals a longing for access, but to some degree also a self-awareness of the inability to do so.

³⁸³ Español, *Nuevo mundo*, 1918, p. 8

³⁸⁴ De la Escalera, *RTC*, 1924, p. 9.

³⁸⁵ Español, *Nuevo mundo*, 1918, p. 8.

³⁸⁶ García Sánchiz, *La Esfera*, 1921, p. 19.

³⁸⁷ De la Escalera, *RTC*, 1924, p. 9.

³⁸⁸ García Sánchiz, *La Esfera*, 1921, p. 19.

A documentary article on Tetuán appearing in *La Esfera* in 1921 entitled ‘El misterio blanco’ exemplifies this relationship between the secretive space, its impenetrability, and the limits of colonial power:

Detrás de las lisas murallas enjalbegadas, con sus dentadas almenas triangulares, hay un jardín sensual, hay un harén donde el amor se torna taciturno; hay un gran señor de jellaba, que recostado en blancos cojines, sobre tapices de Rabat, medita acerca de sus destinos, que nosotros los extranjeros pretendemos regir. Siempre así. Siempre el contraste entre la faz que no dice nada y el interior turbulento y apasionado.³⁸⁹

The walls of the Moroccan home physically bar the Spanish colonist from accessing what lies behind them. But in this article there is also a reference to colonial rule ‘sus destinos, que nosotros los extranjeros pretendemos regir’. The implication is that Spain as a colonial power does not really exert control over Morocco. The inexpressiveness and the silence of the exterior facade, ‘la faz que no dice nada’, in contrast to the passion of the interior, is in this sense an act of resistance. If power is predicated on visibility, or surveillance, as Foucault argued,³⁹⁰ this implies a deliberate obscurity of visibility and therefore a denial of power to the Spanish outsider.

The representation of obscurity extends beyond the veil and the wall to a representation of Moroccan culture as a whole as impenetrable, the notion of the ‘alma indescifrable de Marruecos.’ This notion is expressed often as a general observation on Moroccan society, ‘el Rif oscuro y tenebroso’³⁹¹, ‘el pueblo Bereber impenetrable’.³⁹² ‘El musulmán se nos muestra a medias’, writes *Nuevo mundo*, ‘Esconde sus riquezas, sus amores y sus pensamientos’.³⁹³ This representation of impenetrability relates to space, gender, cultural identity, and cultural influence.

³⁸⁹ García Sánchiz, *La Esfera*, 1921, p. 19.

³⁹⁰ See Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (1975)

³⁹¹ Manuel Ortega, ‘La paz en Yebala: Las negociaciones con El Rausini,’ *RR*, octubre 1922, p. 3.

³⁹² Jorde O. La Torre, ‘El Fantasma de occidente’, *El Heraldo de Madrid*, 11 junio 1912, p. 4.

³⁹³ Español, *Nuevo mundo*, 1918, p. 8.

In his *Arcades Project* (1927-1940), which traces the relationship between cultural identity and architecture in the urban spaces of early twentieth-century Paris, Walter Benjamin notes of houses that ‘the shell of a building bears the impression of its occupant’.³⁹⁴ Spanish writers articulate this same notion. For example, *Nuevo mundo* describes the architectural structure of the home as ‘un documento humano... donde quedó perenne el alma de quienes las trazaron y las construyeron’.³⁹⁵ Similarly, Agustín de Figueroa writes:

Se dice que una casa suele reflejar el espíritu de su dueño. Nada refleja tanto el alma misteriosa y hermética del árabe como esos muros uniformes desnudos, tras de los cuales viven, altos muros decrépitos, sin ventanas, una puerta cerrada.³⁹⁶

In this way, the Moroccan dwelling place is not only a metaphor for the female body, but also a metaphor for the character of Moroccan culture, its ‘soul’, just as the woman is a symbolic structure that provides the scaffolding upon which the identity of the nation rests.³⁹⁷ As the previous chapter discusses, Spanish writers during this period often associated the preservation of culture with women. This representation also aligns with the fact that women in traditional Moroccan culture were anchored in private space that remained inaccessible to the Spaniard, ‘una puerta cerrada’. Cultural identity is displayed through women and domestic spaces, but it is also guarded by the wall and the veil.

A key objective of European imperialism was cultural influence over the colonies, the ‘civilising’ mission. In French North Africa, the colonial administration portrayed veiling as a ‘primitive’ practice and its policies encouraging women to unveil were carried out in the name of secularisation and

³⁹⁴ Benjamin, 1999, p. 9.

³⁹⁵ Español, *Nuevo mundo*, 1918, p. 8.

³⁹⁶ Agustín de Figueroa, ‘El alma indescifrable de Marruecos’, *Ahora*, García Figueras, *Miscelánea*, 1930-1936, pp. 165-166.

³⁹⁷ Radhika Monhanram, *Black Body: Women, Colonialism, and Space*, London, University of Minnesota Press, 1999, p. xvii.

progress. The Spanish colonial administration did not advocate unveiling, in part because of its official policy of tolerance towards Islam. Morocco was a protectorate, and the role of Spain was framed as protecting the authority of the Sultan, which was legitimised by his role as a spiritual leader. As a result, in order to pacify the Moroccan population, the administration had to ensure that Spain did not interfere with Islam as a religious practice or as a moral and judicial structure in Moroccan society.³⁹⁸ In this aspect, in practice the veil was not challenged because of Spain's policy of religious tolerance. But symbolically, its existence represented the impenetrability of Moroccan culture. If a culture is 'indecipherable', how can it be influenced? And what does that say about colonial power?

Edward Said famously described Orientalism in the context of European imperialism as an exercise of cultural strength. That strength was exerted through knowledge, knowing or claiming to know the Orient. 'A certain freedom of intercourse was always the westerner's privilege', writes Said, 'because his was the stronger culture, he could penetrate, he could wrestle with and give shape and meaning to the great Asiatic mystery'.³⁹⁹ Said speaks both of discourse on the Orient and of colonial conquest, but he notes that what was important was not whether the West had literally penetrated and 'known' the Orient, but rather how the British and French felt they had done it.⁴⁰⁰

My argument here is that while British and French colonial discourses on North Africa show confidence of cultural superiority and colonial dominance, in this context, Spanish discourse does not. Spanish writers do not feel they have

³⁹⁸ Josep Lluís Mateo Dieste, *La 'hermandad' hispano-marroquí: política y religión bajo el protectorado español en Marruecos (1912-1956)*, Barcelona, Ediciones Bellatierra, 2005, p. 222.

³⁹⁹ Said, 1995, p. 44.

⁴⁰⁰ Said, 1995, p. 211.

fully taken hold of and *known* Morocco. *Nuevo mundo* writes, ‘Del mahometano no conoceís sino el rostro, and I would add to this, ‘la fachada’.⁴⁰¹ ‘No conocemos sino el rostro y la fachada’, we do not yet know Morocco. This obscurity of knowledge as well as visibility further suggests a crisis of power.

Photojournalism shows a dramatisation of Moroccan spaces and feminine bodies around this theme of the ‘secreto entreabierto,’ which draws on a vast pre-existing body of Orientalist imagery. These photographs, while self-consciously reproducing an image of secrecy, also visually display the closure of a private space to the Spanish colonist. In this sense they disrupt colonial authority because they deny the gaze of the Spaniard into these intimate spaces. Textual representations facilitate the leap of imagination, where the Spanish writer represents what remains unseen behind the wall and the veil. The exterior space of the street, and the threshold of the secretive space, windows and feminine eyes, nurture this process of imagining. However, the city street also exposes the vulnerability of the Spanish colonist. His inability to cross the threshold of the veil and the walls represents, in a wider sense, the limits to his colonial power. His inability to see past these barriers also undermines this power, fuelling the notion of the ‘alma indescifrable de Marruecos’. The representation of impenetrability therefore extends beyond inaccessible women and private spaces into a representation of Moroccan culture as a whole as impenetrable.

In conclusion, if colonial conquest is equated with accessing the secretive space and if colonial power is predicated on visibility and knowledge, then the constant theme of impenetrability that emerges in the press narratives I have

⁴⁰¹ Español, *Nuevo mundo*, 1918, p. 8.

analysed here reveals a crisis in colonial power, and furthermore, a self-awareness of Spain's vulnerability in the colonial relationship. Agustín de Figueroa provides an example of this Spanish awareness of an obscurity of knowledge and power when he writes in *Ahora*,

Ya llegó el término de mi relato. Se puede hablar mucho mucho más de Marruecos, se puede descubrir sus costumbres, sus monumentos, pero no se puede definir su alma. Frente a nuestra curiosidad de extranjeros, ellos levantarán siempre una barrera infranqueable, moros de sus viviendas, velos de sus mujeres. Tal vez sea mejor no llegar a vencer esa obstinación mahometana con que encubren sus rostros, sus casas, y sus almas. [...] Un misterio impenetrable siempre.⁴⁰²

⁴⁰² Agustín de Figueroa, 'El alma indescifrable de Marruecos: Marraquex la roja. *Ahora*, García Figueras, *Miscelánea*, 1930-1936, p.170.

Appendix 3



Figure 1: Alfonso, 'Vista de Tetuán', AGA.



Figure 2: Alfonso, 'Vista de Tetuán', AGA.



Figure 3: Photo by author, Jewish quarter, Tetuán, 2014



Figure 4: Photo by author, Andalusian quarter, Tetuán, 2014.

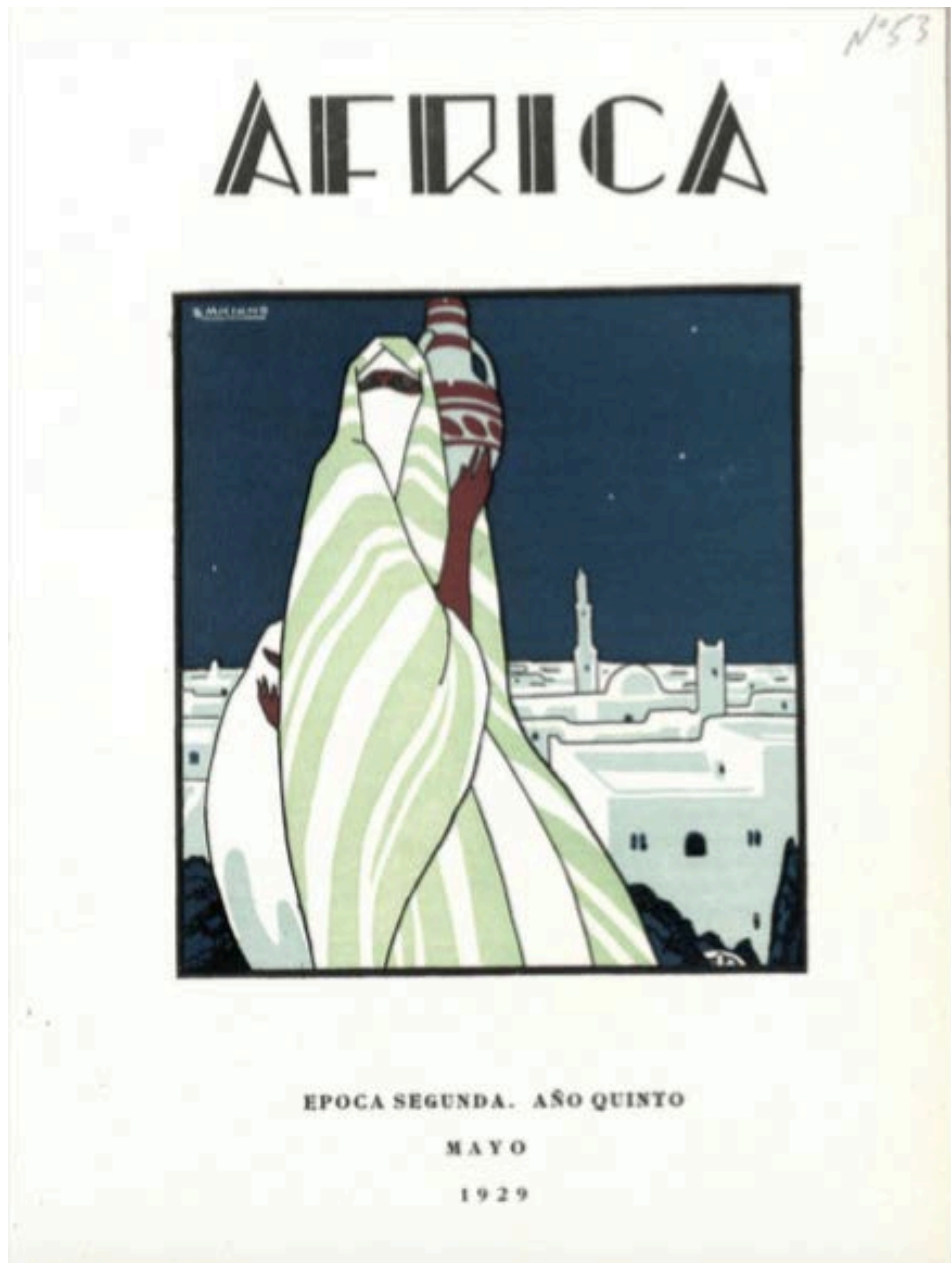


Figure 5: Bertuchi, *Africa*, mayo 1929, cover page.

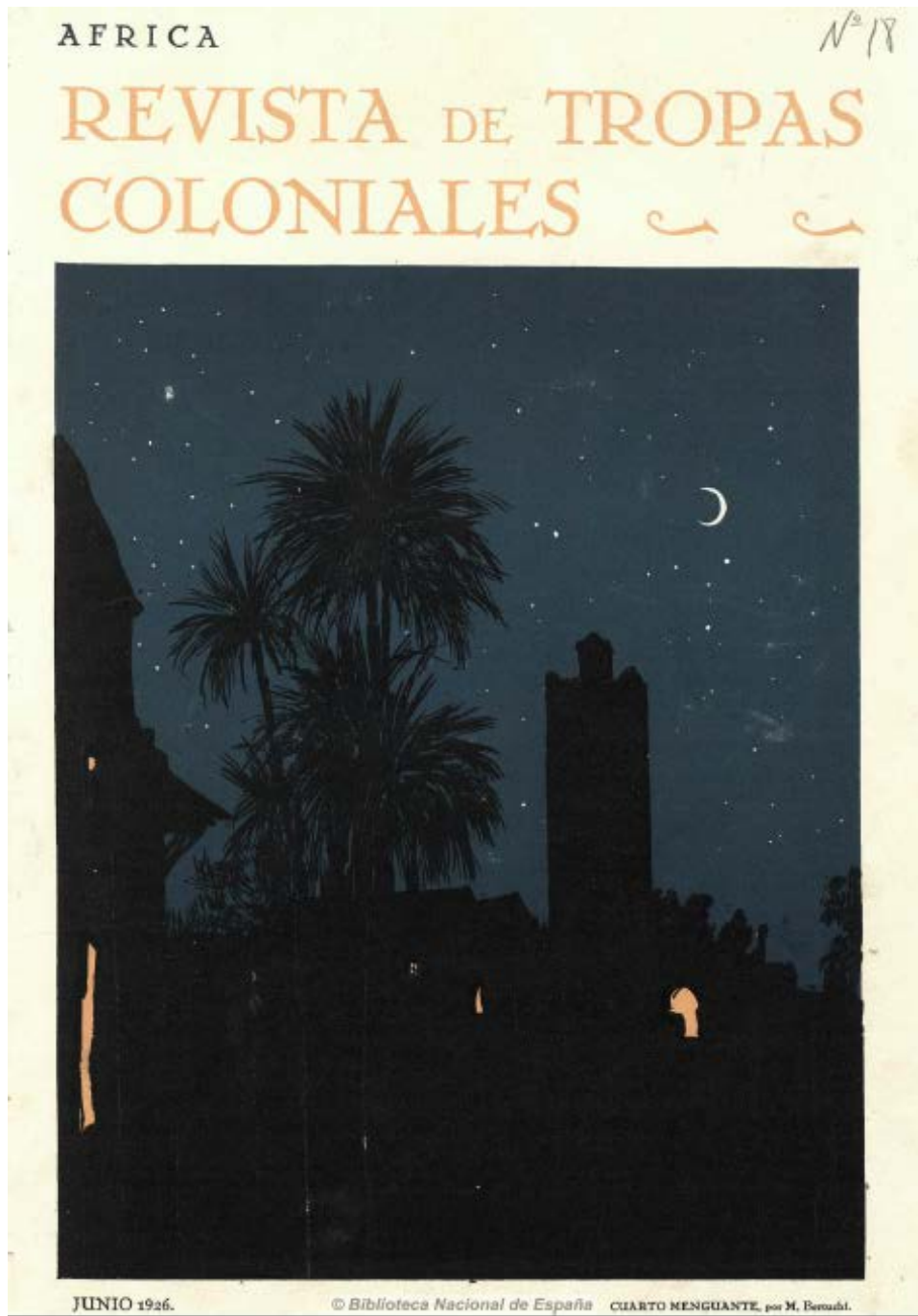


Figure 6: Bertuchi, 'Noche de Luna, *África*, junio 1927, cover page.

LAS CALLES MUSULMANAS

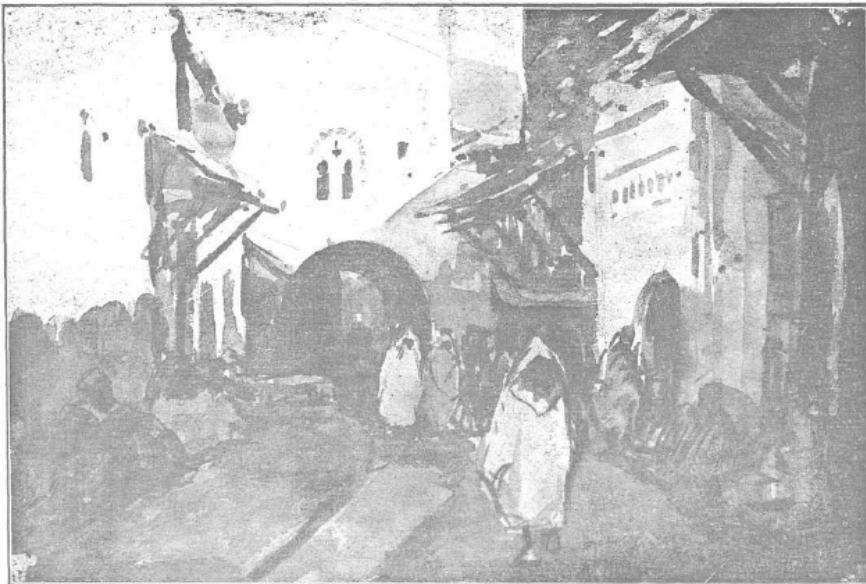


Una calle de Tánger

Dibujos de Fortuni

Figure 7: Fortuni, 'Una calle de Tánger', *Nuevo mundo*, 23 agosto 1916.

MOROS DE CORDOBA



Dibujo de M. BERTUCHI.

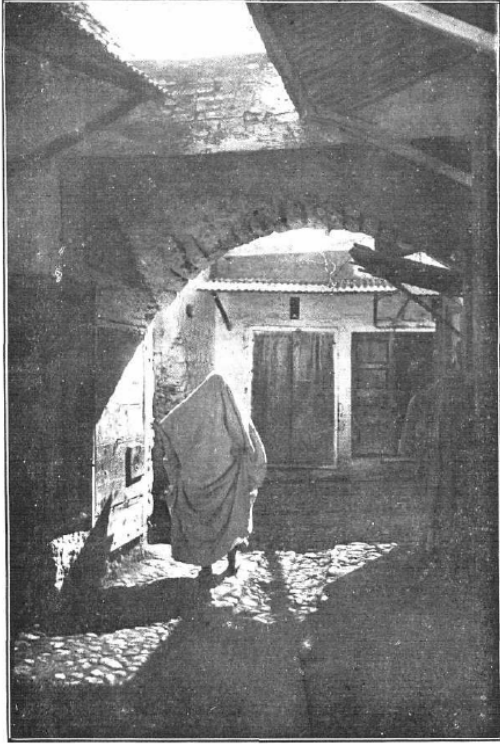
Figure 8: Mariano Bertuchi, 'Moros de Córdoba', *RTC*, septiembre 1924, p. 9.



Figure 9: Alfonso, 'Vista de Tetuán', AGA.



Figure 10: 'Tánger, la codiciada', *Cosmópolis*, c.1931, García Figueras, *Miscelánea: Prensa gráfica* (Biblioteca García Figueras, 1930-1936), p. 192.



DE NUESTRO CONCURSO: Una calle de Tetuán.
Fot. S. R. Jover.

Figure 11: S.R. Jover, 'De nuestro concurso: Una calle de Tetuán.' *RTC*, abril 1924, p. 12.



Tipo de mora tetuaní

Figure 12: 'Tipo de mora tetuaní', *La Esfera*, 11 noviembre 1922, p. 12.



Figure 13: Alfonso, 'Vista de Tetuán', AGA.



Figure 14: Agustín de Figueroa, 'El alma indescifrable de Marruecos', circa 1930, *Ahora*, in Tomás García Figueras, *Miscelanea. Prensa Gráfica, 1930-1936*, pp.165-166.



Figure 15: Alfonso, 'Visita de Alcalá Zamora, Xauén', AGA.



Figure 16: Alfonso, ‘Visita de Alcalá Zamora a Xauén, AGA .

3:1:2. Male bodies and the crisis of colonial power

The image of the body is central to theories of race and degeneracy because it provides a visible indicator of difference. The importance of this corporeal element of race is reflected in the definition, outlined in the introduction, of ‘raza’ as ‘grupos de seres humanos que por el color de su piel [...] se distinguen’.⁴⁰³ However, in the Spanish case there was little or no difference in the physical appearance of a Moroccan compared to a Spaniard. As a result, photojournalism relied on other attributes to convey the ‘racial’ otherness of Moroccans. This section explores the representation of Moroccan alterity

⁴⁰³ RAE, *Diccionario de la lengua española*, p. 1025.

through the image of the mutilated body of the Spanish soldier on the battlefields of Annual. As the first Spanish war that was documented through photojournalism, the Rif War was the first instance in Spanish history in which images of the horrors of war were mass-produced and disseminated throughout the nation. What before had been limited to the imagination and textual representation now could be revealed in the 'truth' of the photographic image. This belief in the exactitude of the camera underlies its use in photojournalism during the colonial campaigns.

After the Disaster of Annual, a team of photojournalists accompanied the troops in the counter-offensive in September to regain the territory lost to Abdel Krim. These photographers included Alfonso and Campúa, the most well-known within their profession, who worked on the front lines alongside the troops and documented the aftermath of the massacre of Annual, in particular the scene at the military base of Monte Arruit. During the assault of Abdel Krim's forces, which began on 17 July, the troops in Monte Arruit had held out in desperate conditions until early August. Besieged by thousands of Riffian fighters, the 3,000 men defending the fort waited for a counter-attack from Melilla that never came. Starved out inside the fort, soldiers were driven mad by thirst, some died of gangrene from their wounds and some committed suicide. Finally, on 9 August, believing terms of surrender had been agreed, the Spanish troops led by Navarro tried to march out of the garrison. Abdel Krim's troops attacked them immediately, slaughtering the majority of unarmed men and officers on the spot.⁴⁰⁴ When the territory lost in the area of Monte Arruit was recaptured in the counteroffensive in August and September, the army found the bodies of

⁴⁰⁴Balfour, 2002, p. 75.

thousands of soldiers. In the months following the battle, Campúa and Alfonso's photographs of what was discovered at Monte Arruit were published in the most widely read newspapers and graphic magazines in Spain, including *El Imparcial*, *Blanco y negro*, *Nuevo mundo* and *La Esfera*.

Alfonso's photographs of Monte Arruit are perhaps the most well known of those that appeared in the press in the autumn of 1921. Appendix 4, Figure 1, which was published in *La Esfera* in November, shows the remains of soldiers strewn along the inside of the wall of the fort, so shrivelled up that it is hard to recognize their human shape. As Balfour writes in his historical account of the recapture of Monte Arruit, the jackals and crows had stripped much of the flesh off the bodies and the sun and rain had disfigured them beyond all recognition.⁴⁰⁵ They are barely distinguishable from the stones among them, which eerily resemble severed heads while the severed heads resemble stones. Only one body, in the bottom left of the photograph, still resembles a man, his arm outstretched towards the viewer as if in a plea. This body is still clothed, while many of the others appear to be naked. The posture of the officer standing on in the far right of the photograph, who is bent over examining the bodies, gives the impression of a crime scene. The dark sky is foreboding, the wall of the fort, which extends past the photograph, is a structure of colonial oppression that became a structure of imprisonment. Perhaps the feature of the photograph that wounds the viewer most is the sliver of an arch in the wall in the distance, the door the men never reached.

A second photograph by Alfonso in the same issue of *La Esfera* (Figure 2) shows the main entrance to Monte Arruit, this time from the outside, the

⁴⁰⁵Balfour, 2002, p. 87.

ground littered with cadavers. A very similar photograph by Lázaro was published on the cover of *Blanco y Negro* in October (Figure 3). Again the viewer is disturbed by the mangled figures on the ground and by the arch crowned by the figure of an angel, a symbol of divine power and protection. The angel figure witnessed the slaughter of thousands of Spanish men and allowed enemy troops to penetrate the military base, which makes the site one of violation, disaster, and mourning rather than one of military strength and celebration. Half of the arch and the tower beside it have been destroyed by a blast, a mutilated edifice that is unsettling in itself. The image brings to mind Sontag's statement that 'sheared off buildings are almost as eloquent as bodies in the street'.⁴⁰⁶ Monte Arruit had been a major military base, and its capture was a devastating and deeply humiliating event for the Spanish army. This image of its decrepit state is suggestive of the state of Spain's colonial power over Morocco.

Figures 4-5, which were published in *El Imparcial* in October 1921, show the inside of the fort, which again is filled with the cadavers of Spanish soldiers.⁴⁰⁷ Figure 5 recalls almost word for word the description given by Barea of Monte Arruit in *La ruta* in a passage that is examined at length further ahead in this chapter. Although it is difficult to see any form of mutilation of the bodies in the photographs, eyewitness accounts and press reports indicate that it was clear that many Spaniards had been killed after surrender and many had undergone some form of torture or mutilation. In Barea's narrative, which is based on his first-hand account of when he arrived with his regiment in Monte Arruit in October, the eyes of the bodies had been gouged out, tongues and

⁴⁰⁶ Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, London, Hamish Hamilton, 2003, p. 7.

⁴⁰⁷ 'Nuestras tropas de Monte Arruit', Suplemento gráfico de *El Imparcial*, 27 octubre, 1921, p. 6.

testicles cut off. *El Diario de Barcelona*'s account of Monte Arruit also describes the corpses as mutilated, 'este vastísimo cementerio de cadáveres, insepultos y salvajemente mutilados'.⁴⁰⁸ It is worth noting that in the Spanish press there is no discussion of the cause for which the insurrectionary Riffian forces are fighting. The reasons for their opposition to Spanish colonial penetration in their territory are not given any consideration.

Figures 6 and 7 were also published in November of 1921 in *Nuevo mundo*. Figure 6 shows a truck full of human remains being cleared away from the site. Again it is difficult to recognize any resemblance to human shapes in the mass of remains, so thorough is the ruin of flesh that the photograph depicts. Figure 7 shows the army identifying the bodies, including General Berenguer, High Commissioner of the Protectorate, identifying the cadaver of Lieutenant Coronel Primo de Rivera, Miguel Primo de Rivera's brother. Again, although it is not clear from the photograph, *El Diario de Barcelona* tells us that the cadaver is missing limbs.⁴⁰⁹ Many of the officers are seen holding cloths up to their faces to block the stench, which must have been overwhelming, considering the fact that the bodies had been exposed and decaying for months.

The brutal juxtaposition between the soldiers sent to the war and the mangled remains that they become is achieved by positioning these images in the press alongside visual and textual depictions of Spanish soldiers when they are alive. In *La Esfera*, Figure 8 is positioned just after Figure 2. The image shows the triumphant column of General Fresneda having reconquered Hardun

⁴⁰⁸ Juan Luque, 'Ocupación de Zeluan', *Diario de Barcelona*, 15 octubre 1921, in Juan Cañellas Romero, *Juan Luque: corresponsal de "Diario de Barcelona" en Melilla: selección de crónicas (1921-1927)*, Melilla, Servicio de Publicaciones de la Consejería de Cultura de la Ciudad Autónoma de Melilla, 2004, p. 83.

⁴⁰⁹ Luque, 'Monte Arruit', *Diario de Barcelona*, 24 de octubre 1921, in Cañellas Romero, 2004, p. 94.

in November, which was part of the territory that had been lost in the battle of Annual, but the expressions of jubilation and the vitality of the bodies of living men in the photo are haunting alongside the image of ruined, unrecognisable bodies that precedes it. Similarly, Figures 6 and 7 were published in an article in *Nuevo mundo* entitled ‘Memorias de un legionario’, which is presented as the testimony of a legionnaire that survived the slaughter at Monte Arruit. The writer describes in detail ‘los rostros amigos que faltan en mi bandera [...] aquel gallego rechoncho [...] aquel andaluz que parecía buscar a la muerte por el placer de burlarla’.⁴¹⁰ By giving faces and names to the indistinguishable ruins found at Monte Arruit, these magazines seek to draw the viewer nearer to the reality of the tragedy of Annual.

In seeing the bodies at Monte Arruit, the viewer is also ‘seeing’ what is not pictured in the photographs, the Riffian enemy that inflicted brutality and ultimately death on them. They provide a visual testimony of ‘truth’, but at the same time give the viewer space to construct in his/her own mind an image of the Moroccan perpetrators of this violence. In his account of Monte Arruit, Juan Luque provides his vision of the Berber insurgents based on the sight of the mutilated corpses they left behind. ‘En la puerta del reducto les esperaban’, he writes,

Una horda salvaje de fieras, más que fieras, que los fueron matando a montones, en masa, cazando a los que huían, rematando a los heridos luego profanándolos, robándolos, mutilándolos, y quemándolos, despedazándolos, enloqueciendo con el olor y la vista de tanta preciosísima sangre derramada.⁴¹¹

To the contemporary viewer, these images offered clear evidence of the savage nature of the Riffian tribes, ‘la ferocidad rifeña’, which is discussed in further detail in the following section of this chapter.

⁴¹⁰ Juan Ferragut, ‘Memorias de un legionario’, *Nuevo mundo*, 4 noviembre 1921, p. 5.

⁴¹¹ Luque in Cañellas Romero, 2004, p. 96.

Writing on the First World War, Anna Carden-Coyne has argued that the image of the male body was central in cultural ‘contemplation’ of the painful experiences of war.⁴¹² This is also true of Spanish press narratives of the Rif campaigns, in which the bodies of the fallen men are key subjects used to convey the brutality and tragedy of the war. The images described above invite a range of emotional, social, even political responses. Conscripted as part of journalism, images of the atrocities committed on the bodies of Spanish men were intended to arrest attention, startle, and disturb the viewer.⁴¹³ The caption to the first of the aforementioned images highlights the potential of the photograph to ‘excite’ the reader beyond that of textual representation:

Han descrito esa inmensa tragedia de Monte Arruit, con vividos colores algunas plumas, los corresponsales de guerra. Y leyendo esos relatos ha vibrado de indignación España entera y se han llenado de lágrimas los ojos de millares de madres españolas. Pero por muy vigorosa que haya sido la descripción literaria de esos horrores, por mucho que la imaginación del lector, ya híper-excitada por las terribles series de desventuras africanas, haya puesto en el sombrío colorido del cuadro del desastre, sin duda todo resulta pálido ante la representación plástica de la hecatombe ocurrida en este rincón de la hedionda guarida rifeña. Pocas veces ha logrado el artista fotógrafo fijar en la cámara visión de la guerra más emocionante que la por nosotros ofrecida en la presente página.⁴¹⁴

At one level, these images respond to the human appetite for transgressive spectacle, which in this case is the atrocity committed by the Berber enemy, and use this pornography of violence as propaganda. During the colonial campaigns, the photographs that were most sought after by the public, and that allowed newspapers and magazines to sell the most copies, were images of death.⁴¹⁵ As a result, photojournalism in this context theatricalises the dead. The corpses of Monte Arruit become a spectacle to the immediate viewers, the

⁴¹² See Carden-Coyne, 2009.

⁴¹³ Sontag, 2003, p. 20.

⁴¹⁴ ‘La tragedia de Monte Arruit’, *La Esfera*, 5 noviembre, 1921, p. 12.

⁴¹⁵ Sebastián Hernández Gutiérrez, ‘Fotoperiodismo en la guerra del Rif’, *Vegueta* No. 12 Año 2012, Anuario de la Facultad de Geografía e Historia, Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, p. 54.

small crowd of men that Alfonso's pictures show gathering around them. They become a spectacle to the photographer that makes them his subject. And his camera in turn becomes the implement for turning the war, and its dead, into a spectacle for the masses. The terrible distinctness of the pictures gives an unnecessary and indecent exposure that horrifies yet thrills the viewer beyond the evocation of textual representation, 'una vision de la guerra más emocionante'. Postcards were even printed of Monte Arruit to be sold as souvenirs (see Figure 9).

In *Regarding the Pain of Others* (2003) Susan Sontag explores the human fascination with photographs of suffering and death, tracing the use of photography to document war atrocities from Matthew Brady's photographs of the American Civil War to photographs of international conflicts in the late twentieth century. Her study provides a number of useful interpretations for this context. Sontag argues that the appetite for dead bodies is the same as the appetite for naked bodies. Images of death mass distributed in the media titillate us because they are kept at a safe distance, yet at the same time they reduce the distance between the viewer and the act of violence that has taken place.

Because an image produced with a camera is literally a trace of something brought before the lens, pictures acquire a distinct immediacy and authority in conveying the horror of mass-produced death.⁴¹⁶ Since their first appearance in the media in the mid-nineteenth century, photographs of the bodies of the fallen in war have drawn audiences to a shocking spectacle, but also to a 'truth-telling' narrative.⁴¹⁷ These images of Monte Arruit were

⁴¹⁶ Sontag, 2003, p. 21.

⁴¹⁷ Carden-Coyne, 2009, p. 83.

published at a time when the scale of the human cost of the battle was being revealed and the public outcry for transparency and responsibility for the disaster was growing. The Cortes had opened its investigation of the military's role in the disaster of Annual in October, a month before Alfonso's pictures appeared in the press. By disseminating 'true' images of war, these photographs not only provided visual testimony of the disaster, they called out for audiences to act themselves as witnesses, to engage with the images.⁴¹⁸ This link between the image and its emotional impact indicates the instrumental role of the war photograph, which goes beyond mere witnessing.

Photographs of the victims of war are themselves a species of rhetoric. They reiterate the transgression to agitate the viewer and move him/her to react to the tragedy, either emotionally or through political protest and action. In fact, the Alfonso photographs that appear in *El Imparcial* (Figures 4 and 5) are published with no accompanying text other than a simple caption identifying the location. The images offer in themselves a powerful rhetoric on the loss of human life resulting from a war that had been highly unpopular from the beginning. In the collective psyche, Morocco was a 'matadero', a slaughterhouse for Spanish men. A working class song that became popular after the battle of Barranco del Lobo, collected by Bonifacio Gil in his *Cancionero de quintos y soldados*, expresses this sentiment: 'En un Barranco de lobos/ Hay una fuente que mana/ Sangre de los españoles/ Que lucharon por España [...] Melilla ya no es Melilla/ Melilla es un matadero/ Donde van los españoles/ A morir como corderos'.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁸ Carden-Coyne, 2009, p. 83.

⁴¹⁹ Carlos Gil Muñoz, *Cancionero popular de quintos y soldados, de Bonifacio Gil*, Madrid, Ministerio de Defensa, 2002, p. 250.

Alfonso's photographs of Monte Arruit represent a visual rhetoric of this narrative of the Rif War as a slaughterhouse. In fact, no images of Monte Arruit appeared in the colonial press because they challenged the Africanists' clean, patriotic narrative of the campaigns by starkly revealing the extent of the disaster in terms of casualties. The fact that they were published at a time of political protest against the war strongly suggests that they are more than a titillating spectacle of death, and that they in fact they are implicitly joining in the public outcry against the military in Morocco.

The photographs of Annual invite the viewer to engage in a collective act of seeing the bodies of the victims of the colonial war and in doing so, to identify emotionally with the tragedy. In his chronicles on Monte Arruit in *El Diario de Barcelona*, Juan Luque calls upon the reader to look upon the scenes of death, reiterating the verb 'mirar' again and again: 'Mirad el poblado, mirad la cuesta, mirad la aguada y el camino de la aguada, mirad al llano, mirad en todas direcciones. Solo veis muertos [...] mirad sus gestos, ved sus actitudes y en cada uno de ellos veréis escritos el final'.⁴²⁰ Images of war atrocities foster a collective experience of suffering, the sense that 'this horror was done to us, to our nation.' Juan Luque tells the reader that this picture ('cuadro') must not be witnessed again by this generation or the next.⁴²¹ The aggrieved community is widened, from the dead at Annual to an entire generation of Spaniards. By invoking this hypothetical shared experience of suffering, these images strengthen the imagined national community.⁴²² This community is also strengthened by dis-identifying with the perpetrators. In this sense, although

⁴²⁰ Luque in Cañellas Romero, 2004, p. 96.

⁴²¹ Luque in Cañellas Romero, 2004, p.96.

⁴²² Sontag, 2003, p. 6.

they represent an implicit outcry against the colonial military, they may have also helped raise support, albeit temporarily, for the colonial campaigns, because by further ‘othering’ the Moroccan enemy, they affirmed the justification of the war against him.⁴²³

Beyond their propagandistic use and their purpose of displaying Moroccan alterity, the photographs of Monte Arruit present an interesting exposure of vulnerability, both of the soldier’s body and more symbolically, of the Spanish nation. As Susan Bordo notes, in patriarchal society the vulnerable (naked, damaged, mutilated) male body is kept out of sight.⁴²⁴ Key theorists on the formation of masculine identity have argued that modern European manliness was conceived as a totality based upon the nature of a man’s body.⁴²⁵ As a result, the body was seen as the vessel of masculinity and therefore its materiality had cultural importance. Virility was associated with the strong, healthy, harmonious, intact male form, within the narrative of masculine identity; the body of the soldier provides a climax to manliness, as war is often seen as the ultimate test of manhood. Although death in battle has long been regarded across cultures as the height of male heroism, the visuality of this heroic death generally preserves the aforementioned aesthetics of masculinity, again keeping male vulnerability and brokenness out of sight. The body of the fallen soldier is romantically envisioned as preserving its integrity and beauty.

⁴²³ The Disaster of Annual in fact resulted in a temporary surge of patriotic sentiment, even if this was not necessarily the same type of patriotism that was articulated by the Africanists. See Balfour, 2002 for a discussion of this aspect.

⁴²⁴ Susan Bordo, ‘Reading the Male Body’, in Laurence Goldstein (ed.), *The Male Body: Features, Destinies, Exposures*, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 1994, pp. 265-303, p. 265.

⁴²⁵ This was famously argued by George L. Mosse in *The Image of Man: the Creation of Modern Masculinity* (1998) and has subsequently been considered by David Gilmore (2005) and Christopher Forth (2008), among others.

The bodies at Monte Arruit represent a stark contrast to the aforementioned aesthetic ideals. Rather than displaying strength and wholeness, they reveal mutilation, castration, dismemberment, and decay. They reveal utter vulnerability and powerlessness, as Monte Arruit was held under siege and the troops within it were dying of hunger and thirst when they ultimately surrendered and were killed en masse. The narrative of the battle and the testimony that the bodies provide of the event are of weakness and defeat. The fact that many of the corpses were castrated is the ultimate display of the emasculating consequences of Annual.

From the end of the nineteenth century into the first decades of the twentieth century, a perceived 'crisis of masculinity' and the related threat of degeneracy emerged across European societies in the wake of industrialisation. Modern normative masculinity was perceived as threatened by new cultural developments, such as working class movements and women's movements, colonialism, and modern warfare. The First World War in particular has been associated with the undoing of European masculinities, and the language of bodily wreckage was used during the war by medical staff and writers as well as the injured and disabled, who were seen, and often saw themselves, as 'wrecks of manhood'.⁴²⁶ As Anna Carden-Coyne argues, the body was now more than ever a site of imbalance and uncertainty; and as a result, mutilation was horrifying and yet fascinating'.⁴²⁷

This particular cultural narrative of male vulnerability, however, emerged from a context of European men fighting other European men, not from

⁴²⁶ Carden-Coyne, 2009, p. 62.

⁴²⁷ Carden-Coyne, 2009, p. 76.

a colonial context.⁴²⁸ As a result, the display of the male wreckage of Annual, which was inflicted by rebellious colonial subjects, is notable as a display of European men damaged by their colonial subjects. If the male body, especially the body of the warrior, is a conduit of power,⁴²⁹ then the bodies of these Spanish men have been rendered powerless, and the power has been shown to be held by the colonial population over whom Spain had supposedly asserted its dominance. Mutilation in war is an act of self-assertion in certain cultures,⁴³⁰ and in the context of the Rif War it can be viewed as a powerful gesture of resistance to the Spanish colonial incursion.

As well as exposing the vulnerability of individual men, Monte Arruit exposed the vulnerability of the Spanish nation as a colonial power. The connection between the bodies of individuals and the symbolic body of the nation was a feature of cultural discourses in Europe since the eighteenth century, when the nation began to be described in increasingly organic terms as a living being whose growth was intimately bound up with the physical and moral identities of its citizens. In this way, as Christopher Forth writes, the nation was envisioned ideally as a community so intensely ‘imagined’ that assaults upon it would reverberate in the bodies and minds of those who sought to actualise it.⁴³¹ Particularly in the wake of the disaster of 1898, Spanish intellectuals began to describe the Spanish nation as an organic body that was

⁴²⁸ Although colonial troops did fight in the First World War, on both sides.

⁴²⁹ Mosse, 1996, p. 15.

⁴³⁰ Joanna Bourke, *An Intimate History of Killing: Face-to-face Killing in Twentieth-century Warfare*, London, Granta, 1999, p.12.

For example, mutilation, decapitation, and castration of the enemy dead were common practice among the Berber tribes of the Rif. These acts served as a form of retribution — to debase the enemy by profaning their bodies — and a way of coming to terms with other forms of brutality that an enemy had inflicted on the community (Cited from a conversation of the author with Sebastian Balfour on 22 May 2014).

⁴³¹ Forth, 2008, p. 123.

stagnant, decaying, a nation without a pulse, as Francisco Silvela, the leader of the partido conservador, would famously lament in 1898.⁴³² In this aspect, the visual rhetoric of decaying Spanish bodies on the battlefields of Annual can be interpreted as forming part of the wider Regeneracionalista discourse of the decaying state of the Spanish nation.

Appendix 4



Figure 1: Photo Alfonso, ‘La tragedia de Monte Arruit’, *La Esfera*, 5 noviembre, 1921, p. 12.

⁴³² Silvela’s now famous article, ‘España sin pulso’, was published in *El Tiempo* on 16 August 1898.



Figure 2: Photo Alfonso, ‘La entrada a la posición de Monte-Arruit, destruida por las kabilas rebeldes’, *La Esfera*, 5 noviembre, 1921, p. 6.



Figure 3: Photo Lázaro, 'Melilla. Ocupación de Monte Arruit', *Blanco y Negro*, 30 Octubre, 1921 (cover page).



Figure 4. Photo Alfonso, 'Interior de casa con cadáveres', AGA



Figure 5. Alfonso, 'Nuestras tropas en Monte Arruit, Suplemento gráfico de El Imparcial, 28 octubre, 1921 p. 1, copy from AGA archive.



Figure 6: Alfonso, 'Un camión lleno de cadáveres en Monte-Arruit', Nuevo mundo 4 nov 1921, p. 4, copy from AGA archive.



Figure 7: Photo Alfonso, 'El general Berenguer con otros jefes y oficiales y algunos periodistas, identificando el cadáver del teniente coronel Primo de Rivera, hallado en Monte-Árruit,' Nuevo mundo 4 noviembre 1921, p. 5, copy from AGA archive.



Figure 8: Photo Alfonso, 'El general Fresneda y su Estado Mayor rodeado de los soldados de su columna al ocupar los altos de Hardun', *La Esfera*, 5 Noviembre, 1921, p. 7, copy from AGA archive.



Figure 9: Postcard of Monte Arruit, c. 1921.
<http://hermanandaddeloscaballeroscustodios.blogspot.co.uk/2015/07/asi-termino-para-el-regimiento.html>

3:2. Textual representations in the press

3:2:1. Cultures of violence, religious fanaticism, and the body

From early on in its history, biology has underpinned the imagination of national identities in Spain. Although most scholars still conceive of race as a post-Enlightenment ideology, it has been argued that the infamous blood purity statutes of medieval Spain and the expulsion of the moriscos in 1609 represented a rehearsal of modern forms of racialisation.⁴³³ There is certainly continuity between this medieval formulation of race, which fused and confused notions of ethnic, religious, and cultural difference, and the conceptions of race that can be observed during the Rif War in relation to Morocco, which faced with the same lack of visible markers of difference, relied on these additional indicators and expanded on them in textual representation. In these textual constructions of Muslims and Jews in the Spanish press, the body becomes a capacious signifier of otherness.

Colonial bodies occupied a central place in the age of imperialism because the values of a civilisation and its position within racial taxonomies that were established based on evolutionary science were believed to be etched onto the bodies of individuals. The dichotomy between the body and the intellect as signifiers of savage and civilised nature respectively became a common trope of colonial discourse. The notion was that European culture was ruled by rationality, enlightenment reason and 'civilised' morality, and exercised the corporeal disciplines required for cultivating these values.⁴³⁴ Non-European and

⁴³³ See for example Carr (2009), Matar (2009) and Thomas (2010).

⁴³⁴ Michael Sappol and Stephen P Rice (eds), *A Cultural History of the Human Body in the Age of Empire*, vol. 5. London, Bloomsbury, 2010, p. 14.

particularly ‘Oriental’ cultures were believed to be ruled by the body: primitive morality, brutality, and uncontrolled biological impulses. In many ways this binary opposition stems from the Christian distinction between flesh and spirit, where the flesh is associated with sexual immorality, impurity, debauchery, violence, etc., while the spirit is associated with self-control and the triumph of the will over the passions.

In textual narratives, the religious rituals of the *Aïssaoua* and ‘Hamacha’ brotherhoods (which are described in the discussion of Giménez Caballero’s work in Section 2:3:2) provide a focal point for Spanish diagnoses of the Moroccan body as a signifier of primitive nature. These Muslim sects were devoted to two religious figures — Al-Hadi ben Issa and Sidi Ajmed respectively, who were described in the Spanish press as ‘santones’ — and used ritual dances to bring the participants to a state of ecstatic trance in which they engaged in a range of dramatic acts of self-violence. While Giménez Caballero uses the ritual and the bodies of its participants to explore the notion of Berber masculinity as a primitive cipher for Spain and as a regenerative force, most commentators in the Spanish press present the sects as the epitome of the violent and fanatical nature of Islamic culture. This section explores various press representations of the rituals of these sections, particularly in the chronicles of Isaac Muñoz⁴³⁵ and Tomás Borrás⁴³⁶, who regularly reported on Moroccan culture during the Rif War in *El Herald*, *La Esfera*, and *Nuevo mundo* and whose writing represent a key example of Africanist Orientalism in the 1920s.

In *La Esfera*, Muñoz describes the ‘Hamacha’ ritual as follows:

⁴³⁵ Muñoz resided largely in Morocco, where he learned Arabic, Hebrew, and Berber dialect, and adopted Maghrebi culture to an even greater degree than the later Juan Goytisolo (Martín-Márquez, 2008, p. 195).

⁴³⁶ During the Civil War, Borrás would become a key chronicler of the violent culture of the Army of Africa as it advanced through Southern Spain in the first months of the war.

Crispan y horrorizan con el desgarramiento cruel de sus carnes y con la sangre que mancha la arena dorada y candente del *soko* [...] Los *jailmachas*, patrocinados por el santo Sidi Ajmed, son de un color de bronce vivo, endemoniados con sus curvas hachas ensangrentadas y con sus ojos fulgentes como llamas. [...] torturan y martirizan sus carnes febriles con las curvas hachas, que abren en los cráneos rasurados heridas espantosas, cicatrizan rápidamente sus sangrientas lacerias con un arte inverosímil, como de magia.⁴³⁷

Tomás Borrás describes an *Aïssaoua* ritual in similar terms in his chronicle in *Nuevo mundo*:

Sangre... En los belfos, en la mirada, en el rostro, en las manos, en las camisas, sangre [...] Llevaban grandes bolas de hierro, que arrojaban á lo alto, murmurando versículos, recibéndolas en la cabeza. El hueso crujía y saltaba la sangre. Llevaban hachas de dos filos, y con ellas, brincando, se hacían cortes en la frente. El hueso crujía y saltaba la sangre. La multitud empapaba panes en la sangre de los Hamachas, panes que después servían de medicinas.⁴³⁸

These bodies and their frenzied performance of collective convulsion and violent excess suggest the antithesis to European values of discipline, restraint, and moral progress. For many European travel writers, the values of unfamiliar societies were etched on to the bodies they observed. The bodies of the penitents reflect Spanish constructions of Islamic fanaticism; their self-inflicted pain a cruel demand imposed by an implacable deity, their indulgence in violence a reflection of the brutality of their culture. They represent the implicit Other to the healthy, balanced, unblemished, and ‘civilised’ European body that became the ideal across Europe in the wake of the First World War.⁴³⁹ The spectacle of this ‘procesión de fantasmas sangrientos enloquecidos’, as *ABC* writes, is described as hardly even possible for those in Western civilisation to imagine.⁴⁴⁰

The undisciplined, convulsing body of the ‘Hamacha’ generates an anxiety for the Spanish observer, however, that goes beyond the physical and

⁴³⁷ Isaac Muñoz, ‘Páginas africanas: Los fascinadores de serpientes’. *La Esfera*, 19 junio 1920, p. 21-22; p. 22.

⁴³⁸ Tomás Borrás, ‘El ashura (carnaval)’, *Nuevo mundo*, 9 mayo 1924, p. 36.

⁴³⁹ For a discussion of European values concerning aesthetic beauty, civilisation, and the male body, see Carden-Coyle (2009).

⁴⁴⁰ José Simón Valdivienso, ‘La antigua paganía bereber’, *ABC*, 28 febrero, 1925, p. 1.

moral transgression of ‘civilised’ boundaries. The language used to describe the penitents unanimously conveys a dangerous lack of self-control or restraint: ‘rabiosos, convulsos, enardecidos, enloquecidos, espasmados, acelerados...’ The response to the body of the perceived Muslim fanatic and its unbridled passions reflects a wider anxiety concerning Spanish colonial rule and Spain’s ability to subjugate or control the bodies of the colonial population.

Likewise, the animalistic vocabulary used to describe the bodies of the penitents represents an attempt to place them in an inferior, even subhuman, racial category. Muñoz provides a graphic description of the dancers devouring poisonous vipers ‘con furia monstruosa, mientras los reptiles se retuercen desesperadamente y abren sus fauces arrojando veneno’.⁴⁴¹ Borrás describes a similar scene where the dancers eat a lamb alive.⁴⁴² Their acts are described as reaching ‘las más altas cimas de la bestialidad’,⁴⁴³ and their bodies are correspondingly construed as decrepit and racially inferior, ‘con estigmas negroides’.⁴⁴⁴ The acts of violence concentrated on these bodies illustrate the fusion of physical and moral qualities that characterises racial discourse, which imagines the ‘character’ of a primitive race as inherent to the bodies of individuals. For example, *ABC* claims that the ‘Hamacha’ and *Aïssaoua* rituals lay bare the ‘primitive soul’ of the Berbers, ‘libre de trabas y limitaciones’.⁴⁴⁵

One can picture these representations arousing the simultaneous revulsion and fascination of readers, filling their imaginations with fantastic images of the purported violence of the Berbers. Descriptions of these religious

⁴⁴¹ Muñoz, *La Esfera*, 1920, p. 22.

⁴⁴² Tomás Borrás, *Nuevo mundo*, 1924, p. 36.

⁴⁴³ Valdivieso, *ABC*, 1925, p. 1.

⁴⁴⁴ Tomás Borrás, ‘Guelaya y el Rif’, *La Esfera*, 10 diciembre 1921, p. 16.

⁴⁴⁵ Valdivieso, *ABC*, 1925, p. 1.

sects were rarely accompanied by photographs, probably because as a sacred religious ceremony any photography would have caused outrage among Moroccan spectators, although on some occasions images did appear in the press (see Appendix 5 Figures 1 and 2). The Spanish attention to the ritual can be compared to the effects of a Gothic motif insofar as it awakes the human fascination with transgression, excess, and extremity.⁴⁴⁶ In fact, Gothic writing emerged in the context of European colonial expansion and the rise of evolutionary science, when European interactions with unfamiliar, non-European cultures created new anxieties over cultural and racial boundaries.⁴⁴⁷ The body of the ‘Hamacha’ is a structure of representation that generates unease in the same way that the Gothic involves the disturbing arrival of a figure from a dark and primitive past. In this case, as I will discuss later in the chapter, the Berber warrior can be read as an uncanny embodiment of a figure from Spain’s own pre-modern past.

The bodies of the penitents also serve as a physical manifestation of Spanish perceptions of Islamic fanaticism and licentiousness. It is the dancers’ fanatical devotion that leads them into a state of ‘epilepsia colectiva’.⁴⁴⁸ Their invocation of patron saints and of Allah as they inflict violence on their own bodies, which are described as deformed in grotesque contortions, is represented as a gross distortion of religious worship and an indulgence of violent impulses, although in fact the figure of the self-flagellating penitent should not have been

⁴⁴⁶ Bordo, 1994, p. 270.

⁴⁴⁷ In recent years a scholarly trend has developed around the concept of the postcolonial Gothic, providing readings of how the colonial/racial Other is negotiated through Gothic tropes in the work of colonial and postcolonial writers, although this analytical framework remains to be applied to Spanish colonial literature. See for example Andrew Smith, *Empire and the Gothic: The Politics of Genre* (2003) and Tabish Khair, *The Gothic, Postcolonialism and Otherness, Ghosts from Elsewhere* (2009).

⁴⁴⁸ ‘Los aisauas en Mequinez’, *África*, 1 octubre 1929, p. 15.

unfamiliar to Catholics.⁴⁴⁹ These representations align with European stereotypes that have existed since the Middle Ages of Islam as a religion that permits the indulgence of all desires of the flesh. In actual fact, the practices of these brotherhoods represent the opposite, a literal gesture of the symbolic act of overcoming the flesh. The corporeal aspect of Islam is significant, and to the adherent of Islam the body is the closest battlefield, as the believer is commanded to cleanse the body through ritual practices, and more importantly, to tame its internal impulses and appetites.⁴⁵⁰ In fact, in his chronicle, Isaac Muñoz discusses the origins of the *Aïssaoua*, which was based on the austere ascetic practices of its patron saint, Sidna Isa.⁴⁵¹ The Spanish application of the colonial trope of primitive bodies ruled by their impulses is a gross misinterpretation of the practices of these sects.

The bodies of the penitents are emblematic of the Spanish colonists' perception of Islam as an intolerant religion that incites violence. Borrás dramatises this image in his description of dancers 'shrieking' praises to Allah during the ritual, arousing the crowd of spectators in the square to fanaticism, 'la muchedumbre estremecida de fanatismo. Cada mano tocaba su gumía. La cabeza se volvía buscando al enemigo de la fe, *al anasera* (nazareno) o al *ali-judi* (judío)'.⁴⁵²

The Spanish press emphasises the perceived fatalism and violence of Islam and eroticises the notion of rewards in paradise awaiting those who die

⁴⁴⁹ Argos, 'Sectas marroquíes', *Alrededor del mundo*, 14 febrero, 1912, p. 5.

⁴⁵⁰ Khaled Al-Berry, 'My closest enemy', in Paul Cornish and Nicholas J. Saunders (eds), *Bodies in Conflict: Corporeality, Materiality, and Transformation*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2014, 199-207, p. 200.

⁴⁵¹ Muñoz, *La Esfera*, 1920, p. 22.

⁴⁵² Borrás, *La Esfera*, 1921, p. 16.

defending the faith.⁴⁵³ *RTC* introduces the concept of *jihad* based on a Qur'anic verse taken out of context: 'Cuando os halléis en frente de infieles, matadles hasta el punto de hacer con ellos una verdadera carnicería y estrechar fuertemente las trabas de los cautivos'.⁴⁵⁴ *Nuevo mundo* describes Riffian men attending daily prayers at the mosque with their rifle on their backs and gunpowder in their belts,⁴⁵⁵ and depicts the pilgrimage to Mecca as a 'siniestra peregrinación [...] a través de los propios países musulmanes, en los que no existen otra ley sino la del más fuerte, de la rapiña y la muerte'.⁴⁵⁶ *La Esfera* writes of the Muslim man, 'quien no conoce la piedad é inflige al prisionero castigos espantosos, de los cuales el menor es la muerte'.⁴⁵⁷ Spanish writers intertwine the supposedly violent nature of the Islamic faith and the Berber race so closely that it is difficult to perceive which of the two is a stronger marker of difference. In a statement that clearly illustrates the racialisation of Islam that permeates these representations, *RTC* declares, 'la raza bereber es musulmana de corazón aun cuando no conozca o conozca muy escasamente la religión musulmana'.⁴⁵⁸

Just as Berber culture is made distinct from Arab culture in colonial discourse, a manipulated and often inconsistent religious distinction is also conceived between the 'primitive fanatical Islam' of the Berbers and the civilised, enlightened Islam of the Iberian Muslims, which is referred to as 'el Islam español'.⁴⁵⁹ *RTC* claims that the Berbers do not even understand the faith

⁴⁵³ See for example *El Heraldo de Madrid*, 2 agosto, 1909, p.1; *Nuevo mundo*, 12 agosto 1909, p. 34; and *RTC*, septiembre 1924, p. 2.

⁴⁵⁴ Manuel del Nido, 'Costumbres guerreras de los árabes', *RTC*, marzo 1924, p. 31.

⁴⁵⁵ A. Huici, 'El rifeño y la muerte', *Nuevo mundo*, 25 noviembre 1909, p. 13.

⁴⁵⁶ Guillermo Rittwagen, 'Temas Orientales: el fatalismo', *Nuevo mundo* 30 enero 1925, p. 3.

⁴⁵⁷ Rafael Fernández Usera, 'La guerra del Moro', *La Esfera*, 1 enero 1928, p. 8.

⁴⁵⁸ F. de Villalta, 'Los 'Braber' o bereberes', *RTC*, julio 1924, p. 26.

⁴⁵⁹ Mateo Dieste, 1997, p. 220.

they profess,⁴⁶⁰ and García Figueras refers to the Riffians as ‘una aplastante mayoría de montañeses que no viven más que para rendir el más fanático culto al *barud* [the local saint worshipped by a community]’.⁴⁶¹ *ABC* argues that the Islam of the Rif is essentially a reproduction of the ancient pagan rites of Berber tribes before the arrival of Islam.⁴⁶² In a speech about the Rif campaigns in 1924, General Primo de Rivera reinforces this difference, declaring, ‘existe un núcleo de malos musulmanes [en el Rif] que persisten en destruir los beneficios de la paz y el orden [...] y contra ese núcleo, España va a proceder inexorablemente, cuantos a su obra de paz se opongan serán exterminados’.⁴⁶³ These shifting hierarchies represent an example of how grammars of difference were used to justify intensities of violence in the colonial regime, and how they were continuously and vigilantly crafted as people in colonies contested European claims to superiority.⁴⁶⁴

As the embodiment of the perceived fanatical and violent nature of Moroccan/Islamic culture, the ‘Hamacha’ serve as a focal point for the violent fantasies of Africanist writers like Isaac Muñoz and Tomás Borrás. Borrás marries the sensual and the violent in his obsession with blood and his erotic description of a penitent’s interaction with a serpent, ‘besa á la serpiente, se va animando, se va excitando’.⁴⁶⁵ Muñoz describes the sweat glistening on the half-naked bodies of the dancers, who include both men and women.⁴⁶⁶ Both writers describe the ritual in terms that are erotically suggestive, ‘excitados’, ‘ebrios’,

⁴⁶⁰ Villalta, *RTC*, 1924, p. 26.

⁴⁶¹ Tomás García Figueras, ‘El fatalismo musulmán’, *RTC*, julio 1925, p. 12.

⁴⁶² Valdivieso, *ABC*, 1925, p. 3.

⁴⁶³ Emilio L. Lopez, ‘El viaje de Primo de Rivera a Marruecos’, *El Telegrama del Rif*, 16 abril, 1924, p. 1.

⁴⁶⁴ Cooper and Stoler, 1997, pp. 3-4.

⁴⁶⁵ Borrás, ‘El ashura (carnaval)’, *Nuevo mundo*, 9 mayo 1924, p. 36.

⁴⁶⁶ Borrás, *Nuevo mundo*, 1924, p. 36.

and ‘enardecidos’. During the Rif War, Muñoz was known for his violently erotic Orientalist novels, which Susan Martín-Márquez has studied in detail.⁴⁶⁷ For example, his 1909 novel, *Fiesta de sangre*, indulges in Orientalist tropes of exhuberantly sexual Moroccan Muslim women and ultra-virile, polymorphously perverse men who surrender themselves to violent orgies of killing, eviscerating, decapitating, and dismembering the bodies of their enemies. The main character of the novel *El Arbi*, is based on an actual Berber tribal leader that Muñoz describes in one of his ‘Crónicas mogrebinas’ in *El Heraldo*:

En su rostro descarnado de árabe primitivo las líneas son precisas, firmes, acerbas, como en un bronce cincelado con crueldad, la piel, de una palidez mate y cálida, descubre a instantes el estremecimiento de los músculos, que vibran con un nervioso temblor felino, y la mirada de los ojos hundidos y cavernosos tiene como un fulgor salvaje, como una inquieta llamarada, diríase que desfilan siempre ante sus pupilas gigantescos fantasmas de imperio, soberbias imágenes de dominación.⁴⁶⁸

Martín-Márquez has highlighted Muñoz’s theories of racial hybridity and the impact of his representations of Berber men on Africanist conceptions of masculinity. However, despite the regenerative visions behind his writing, his representations of Moroccan culture are strongly Orientalist and do not convey a sense of affinity, but rather project European fantasies about a violently and sexually unbridled Orient.

Muñoz’s portrayals of the bodies of the ‘Hamacha’ and of *El Arbi* are typically Africanist in their fascination with the perceived violence and virility of Berber culture. Rather than producing a feminised Orient, Africanist Orientalism produces a hyper-masculine Orient, which in turn inspires the Africanists’ own ideal of masculinity. As the previous chapter highlights, in fact,

⁴⁶⁷ See Martín-Márquez, 2008.

⁴⁶⁸ Isaac Muñoz, ‘El moro “valiente”’, *El Heraldo*, 28 agosto 1911, p. 1. Muñoz’s spelling of ‘mogrebinas’ rather than the frequently used ‘magrebinas’ provides an example of the lack of uniformity in Spanish spellings of Moroccan cities, Berber tribes, etc.

in a wide range of press discourses, the Berber male embodies an ideal of masculine strength. As Richard Smith notes in relation to British constructions of ‘black’ masculinity, the tension in visions of colonial masculine vitality is their possibility of undermining ‘white’ masculine imperial authority.⁴⁶⁹ The Spanish colonial ventures in Morocco brought into much sharper focus the related crises in masculine identities, particularly within the military, in light of the Disaster of 1898.⁴⁷⁰ In relation to this crisis of national as well as gender identity, it is precisely because of its perceived strength and virility that the Berber body represents a formidable threat to the Spanish male body. As *Nuevo mundo* writes:

Aquellos atlantes oscuros, de barba rala, labios prominentes, crespas guedejas, y expresión cruel [...] ¿No serían ellos los que sorprendieron en la noche callada á nuestros hijos, después de llegar, arrastrándose como reptiles, hasta el fondo de las trincheras?⁴⁷¹

The threat that the Berber man poses to the Spanish man is made particularly clear on the battlefields of Annual, as the previous section highlights, where Spanish men are literally castrated and torn apart by the Riffian insurgents.

Particularly in the wake of the Disaster of Annual, press discourses widely depict the Berber race as innately violent and cruel. They are described as vengeful, duplicitous, ignorant and backwards, ‘fieras con aspecto humano’,⁴⁷² ‘sumergidos en el salvajismo y en la vida rudimentaria’,⁴⁷³ ‘un pueblo atrasado de fondo guerrero y corazón insensible’, an indomitable race with a ‘primitive’ sense of morality.⁴⁷⁴ The image of the ‘savage’ bodies of Muslim penitents

⁴⁶⁹ Richard Smith, ‘The Black Male Body in the White Imagination During the First World War’, in Paul Cornish and Nicholas J. Saunders (eds), *Bodies in Conflict*, p. 39.

⁴⁷⁰ Martín-Márquez, 2008, p. 168.

⁴⁷¹ Antonio Zozaya, ‘Del ambiente y de la vida Bereberes’, *Mundo gráfico*, 23 abril 1913, p.3.

⁴⁷² Borrás, *La Esfera*, 1921, p. 16.

⁴⁷³ Fernández Usera, *La Esfera*, 1928, p. 8.

⁴⁷⁴ See also Ramiro de Maeztu, ‘Con el ejército’, *RTC*, enero 1924, p. 4; F. de Villalta, ‘Los ‘Braber’ o bereberes’, *RTC*, julio 1924, p. 26, Borrás, ‘Guelaya y el Rif’, Emilio Dugi ‘Las razas del Rif’.

possessed by an unrestrained thirst for violence is transferred to the battlefields of Annual and Monte Arruit. The Catalan newspaper *Diario de Barcelona* describes the assault of Abdel Krim's forces on the Spanish forces as they tried to escape, portraying the Berber insurgents as 'fieras', 'ansiosos de rapiña, sedientos de sangre'.⁴⁷⁵ The Madrid newspaper *La Voz* describes the appearance of the Berber enemy on the battlefield of Annual in similar terms, an uncontrolled and frantic crowd of men demolishing, pillaging, and burning everything in their path, 'centenares de harqueños, armados hasta los dientes, enloquecidos, sedientos de sangre y de pillaje', accompanied by the savage cries of their women.⁴⁷⁶ Both of these passages project a dehumanised image of a frantic horde of violent creatures much like the aforementioned representations of the rituals of the 'Hamacha' and *Aïssaoua* sects. The emphasis on their cruel acts of violence, this time upon the bodies of Spanish men rather than Moroccan men, illustrates how racism is as much about generating emotions as it is about delineating racial categories, particularly in the context of war.

As the aforementioned texts by Borrás and Muñoz demonstrate, Africanist writers and officers were key propagators of this image of Berber culture as innately violent. General Emilio Mola writes of Berber men: 'son hombres de guerra, siempre dispuestos a la violencia'.⁴⁷⁷ Similarly, Tomás Borrás writes, 'ante todo para ellos es el fusil, el odio, el robo, y los tiros si puede haber botín...es [una raza] amiga de la guerra hasta la pasión'.⁴⁷⁸ Isaac Ruiz Albéniz, an Africanist journalist who like Borrás, would later become a Nationalist ideologue of the 'hermandad hispano-marroquí', describes the 'true

⁴⁷⁵ Luque, 'Monte Arruit', in Cañellas Romero, 2004, p. 96.

⁴⁷⁶ Incógnito, 'Escaramuzas cerca de Nador' *La Voz*, 1 agosto 1921 p. 1.

⁴⁷⁷ Mola, *RTC*, 1924, p. 3.

⁴⁷⁸ Borrás, *La Esfera*, 1921, p. 16.

soul' of the Berbers as rapacious and violent in his writing on Morocco in the 1920s.⁴⁷⁹ After Abdel Krim's insurrection, *RTC*, the key propagator of the image of Hispano-Moroccan brotherhood, writes of the Berbers, 'la barbarie, el salvajismo sádico y ensangrentado, con las más horribles expansiones de la deformación moral y sentimental fueron su primer grito y su primer paso'.⁴⁸⁰

These Spanish constructions of Berber/'Moorish'/Muslim alterity largely represent a Western response to its inability to assert authority over the colonising nation, rather than an assertion of cultural dominance. This is clearly reflected, once again, in the specific vocabulary of difference applied to the Berbers: 'orgullosos', 'indómitos', 'indisciplinados', 'inaccessibles'. *El Imparcial* writes, 'les caracteriza un impulso salvaje de brava independencia, patente y claro a través de muchos siglos de historia'.⁴⁸¹ *RTC* declares of all adherents of Islam, 'desearían sin duda ser ellos los que nos civilizaran [...] asimilarnos a sus costumbres por la fuerza o la persuasión'.⁴⁸² 'Cualquier otro país hubiera tenido en el Rif los mismos reversos que hemos sufrido', writes *La Esfera*, 'porque ellos no consisten en nosotros, sino en el adversario [...] Les une a todos una sola idea, no ser sometidos [...] ni que nadie les gobierne'.⁴⁸³

Written in the wake of Annual, these statements acknowledge Spain's colonial failures by projecting them onto a representation of an indomitable Berber enemy. Said claims that the feature of European-Oriental relations was that Europe was always in a position of strength, not to say domination, and that Oriental discourse posits the strength of the West and the weakness of the Orient

⁴⁷⁹ Isaac Ruíz Albéniz, *España en el Rif, Estudios del indígena y del país. Nuestra actuación de 12 años. La guerra del 21*, Tetuán, 1921, p. 42.

⁴⁸⁰ A. M. De la E. 'Ecos: El nacionalismo de Abdel Krim, *RTC*, julio 1925, p. 33

⁴⁸¹ Ballesteros, *El Imparcial*, 1909, p. 1.

⁴⁸² Villalta, *RTC*, 1924, p. 26.

⁴⁸³ Borrás, *La Esfera*, 1921, p. 16.

as intrinsic.⁴⁸⁴ However, the discourse examined throughout this section does not place Spain as a European colonial power in a position of strength, but rather in a position of vulnerability. In this way, while the construction of the colonial subject in other European discourses emphasises a discourse of power, in Spanish colonialism it reflects an awareness of a crisis of power.

3:2:2. Theories of degeneracy, anxieties about modernity, and the body

The Africanist press and mainstream peninsular newspapers and magazines generally do not represent the Moroccan Jews within the same framework of racial alterity as the Berbers. As discussed in the previous chapter, the predominant discourse towards the Jews is often admiring and inclusive, focusing on cultural bonds rather than racial difference. Although anti-Jewish rhetoric was not common in the Spanish press in the first three decades of the twentieth century, however, it was by no means absent.⁴⁸⁵ In fact, the image of Moroccan Sephardic culture put forward in the press during the colonial campaigns ranges from the romanticised portrayals of the Jews discussed in Chapter 2 as a ‘faithful echo’ of medieval Spain to the representations of physical and moral degeneracy and involvement in international political conspiracies that characterised the modern anti-Semitism of right-wing movements in Europe during this period. It is primarily the Catholic integrist press that shows a negative fascination with the Moroccan Jews. Under the

⁴⁸⁴ Said, 1995, p. 45.

⁴⁸⁵ For a discussion of anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism in Spain in the first four decades of the twentieth century, see Álvarez Chillida, *El antisemitismo en España: la imagen del judío, 1812-2002*, (2002) and Isabelle Rohr, *The Spanish Right and the Jews, 1898-1945* (2008).

protectorate, the Catholic Church declared its support for the colonial wars, and the ‘mission of the missions’ coincided with that of aggressive militarism. They viewed the patriotic spilling of Spanish blood as a worthy sacrifice for the sake of spreading Christian civilisation.⁴⁸⁶ In radical Catholic discourse, the Jews, who were held responsible for the crucifixion of Christ, were envisioned as the quintessential enemy of Christian civilisation alongside the Muslims, even though Christ himself was a Jew.

Julia Kristeva (1982), Zygmunt Bauman (1991), Slavoj Žižek (2006) and recently Erin Graff Zivin (2008) have examined the ways in which references to the Jewish body are inscribed with the larger social and aesthetic concerns of European and American cultures in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Kristeva notes that in the anti-Semitic fantasy, Jewish power is edged with fear because Jews are indistinguishable from the rest of society. They represent the invisible enemy concealed within the body of the nation, ‘[the Jew] is not only on our land and under our skin, he is the very closest neighbour, the nearly same, the one we do not differentiate’.⁴⁸⁷ Bauman argues that it is this perceived elusiveness that allows the Jew to become the ultimate scapegoat for a range of opposing anxieties.⁴⁸⁸ Graff Zivin builds upon Bauman’s notion of the ‘rhetorical malleability’ of the figure of the Jew in Latin American culture, where, she argues, the Jew acts as a ‘wandering signifier’, a mobile sign that travels between literary texts and socio-historical contexts, simultaneously

⁴⁸⁶ Mateo Dieste, 1997, p. 86.

⁴⁸⁷ Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1982.

⁴⁸⁸ Bauman in Erin Graff Zivin, *Rhetoric of Jewishness in the Latin American Imaginary*, Durham, Duke University Press, 2008.

embodying literary representations of Jewishness and anxiety surrounding difference.⁴⁸⁹

In contrast to the philosephardic discourses discussed in section 2.2.4, the qualities attributed to the Moroccan Jews in traditionalist discourse are typically anti-Semitic in their emphasis on the body as an outward display of moral degeneracy. Jews are represented in corporeal terms as soft and often crippled like hunchbacks, ‘con una suciedad repulsiva y característica’, and characteristic Semitic features like the ‘perfil aguileño’,⁴⁹⁰ which the aforementioned Africanist writer Tomás Borrás describes in dramatically racialised terms as ‘la señal, el sello, el distintivo, el estigma’.⁴⁹¹ A series of chronicles published by Borrás in *Nuevo mundo* presents a victimised but highly racialised portrayal of the Moroccan Jews, focusing on their physicality: ‘gente de labios blancos [...] lívidos, como si viviese sin sangre, con los ralos pelos de la barba haciendo más descuidado su aspecto enfermizo, envuelto en un caftán raído’.⁴⁹² While the physicality of the Muslim Berber man represents strength, vitality and martial prowess, Jewish men embody the opposite: emasculated bodies ‘sin espíritu guerrero’. Borrás portrays Jewish Moroccan men as ‘hebreos esqueléticos [...] llorosos como mujeres y débiles como recentales’.⁴⁹³ This portrayal is observed across different cultural expressions of anti-Semitism; in the words of Susan Bordo, ‘the Jewish man is forced to carry the shadow of softness, of castration, in the cultural psyche of Western masculinity’.⁴⁹⁴ If masculinity is associated with being active and occupying territory, the corruption of Jewish masculinity is heightened by the Jews’

⁴⁸⁹ Graff Zivin, 2008, p.2

⁴⁹⁰ Zozaya, *Mundo gráfico*, 1913, p.3.

⁴⁹¹ Tomás Borrás, ‘Un cristiano, un musulmán, y un hebreo’, *Nuevo mundo*, 22 agosto 1924, p. 39.

⁴⁹² Tomás Borrás ‘La pared de tela de araña: Novela inédita de costumbres marroquíes’, *Nuevo mundo*, 15 agosto 1924, p. 38.

⁴⁹³ Borrás, *Nuevo mundo*, 1924, p. 38.

⁴⁹⁴ Bordo, 1994, p. 270.

withdrawal to the 'feminised' environment of the city, specifically into the judería, which is imagined to be dark, stagnant, and diseased.

In this aspect, the urban environment that the Moroccan Jews inhabit, the judería or 'mellah', is seen to have an impact on the 'degeneracy' of the Jewish body and mind. The space of the mellah is described as 'cerrado', 'separado por completo', 'con muy pocas entradas, de calles retorcidas y sucias'. This type of vocabulary is sometimes used even in more liberal mainstream newspapers like *La Vanguardia*, which describes the Jewish quarter as 'mezquino e infecto' and its inhabitants as deformed.⁴⁹⁵ The dark and twisted architecture of the judería mirrors the perception of the bent over, diseased bodies of its male inhabitants. Likewise, the guardedness of the mellah, with its iron gates and high walls, is seen as a reflection of the exclusivism of the Jewish community. The Jews are stereotyped using a range of typically anti-Semitic attributes as an avaricious, cowardly, rapacious, evasive, hypocritical, duplicitous, and hard-hearted race, 'una raza exclusivista y dominadora',⁴⁹⁶ and 'astuta, tenaz, y habilidísima'.⁴⁹⁷

Unlike Philosephardism, which distinguishes the Sephardic Jews as a superior race because of their Spanish origins, or the discourse on the 'Moors', which also distinguishes the 'Arabs' of Iberian descent, Catholic traditionalism generally envisions the Jewish 'race' as a monolithic entity with the same corrupt characteristics across the world. The word 'raza' in early twentieth-century Spain was defined as synonymous to 'casta', which is understood as 'parte de los habitantes de un país que forma una clase especial, sin mezclarse

⁴⁹⁵ M. Fénech Muñoz, 'Crónicas marroquíes: El mellah', *La Vanguardia*, 29 enero 1921 p. 7.

⁴⁹⁶ See for example 'Excursiones por Marruecos: Los judíos', *El Siglo futuro*, 13 octubre, 1911, p. 2; G.F. Yañez, 'La cuestión semita', *El Siglo futuro*, 7 abril 1914, p. 1; 'Crónica de Marruecos: Otra vez los judíos', *El Siglo futuro* mayo 1935 p 4; Juan P. Estéban y Chavarría, 'El sionismo y la perfidia judaica', *El Siglo futuro* 31 agosto, 1921, p.1

⁴⁹⁷ Antonio Ballesteros Berreta, *El Debate*, 21 junio 1921, p.3.

con los demás, unas veces por considerarse privilegiada y otras por miserable y abatida'.⁴⁹⁸ The exclusivity and permanence that are at the core of this definition are also at the core of anti-Semitic conceptions of Jewish culture during this period.

El Siglo futuro, which was the main press organ of radical Carlism, declares, 'No varía el pueblo judío. Su característica es siempre la misma: el logro de un fin egoísta, servido por no importa qué medios, aunque sean los más bajos y criminales'.⁴⁹⁹ The more moderate Catholic publication *El Debate* claims that although the Jews in Morocco appeared to be Europeanised, 'en las mañanas siguen siendo hebreos'.⁵⁰⁰ In this aspect, the discourse of Jewish alterity also differs from that of Muslim alterity, which establishes a racial hierarchy of 'Moorish' cultures in Morocco and acknowledges the possibility of racial mixing and hybridity.⁵⁰¹ The Catholic traditionalist view is that although Jews may 'mix' with non-Jews, they will never 'fuse' with them.⁵⁰² This exclusion is reflected in the terminology that is used. While the terms 'sefardita' and 'hebreo español' are the most commonly used in philosephardic discourse, Catholic discourse prefers to refer to all Jews as 'judíos', a term that in this context carries negative racial connotations.

The most rabidly anti-Semitic articles in *El Siglo futuro* show a clear influence of degeneration theories and narratives of pathology centred on the body, which is somewhat ironic considering the modern scientific origins of

⁴⁹⁸ Real academia Española, *Diccionario de la lengua española*. XV edición, Madrid, Talleres Calpe, 1925, p. 257.

⁴⁹⁹ Estéban y Chavarría, 'El sionismo y la perfidia judaica', *El Siglo futuro* 31 agosto, 1921, p.1

⁵⁰⁰ *El Debate*, 2 agosto 1917, p. 1. *El Debate*, the organ of the CEDA, represented the moderate political Catholicism that, without renouncing the ideological foundations of traditionalism, becomes much more flexible and transigent with the liberal system in the 1910's (Álvarez Chillida, 2002, p. 274).

⁵⁰¹ See for example, Dugi 'Las razas del Rif', *La Esfera*, 12 noviembre 1921, p.9.

⁵⁰² 'La Propaganda sefardita', *El Siglo futuro*, 7 febrero 1920, p. 1

these theories and the radically anti-modern stance of the Carlists. Degeneration theory was first formulated in 1857 by the French psychiatrist Bénédict Morel, who established the influence of new social environments produced by European modernity – crowded, unsanitary working-class suburbs – as one of the drivers of degeneration. It was believed that these conditions could produce little else but brutalised and immoral individuals who would continue degenerating physically and morally throughout generations of urban existence.⁵⁰³ *El Siglo futuro* takes the image of the diseased Jewish body both as a reflection of the supposedly corrupt character of the Jewish ‘race’ and as a product of the unsanitary living conditions in the Jewish quarters of Moroccan cities. The newspaper describes the Jews as having ‘una suciedad repulsiva’, prone to all types of diseases, in particular leprosy and measles,⁵⁰⁴ which is worsened by the fact that they are ‘agglomerated’ in the Jewish quarters, ‘esos centros [que] infestan el aire y envenenan la sangre, pues donde hay judíos se encuentran seguramente los parásitos, la suciedad, y las enfermedades’.⁵⁰⁵ Tomás Borrás describes the Jewish community of Morocco as ‘degenerada por el terror y la miseria [...] El linfatismo, la anemia, decoloraban los cuerpos esqueléticos. Las casas, verdaderas mazmorras’.⁵⁰⁶

In this sense, Jews are seen as both a cause and a product of disease and degeneracy, ‘agravan las enfermedades del país y se alimentan de ellas’.⁵⁰⁷ This discourse is biologically deterministic in its portrayal of a culture that has become subject as a result of its environment and the ‘hereditary’ nature of the

⁵⁰³ Richard Cleminson and Teresa Fuentes Peris, ‘La Mala Vida: Source and Focus of Degeneration, Degeneracy, and Decline’, *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 10.4, 2009, pp. 385-397, p. 385

⁵⁰⁴ G.F. Yañez, ‘La cuestión semita’, *El Siglo futuro*, 7 abril 1914, p. 1.

⁵⁰⁵ ‘Excursiones por Marruecos: Los judíos’, *El Siglo futuro* 13 octubre, 1911, p. 2.

⁵⁰⁶ Borrás, *Nuevo mundo*, 1924, p. 36.

⁵⁰⁷ ‘Excursiones por Marruecos: Los judíos’, *El Siglo futuro* 13 octubre, 1911, p. 2

moral and physical characteristics of its individuals. The image of Jewish bodies clustered in a filthy urban environment, which also appears in Nazi and Eastern European anti-Semitic portrayals of the ghetto, and the use of the parasitical metaphor, another common trope of Nazi rhetoric, demonstrates that languages of degeneration and anti-Semitism in modern Europe were transnational. Jews are likened to ‘gusanos y parásitos’,⁵⁰⁸ ‘una legión de aves negras, buitres insaciables, vampiros sedientos’.⁵⁰⁹ The vampirical simile is used as an unfounded and vague accusation of the Moroccan Jews conspiring with Abdel Krim’s resistance movement, enriching themselves by the blood shed by Spanish soldiers.

In many aspects, anti-Semitism is the quintessential example of how degeneration theory served as a pathological signifier for the anxieties of societies undergoing a process of modernisation. Individual bodies are inscribed with concerns of racial and moral degeneracy in the modern city, while the collective ‘body’ and ‘spirit’ of the Jewish ‘race’ is associated with emerging transnational political and social movements that are seen as posing a severe danger to European society. The Catholic press in Spain makes reference to the ‘deep concern’ of all other nations for growing Semitic influence in the press, in politics, in the financial sector, and the fear of communism, which had begun to destabilise Europe after the First World War. For example, *El Debate* declares:

El poder judaico se ha entronizado imprudentemente sobre las naciones arruinadas por la guerra europea [...] Infundiendo al mundo el concepto materialista de la civilización, la degradación de la interpretación económica de la historia y de los destinos de la humanidad, el industrialismo y el mercantilismo, que corren la sociedad moderna [...] mentando y explotando todos los movimientos subversivos

⁵⁰⁸ ‘Excursiones por Marruecos: Los judíos’, *El Siglo futuro*, 1911, p. 2.

⁵⁰⁹ Andrés Flores, ‘La invasion judía’, *El Siglo futuro*, 3 junio, 1935, p. 6.

inspirados en el evangelio de Karl Marx [...] Y así vemos a los judíos en medio de la fase más aguda de ese largo proceso de corrupción universal.⁵¹⁰

The newspaper articulates the narrative of Jewish conspiracy that was adopted by nationalist movements across Europe in the early twentieth century, which associated the Jews with the opposing forces of modern revolutionary movements and capitalism. Conspiracy theories are especially common in the Carlist press with its deep-seated hostility to liberalism. *El Siglo futuro* describes the Jew in allusion to Karl Marx, ‘eminente revolucionario’⁵¹¹ ‘amo del Bolchevismo,’⁵¹² and claims that the Zionist movement conceals a plot for worldwide Jewish domination,⁵¹³ that Judaism and Freemasonry are one entity,⁵¹⁴ and that establishing a close relationship with Moroccan Jewish communities will allow them to begin controlling Spanish commerce and finance.⁵¹⁵ Hence, whereas the ‘Moors’ are associated with pre-modernity - fanaticism, barbarity, and primitive culture- in traditionalist anti-Sephardic writing, the Jews are associated with the political and social threats of modernity.

Where philosephardic writers portray Sephardic Jews as profoundly patriotic, anti-Sephardic writers portray them as the ultimate anti-patriots. They are viewed as ‘el pueblo sin patria’, dispersed among the nations but loyal to none except their own race, plotting conspiracy and destruction in every culture that harbours them. ‘Los judíos [...] no habían sentido nunca el ideal nacionalista; fueron, y siguen siendo, refractarios a la diferenciación nacional y

⁵¹⁰ ‘Semitismo inoportuno’, *El Debate*, 16 abril 1921, p. 1.

⁵¹¹ Yañez, ‘La cuestión semita’, *El Siglo futuro*, 1914, p. 1.

⁵¹² ‘La Propaganda sefardita’, *El Siglo futuro*, 7 febrero, 1920, p. 1

⁵¹³ Estéban y Chavarría, *El Siglo futuro*, 1921, p. 1.

⁵¹⁴ Mirabal, ‘Judíos y judiazantes’ *El Siglo futuro*, 5 diciembre 1930, p. 1. This association found its way into Franco’s discourse during the Civil War and in the decades following.

⁵¹⁵ ‘La propaganda sefardita’, *El Siglo futuro*, 27 febrero, 1920, p.1

sentimiento patriótico’, writes *El Debate*. ‘En todos los países de la tierra constituyen un Estado dentro del Estado; las Comunidades hebreas se comunican como asociaciones secretas, defendiendo sus propios intereses’.⁵¹⁶ In response to the Philosephardic movement’s aim to repatriate the Sephardic Jews, the newspaper warns that the Jews will never renounce their ultimate loyalty to the Jewish community.⁵¹⁷

Bauman has argued that in European anti-Semitism, the Jewish signifier becomes ‘an empty vehicle, ready to be filled with whatever despicable load they were charged of carrying’.⁵¹⁸ However, for Spain the conception of the Jew is not an empty vehicle, but rather a vehicle heavily loaded with cultural significance. The integration of Jewish conversos into Christian society in medieval Spain and the widespread fears of racial miscegenation and ‘marrano’ conspiracy and contamination that emerged after the 1492 expulsion edict resulted in the infamous blood purity decrees. Beginning in the city of Toledo in 1449, the ‘limpieza de sangre’ statutes prohibited people of Jewish descent from practising certain elite professions or holding public office on the grounds that degenerate Jewish blood was impervious to Christian baptism and grace. Given the lack of clear external indicators of difference, an internal difference thus had to be posited: race.⁵¹⁹ The seeds of modern European anxieties about the ‘invisible’ Jew can be traced back to this fear of the converso.⁵²⁰ In his dictionary of the Spanish language, the sixteenth century Spanish lexicographer Sebastián de Covarrubias defined ‘raza’ as synonymous with ‘blood’ and

⁵¹⁶Antonio Ballesteros Berreta, *El Debate*, 21 junio 1921, p.3.

⁵¹⁷ ‘Semitismo inoportuno’, *El Debate*, 16 abril 1921, p. 1.

⁵¹⁸ Bauman in Graff Zivin, 2008, p. 4.

⁵¹⁹ Martín-Márquez, 2008, p. 13.

⁵²⁰ Graff Zivin, 2008, p. 2

‘religion’. In the context of sixteenth century Spain, the category of race was co-constituted with religion, and Christian Europe’s religious/racial Others were the Muslims and the Jews. In Catholic discourse in the twentieth century, religion constitutes the key additional character that distinguishes races. In this sense, although they are attributed different characteristics, the Jews are often grouped together with Muslims as ‘auxiliares de los moros’.⁵²¹

A prime example of this co-racialisation of Muslims and Jews is found in a study published in 1918 by a Franciscan friar in Tetuán known as ‘Africano’ Fernández, *España en África y el peligro judío: Apuntes de un testigo*.⁵²² In his prologue, Fernández protests the fact that most studies on the Moroccan protectorate are centred on the Muslim Moroccan population, when in his opinion the Jews are a matter of greater importance, and ‘greater transcendence’ for Spain. He invokes the expulsion of the Jews and Moriscos as a pivotal historical event:

Aquel otro pueblo, aquella otra raza, la israelita, que hemos juntamente arrojado [con la musulmana] de nuestro suelo, porque lo quisimos puro... expatriamos con los opresores a los explotadores, raza de la que sabemos que también vive allí,-decrépita. Arrastrando una vida inútil, parásita. Miserable, adherida al más réprobo y vicioso de sus hijos, al que más se ha apartado del espíritu y de la ley del Antiguo Testamento, al mahometismo.⁵²³

Fernández’s categorisation of the Jews as a ‘decrepit’ race and his use of the motif of contamination again evokes a modern language of social Darwinism, supporting the argument that religious anti-Judaism and racial anti-

⁵²¹ See for example G.F. Yañez, ‘Nuestra cruz y nuestras glorias’, *El Siglo futuro* 27 julio 1921, p. 1.

⁵²² The book accuses the Philosephardites of being the hobbyhorse of Freemasons and opposes the educational initiatives of the alianza hispano-hebreas, which sought to build Spanish schools for the Moroccan Jewish population to help preserve the Castilian language in these communities. Franciscan missions had been established in North Africa in the fifteenth century and had maintained a presence in Morocco since then, although their influence was limited to European Christian communities, even in the twentieth century, a constraint that Fernández clearly resents.

⁵²³ Africano Fernández, *España en África y el problema judío: apuntes de un Testigo*, Ceuta, 1918, p. 13.

Semitism cannot be fully extricated from each other. Spanish Catholic constructions of racial alterity borrow from modern forms of racial anti-Semitism in all of the aspects discussed above, and yet Fernández' reference to the 'transcendence' of the Jewish problem for Spain indicates that Spanish Catholic anti-Semitism is ultimately grounded in the medieval Iberian religious conflict between Jews and Christians. Where Philosephardism conveniently ignores the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, Catholic traditionalism invokes it as a glorious and necessary event for maintaining the purity of the Spanish nation, which is sometimes conceived as religious purity and other times as racial purity. As a result, arguably more than any other European nation at the time, Spain's construction of Sephardic Jewish culture, whether anti-Sephardic or philosephardic, is a question of self-identity. As Américo Castro writes, 'la historia del resto de Europa puede entenderse sin necesidad de situar a los judíos en un primer término, la de España, no'.⁵²⁴ In other words, the way that Spanish commentators represent Jewish culture in the twentieth century is intrinsically tied up in the way they engage with Spain's own Jewish past and whether they embrace or reject its cultural influences.

3:2:3. Moroccan 'Moors' and Jews and the Uncanny

The Otherness of the Jew and the 'Moor' represent what Bhabha terms 'an articulation of difference contained within the fantasy of origin and identity'.⁵²⁵

Spanish traditionalists regarded Catholicism as the essence of Castilian cultural identity, consolidated in a 700-year war against Muslim invaders and

⁵²⁴ Castro, 1948, p. 470.

⁵²⁵ Homi Bhabha, 'The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination, and the Discourse of Colonialism', in *Nation and Narration*, 2012, p. 96.

culminating in the conquest of Granada and the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, which resulted in the political and religious unification of the nation. This Catholic ‘crusade’ continued through the Golden Age of imperialism, when Spain spread the gospel in the new world and defended the Christian faith in Europe through the Inquisition. However, the decline of religious orthodoxy beginning in the eighteenth century and the penetration of foreign and ‘anti-Spanish’ ideas in Spain through the Enlightenment was regarded as the cause of the decline and corruption of the nation.⁵²⁶

Scholars have commented on the phenomenal success of this traditionalist ‘whitewashing’ of Spanish history after 1492, whereby a hegemonic view of the nation-state was constructed by erasing all remnants of Islamic and Jewish influence and by creating the myth of Spain as an integrally Catholic nation with a historical mission to defend Christian civilisation against its quintessential enemies: the ‘Moors’ and the Jews.⁵²⁷ Goytisolo argues that the binary opposition between Spain and the ‘Moor’ in particular is embedded in Spanish culture: ‘la afirmación de lo propio recae igualmente simultanea e indivisa sobre la catolicidad y la hispanidad, como la negación de lo ajeno recae igualmente simultanea e indivisa sobre la religión y la nación del intruso [el moro]’.⁵²⁸ This opposition is summarised by *El Siglo futuro*:

La lucha contra la morisma forma el núcleo de nuestra historia, sirvió de base a nuestra actual nacionalidad [...] En esa lucha se forjó nuestro carácter, y ella fue la preparación de las razas ibéricas para hacerlas capaces de las maravillosas hazañas que realizaron en los siglos XVI y XVII [...] Quizás forme parte de nuestra misión indiscutible de sostener y propagar la civilización católica... acabar con el error mahometano, fuente de barbarie y opuesto a toda civilización, cultura, y verdad.⁵²⁹

⁵²⁶ This narrative was renovated by Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo in his monumental work *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles* (1881-1886). It was further developed in the early decades of the twentieth century notably by Ramiro de Maeztu and Manuel García Morente and was incorporated into Francoist ideology after the Civil War and propagated until the end of the regime.

⁵²⁷ Martín-Márquez, 2008, p. 4.

⁵²⁸ Goytisolo, 1982, p. 8.

⁵²⁹ G.F. Yañez, ‘Nuestra cruz y nuestras glorias’, *El Siglo futuro*, 27 julio 1921, p. 1.

This image of the nation remained largely uncontested until the nineteenth century and continued to be propagated in the modern period by right-wing ideologues, notably Ramón Menéndez Pelayo and Ramiro de Maeztu. It would ultimately be incorporated into the discourse of the Francoist regime, paradoxically alongside the discourse of Hispano-Moroccan brotherhood.⁵³⁰ In his *Defensa de la Hispanidad* (1934), which would become part of the canon of Francoist ‘national’ literature, Ramiro de Maeztu writes:

El carácter español se ha formado en lucha multiseccular contra los moros y contra los judíos. Frente al fatalismo musulmán se ha ido cristalizando la persuasión hispánica de la libertad del hombre, de su capacidad de persuasión. Frente a los judíos, que son el pueblo más exclusivista de la tierra, se forjó nuestro sentimiento de catolicidad, de universalidad.⁵³¹

The above examples encapsulate the key distinction made between the two ‘races’ in traditionalist discourse and the transcendent yet historically rooted cultural symbols and anxieties that are projected onto them. For Maeztu, the Muslim ‘race’ is fatalistic, the Jewish ‘race’ exclusivist. For Fernández and the Carlist writers of *El Siglo futuro*, the ‘Moors’ are oppressors, barbarians, the antithesis to European Christian civilisation, threatening it at its borders. The Jews on the other hand are exploiters, a decrepit and sinister presence *within* the boundaries of the nation. The ‘Moors’ represent a military threat, a ‘savage’ and violent enemy that openly threatens Spanish men on the battlefields of Morocco, but this threat is contained at the geographical boundaries of Spain, at least during the Rif War.⁵³² On the other hand, the Jews are imagined as a threat that extends far beyond the boundaries of North Africa. They threaten the body of

⁵³⁰ See for example *Intransiciones: Crítica de la cultura española*, ed. Eduardo Subirats, Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva, 2002.

⁵³¹ Maeztu, 1935, p. 205.

⁵³² During the Civil War, the arrival of Moroccan troops on Spanish soil to fight alongside the Nationalists represents the return of the ‘Moors’ to Spain, however, because the Church supported the Nationalist uprising, no mention was made of their ‘alliance’ with the historic enemy of the Catholic faith.

the nation rather than the individual, causing destruction subtly, like a ‘garra invisible’ that drains the life out of it or like a disease that contaminates it.⁵³³

Fernández describes this threat as ‘la táctica tenebrosa del pueblo sin patria, infiltrándose en la vida española, prevaleciendo del disimulo, del silencio, de las sombras’.⁵³⁴ These anxieties are written onto the bodies of Moroccan Muslims and Jews: the body of the ‘Moor’ is the Other as aggressor, the body of the Jew the Other as subtle contaminator.

These examples clearly demonstrate that the traditionalist articulation of difference is intrinsically an articulation of self-identity. It is a narrative of identity in which the Spanish character was forged against Muslim fatalism and Jewish exclusivism and in which its racial and religious purity was achieved through the expulsion of these ‘impure’ elements from the body of the Iberian Peninsula. Whereas in the discourse of brotherhood, Spain is envisioned as racially hybrid and the boundaries between Spain and North Africa as unstable, here cultural, racial, and religious boundaries are envisioned as rigid and impermeable. As *El Telegrama del Rif* writes, ‘frente a frente las dos razas, las dos religiones secularmente enemigas, la cristiana y la musulmana, latentes siempre los odios, jamás se ha podido ni se podrá hacer una obra sólida de compenetración’.⁵³⁵ And yet this binary opposition is rooted in the historical fact of the coexistence of Muslims, Jews and Christians on the Iberian Peninsula. The opposition is edified, as *Mundo gráfico* writes, ‘después de haberse trasfundido la sangre, de haber cavado en los mismos huertos, orado en las

⁵³³ See Andrés Flores, ‘Los judíos en España: La garra invisible’, *El Siglo futuro* 3 junio 1935, p. 6

⁵³⁴ Fernández, 1918, p. 8.

⁵³⁵ Paravichino, ‘La asimilación por matrimonio: enseñanzas históricas’, *El Telegrama del Rif* 12 mayo 1925, p. 1

mismas mezquitas, sollozado en las mismas guzlas'.⁵³⁶ As a result, the fantasy of cultural and racial purity is the focal point of a discourse in which the impossibility of purity emerges as a void around which a threatened national identity is constituted.⁵³⁷ Catholic fantasies of Spanish origin and identity are ultimately constructed not only in opposition to Muslims and Jews, but also through the repression of their influence on Spain's cultural heritage.

In his seminal essay on the uncanny (1919), Sigmund Freud associates the uncanny with the return of the repressed, defining it as nothing new or strange, but something that was long familiar to the psyche and was estranged from it through being repressed.⁵³⁸ It is more than merely a frightening apparition, it is that species of the frightening that involves the return of the primitive in an apparently modern context, the haunting of our own and our culture's disowned past.⁵³⁹ This sense of recognition of a figure from its own pre-modern past is clear in Spanish encounters with the Muslims and Jews of Morocco. The Moroccan Jew is sinister because of his transcendent character 'a través de todas las civilizaciones, épocas, y mudanzas',⁵⁴⁰ which is rooted in medieval Iberian racial and cultural fantasies about Jewish conspiracy, the ritual murder of Christians, and the threat of contamination of Christian blood. Both 'Moors' and Jews are envisioned as possessing an enduring visceral innate hatred of Christians.⁵⁴¹ Likewise, the fearful Berber enemy is directly associated with the Muslims that were expelled from Spain in 1492, 'señores de horca y

⁵³⁶ Antonio Zozaya, *Mundo gráfico*, 1913, p.3.

⁵³⁷ Graff Zivin, 2008, p. 40

⁵³⁸ Sigmund Freud, *The Uncanny*, London, Penguin, 2003, 124.

⁵³⁹ Hugh Haughton, Introduction, *The Uncanny*, by Sigmund Freud, London, Penguin, 2003, p. xlii

⁵⁴⁰ Yáñez, *El Siglo futuro*, 1914, p. 1.

⁵⁴¹ See for example F. de Villalta, 'Los 'Braber' o bereberes', *RTC*, julio 1924, p. 26; La cuestión semita', *El Siglo futuro*, 8 abril, 1914, p. 1; Luis López Ballesteros, 'Mi estafeta de la guerra', *El Imparcial*, 13 agosto 1909, p. 1.

cuchillo’, the Turks that were defeated in the battle of Lepanto, and the Berber pirates that Spain had fought against over the centuries. The ‘Moor’ is therefore also constructed as a transcendent figure in Spanish history. As *La Esfera* writes, ‘Y al cabo de los siglos allí está otra vez, al otro lado del valle de Gibraltar, tinta en sangre española, la lucha con África, la lucha con la morisma [...] el moro terrible y fiera que llama a la muerte’.⁵⁴²

In this context, the body of the Moroccan ‘Moor’ is uncanny in itself, inspiring fear because it was once well known and had long been familiar. Until the colonisation of Morocco, the ‘Moor’ had remained for centuries largely a figure in the Spanish collective imagination, but during the colonial campaigns it suddenly takes on a corporeal presence.⁵⁴³ Its threat to the Spanish nation is no longer metaphysical but physical, embodied in the formidable Berber enemy on the battlefields of Morocco, so that what had been limited to cultural myth and history became part of a present reality. *Mundo gráfico* describes the unsettling fear that Berber colonial troops inspired in their visit to Madrid in 1913, writing: ‘las gentes, atónitas han visto por primera vez una verdadera legión africana [...] gozosa de ser admirada en la capital del pueblo cristiano que hace seis siglos arrojó a sus antepasados de su seno’.⁵⁴⁴

References to the Jews as the quintessential enemies of Spain are largely limited to traditionalist publications. References to a recurring, ‘ancestral confrontation’ between Spain and the ‘Moors’ (‘la guerra del moro’, ‘la lucha contra la morisma’ ‘la lucha con África’), however, appear across cultural representations of Morocco, from colonial discourse, to the metropolitan

⁵⁴² Usera, *La Esfera*, 1928, p. 8.

⁵⁴³ Beginning with those led by General O’Donnell in 1859.

⁵⁴⁴ Zozaya, *Mundo gráfico*, 1913, p. 3.

revolutionary press, to popular culture. *Mundo gráfico* refers to the ‘sinistra visión de la lucha secular e impía,’ drawing links between medieval battles and the colonial confrontations of Barranco del Lobo, Gurugú, and Annual.⁵⁴⁵ *RR* calls its readers to remember the last battle of the Reconquest. In 1924, the colonial administration held an event on the Saint’s day of Santiago ‘Matamoros’ to commemorate, as the *Telegrama del Rif* reported, the officers who lost their lives in the campaigns of the ‘Reconquista’ launched to regain the territory lost after the battle of Annual.⁵⁴⁶ A popular song from the Rif War begins: ‘Que me las voy a guillar/ a la Guerra del Moro/ que se han vuelto a levantar’.⁵⁴⁷ The last line, in its depiction of the revenant ‘Moor’, indicates the association of the Moroccan enemy in the Rif War with the ‘Moorish’ enemy in the Reconquista. The word ‘levantar’, as well as describing the uprising of the Berbers to resist the colonial incursion, invokes this eerie image of the ‘Moor’ as a familiar figure that is rising, or revenant, from a medieval past. The widespread emphasis on the conflict against the Muslims rather than the Jews is clearly derived from the fact that the colonial resistance movement emerged from Berber Muslims, not from the Sephardic Jewish community of Morocco.

The uncanny is inextricably bound up with a sense of repetition or coming back. It is disturbing because it involves the constant resurgence of the same thing, the repetition of the same facial features, the same characters, the same destinies and the same misdeeds, through successive generations.⁵⁴⁸ In the Spanish collective imagination, the war against Morocco is itself uncanny because it forms part of a wider cultural narrative of the perpetual return of the

⁵⁴⁵ Zozaya, *Mundo gráfico*, 1913, p. 3

⁵⁴⁶ En honor del apóstol Santiago’, *El Telegrama del Rif*, 26 julio 1924, p.1.

⁵⁴⁷ Me las voy a guillar’, in Gil Muñoz, 2002, p. 249.

⁵⁴⁸ Freud, 2003, p. 142.

‘Moor’ and the constant struggle against him. As *La Esfera* declares, ‘esta guerra contra el moro, reproducida cada poco tiempo, sólo el pueblo español está capacitado para sostenerla’.⁵⁴⁹ Freud argues that the uncanny forces us to entertain the idea of the fateful and inescapable.⁵⁵⁰ In the traditionalist fantasy of Catholic identity, the struggle against the ‘Moors’ is Spain’s unavoidable mission, its eternal cross to bear.⁵⁵¹ This notion of perpetual struggle affirms the argument presented earlier that Spanish representations of the Berber race reflect a self-conscious discourse of failed domination rather than an assertive discourse of domination. If the ‘Moor’ is constantly returning to threaten Spain, then the struggle is never won, and if the essence of national identity is forged in the struggle, then the process of identity construction is never fully achieved. The return of the ‘Moor’, always uncanny in its familiarity, will therefore always cause Spain to question its identity in relation to the ‘Moor’, an Other that once formed part of the Iberian self. In this view, Spanish constructions of Muslim culture conform to the post-colonial critic Robert Young’s interpretation of the Orient as the West’s own dislocation from itself, ‘something inside that is presented, narrativized, as being outside’.⁵⁵² Or as Goytisolo writes, the ‘Moor’ is ‘la imagen exterior de nosotros que nos interroga e inquieta... proyección de cuanto censuramos en nuestro fuero interno’.⁵⁵³

⁵⁴⁹ Usera, *La Esfera*, 1928, p. 8.

⁵⁵⁰ Freud, 2003, p. 144.

⁵⁵¹ Yañez, *El Siglo futuro*, 1921, p. 1.

⁵⁵² Robert Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and The West*, London, Routledge, 2004.

⁵⁵³ Goytisolo, 1982, p. 8.

Appendix 5



Figure 1: Jose Simon Valdivielso, 'La Antigua paganía Bereber', *ABC*, 28 febrero 1925



LOS AISAUAS EN MEQUINEZ. - Durante la pascua del Molad, aniversario del nacimiento de Mahoma - cerca lugar en Mequinez la gran peregrinación en honor del fundador de la cofradía Aisaua, Sidi Mohammed Ben Aisa, nacido y enterrado en dicha ciudad (1524). Allí concurren los aliados de todo el Imperio más Sines de fagnas vecinas. En masas de millares realizan las consuetas públicas externas de esta cofradía efectuando un espectáculo de epilepsia colectiva, quizá único en el mundo. De él dan idea las presentes fotografías.

Figure 2: Photo Ferrer, 'Los Aisaua en Mequinez', *África*, octubre 1929, p. 15.

3:3. Textual representations in literature

3:3:1. Masculinised alterity

Carmen de Burgos, *En la guerra*

Carmen de Burgos' novella on the Rif War, *En la guerra* (1909) combines the literary features of melodrama and naturalism to construct a Manichean dichotomy between Spain and North Africa that draws on evolutionary theories, traditionalist notions of the historic opposition between Spain and the 'Moors', and a long-established European Orientalist imagination. This section examines how within this binary opposition, the Moroccan body becomes a significant indicator of the racial and moral difference of North Africans. It also explores how images of the Spanish body emerge as a signifier of Burgos' anxieties concerning cultural/racial contamination and Spain's non-difference from North Africa.

En la guerra takes a positivistic approach to questions of civilised nature, race, and degeneracy. Although positivism suffered setbacks in Europe as a whole at the end of the century as reason and science were deemed insufficient to explain the world, positivist notions of degeneration, organicism, and evolutionary thought informed Spanish social science well into the twentieth century, particularly within Krausism, a liberal intellectual trend that Carmen de Burgos identified with.⁵⁵⁴ Unlike Giménez Caballero, who draws on scientific theories of race and ethnicity to explore the potential hybridity of Spain and its racial ties to Morocco, Burgos employs evolutionary theories to justify the racial

⁵⁵⁴ Cleminson and Fuentes Peris, 2009, p. 390.

difference of Moroccans. Burgos' representations of Moroccan 'Moors' reflect the hegemonic racial hierarchies established in French and Spanish colonialism, such as her physiological distinction between Riffians and Arabs, 'de facciones más dulces e inteligentes que los moros rifeños,' and her observation of the separation of ethnic 'castes' in Melilla.⁵⁵⁵ Her portrayal of Riffian women in particular, which will be discussed in further detail in the next section, is biologically deterministic much in the same way as Catholic portrayals of Jews, emphasising the environmental and 'hereditary' influences on the bodies of Moroccans. 'Prematuramente maduras bajo el sol de llamas de aquel abrasador clima africano', Burgos writes, 'las moras eran todas feas, deformadas, negras' (53). These female inhabitants of the Rif are constructed as the abject product of their filthy environment and of the atavistic traditions of Muslim societies, which from Burgos' perspective as a self-defined modern woman were unnaturally repressive.

Likewise, the narrator of the novella cites the French naturalist Lamarck's theory of transformism — which claimed that acquired traits could be inherited and transmitted down the generations — in her description of a group of Riffian children: 'Nada hacía recordar tanto las teorías del transformismo como aquellos muchachos; parecían animalillos ariscos y medio salvajes, feos, de facciones fuertemente acusadas y negra tez' (29). Her emphasis on physical ugliness and hereditary features is naturalistic in the sense that it promotes a view of individuals as passive victims of their social environment. It also serves to reinforce the contrast between the Aryan-looking Spanish heroine and the Moroccans she interacts with.

⁵⁵⁵ Carmen de Burgos, *En la guerra*, Valencia, F. Semperey Compañía, editores, 1909, p. 20.

In *En la guerra* the ‘difference’ between North Africa and Spain is formulated according to the same concept of race that is articulated in the press, which fuses biology, geographical location, culture, religion, and history as markers of difference. However, this difference is fictionalised in a manner that reflects the long-established European Orientalist imagination, which provides a basis for the ‘knowledge’ of the Orient. The novella is an Orientalist text according to Said’s definition of Orientalism in terms of its acceptance of a basic distinction between East and West and its use of a European body of historical myth, fantasy, and literature to construct an image of North Africa. The narrator describes Tunesian Arabs in the marketplace in reference to Orientalist legends: ‘moros con la mirada vaga, perdida, como si viesen dibujados entre el humo los lejanos paisajes de recuerdos o ensueños. Evocaban las figuras de aquellos mágicos mercaderes de Bagdad [...] de los cuentos de Scherazada’ (20). When Alina asks a group of young children (‘moritos’) why they adorn themselves with ornate henna designs, one child responds, ‘¡fantasía!’ Alina notes that their dirty appearance ‘no estaba de acuerdo con su vieja poesía legendaria’ (30). In the description of the Mantaleta, the central bazaar in Melilla, the narrator proclaims, ‘véase claramente el deseo de atraer a los forasteros con la evocación de las leyendas, que no podían sustituir dentro de su atmósfera europea’ (19), suggesting that the Moroccans are aware of, and choose to exploit, European views about the exotic Orient. By ‘clearly’ seeing their strategy, the narrator seems to be aware of her own Orientalist perspective in her claim that she has avoided succumbing to the allure of this evocation of legends. Burgos invocation of images from an Orientalist canon supports Said’s theory of the symbiotic relationship between European fiction and the construction of the image of the

‘Other’. This relationship is illustrated by Pedro Antonio de Alarcón’s description of the first ‘Moor’ he encounters in Morocco, ‘era un verdadero moro, eso es, un moro de novela’.⁵⁵⁶

And yet, like many other Spanish writers, Burgos draws attention to the geographical, cultural, and racial closeness between Spain and North Africa. This concept of brotherhood appears fleetingly throughout the narrative. She explores geographical ties in her description of the Strait, ‘el mediterráneo, tendido entre los dos pedazos de tierra hermana, era más bien el lago que unía sus riberas que la línea divisoria de la frontera de los continentes’ (23), and of the Moroccan landscape of Río de Oro and the Gurugú and Camarú mountains, which the narrator compares to Burgos’ homeland on the Andalusian coast of Níjar and the mountains of Rodalquilar (23). The notion of cultural ties underlies the narrator’s observations of the similar customs of Moroccan peasants and the ‘campesinos’ of Granada and Almería (23), and the subjugation of women in Spain as a ‘Moorish’ legacy, ‘costumbre que dejaron los moros en España [...] un espíritu atávico que indica los siglos de nuestro atraso’ (14). The fraternal bond is also referenced when the Spanish army celebrates mass against a backdrop of the sound of shots and artillery being fired on a nearby village and Alina is reminded of the Biblical passage, ‘si al ir á depositar tu ofrenda recuerdas que tu hermano está enfadado contigo, deja tu ofrenda al pie del altar y corre á desenajar a tu hermano’ (25).⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵⁶ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 1880, p. 34. Alarcón famously chronicled the Moroccan campaigns of 1859 (see Chapter 1 for more details).

⁵⁵⁷ This statement evokes a wider, cosmopolitan notion of the brotherhood of humanity. In the early twentieth century, the freethinking organisations that Burgos would become closely involved with, such as the Republican party and the Freemasons, promoted an ideal of a cosmopolitan society that transcended gender, class, ethnic, political, religious, and national boundaries. The influence of cosmopolitanism is expressed through Alina in her pantheist view of religion and in her anti-war stance. Burgos includes a cosmopolitanist quote by the Italian revolutionary Guiseppe Mazzini in the

This similarity causes the narrator of *En la guerra* to speculate that the cause of the Rif War is fratricidal, ‘tal vez el origen común de las razas y el anhelo de iguales destinos históricos eran las causas principales de la rivalidad y del odio entre los pueblos español y marroquí’ (23). Another hesitant recognition of cultural bonds appears in a conversation between two officers before the battle. Once proclaims of the ‘Moors’, ‘nosotros somos los civilizados,’ to which his companion replies with the same tentative recognition, ‘tal vez’ (31). The hesitant expression ‘tal vez’ implies a reluctance to accept these common origins between the two cultures. Likewise, it is notable that her references to ‘brotherhood’ are rooted primarily in comparisons between Morocco and Andalucía, which Burgos refers to as ‘esa tierra mora’ in her *Prometeo* autobiography, not Spain as a whole.⁵⁵⁸ In her novels set in her Andalusian hometown of Rodalquilar such as *Los inadaptados* (1909), *Venganza* (1918) and *El último contrabandista* (1922), Burgos explores the physical and moral degeneracy of Andalusian peasants in a similar manner to the way she does with Moroccans. As she contemplates the Spanish army, Alina is described as feeling ‘orgullosa de haber nacido en la tierra española con la superioridad innegable de una raza ennoblecida por la selección natural del sentimiento, única digna de tenerse en cuenta en el origen común de los humanos’ (37). This statement reveals that despite an acknowledgement of the ties between Spain and North Africa, the novella maintains a hierarchy of racial and moral difference.

Burgos’ novella also projects the notion of moral alterity being inherent in ethnic alterity. Obsequiousness, treachery, greed, and false flattery are applied to Moroccan Muslim characters, stereotypes that have formed part of Spanish

prologue to the novella: ‘Todos los hombres tienen el mismo origen, todos deben ser sometidos a la misma ley, y todos están destinados al mismo fin’ (11).

⁵⁵⁸ Colombine, ‘Autobiografía’, *Prometeo* 2.10 (1909), p. 41.

cultural attitudes towards Muslims since the sixteenth century.⁵⁵⁹ In her portrayal of the ‘Moorish’ vendors in the Mantaleta, Burgos writes: ‘Se veía en todos ellos los traidores a su raza y a su patria, que se doblegaban arteramente, no por convencimiento, sino por interés’ (20). When Alina visits a Riffian tribe with her husband’s regiment, the tribal leader Kebdana welcomes the Spanish with lavish praise:

Su mirada se fijaba con cariño en los españoles y repetía á cada momento en mal castellano, á pesar de haberlo cogido con las armas y en campaña: Yo ser amigo [...] yo amar España [...] los míos tres mil ir a Madrid á besar pies del rey y entregarles fusiles [...] yo ser amigo (38).

In Burgos’ narrative, deceitfulness and treachery are the principal attributes of the Moroccans. Their general desire is to exploit the Spanish in whatever capacity they can from their subjugated position. Rebellion against and hatred of their oppressor, which she calls ‘el odio secreto del esclavo’ and which suggest racist colonialist notions of Europeans as the ‘master’ race, are portrayed as an innate characteristic of Moroccan society.

As the previous section notes, racial theories during the age of imperialism presented physical characteristics as outward markers of less observable internal traits, such as psychology and morality. In her fictional construction of race, which allows Burgos to emphasise more dramatic and fearful features, the body of the Berber becomes the central signifier of the racial and moral difference of North Africans. This process of othering is exemplified in the following passage:

Y eso que aquello [las guerras carlistas] era pelear con cristianos, hombres como ellos, no rifeños de doble estatura, feos como demonios, que con los ropajes de fantasmas se precipitaban desde las lomas dando gritos extraños, furiosos como lobos hambrientos. ¡Era menester ser español para no sentir miedo de aquellos tíos! (36)

⁵⁵⁹ For a discussion of Spanish cultural stereotypes regarding Muslims, see Madariaga, ‘La imagen del moro en la memoria colectiva del pueblo español y retorno del moro en la guerra Civil de 1936’, *Revista internacional de sociología*, 46:4, oct/dic 1988, p. 575.

A number of boundaries are established here between Spanish men and Riffian men. Firstly, the emphasis on the ugliness of the body and the bestial simile implies that the Riffians are located on an inferior level of a racial hierarchy. Secondly, the religious boundary — which is expressed in the narrator's specification that Spain's enemies in the Carlist wars had been Christians, 'hombres como ellos' — suggests that Burgos regards religious difference in this context in racial terms, to the point where Riffians are implicitly categorized here as sub-human. Thirdly, predatory and demonic metaphors, which appear repeatedly throughout the novel, serve to express moral transgression and allow the author to further fictionalise the Moroccan 'race'. The Riffians are described as 'una partida de cazadores de hombres' (37) and 'una cacería de hombres' (43). The war is described as 'una crueldad suprema' (43), and the enemy's tactics of guerrilla warfare — attacking under the cover of darkness (48), hidden in ravines (43), 'siempre traicioneramente' (48) — and their practices of mutilation and castration of enemy corpses transgress the boundaries of civilised morality. The purportedly monstrous and barbarian bodies of the Riffian warriors and their brutal practices are ultimately posited as evidence that, although Morocco and Spain share a common past and certain cultural ties, the Berbers have regressed to an earlier stage of civilisation.

Equally, a fear of the Berbers' martial superiority is encoded in their hyperbolic stature; and their description as wolves is an unmistakable reference to the devastating attack on Spanish troops at Barranco del Lobo. This fear is manifested both in the imposing corporeal presence of the Berber enemy and in his frequent invisibility, the result of the fact that their attacks usually occurred in the form of guerrilla warfare. In another instance the narrator declares:

‘contemplar un rifeño de la terrible jarca era cosa curiosa. No se dejaban ver. Caían lluvias de balazos sobre los convoys y sobre los campamentos, enviados por un enemigo invisible, que desaparecía al contestar a la agresión.’ (37).

The dehumanised image of an enemy that represents absolute evil is typical of melodramatic narratives as well as wartime discourses. As a war journalist, it is not surprising that Burgos employs this propagandistic technique. By representing the Moroccan Muslim as infra-human she traces a boundary between Spanish military culture and Riffian martial culture, between her vision of noble men and savage men. The perceived moral corruption and barbarism of the Berbers demonstrate the intrinsically Iberian courage of the Spanish soldiers: ‘era menester ser español para no temer a esos tíos’. Burgos also invokes the traditionalist narrative of the recurrent ‘guerra del moro’, hailing the Spanish victory in the battle of Gurugú with the statement: ‘Los bravos hijos de España habían vencido *una vez más* a la morisma’ (55).

Jingoistic statements like this, which are made by the narrator throughout the novella and which stand in contrast to the protagonist’s proclamations of pacifism, appear somewhat self-conscious in light of events that unfolded in Morocco in the summer of 1909. Because it coincided with Barcelona’s Tragic Week, which began on 26 July, news of the massacre of Barranco del Lobo was heavily suppressed, an explicit report did not appear in *El Herald* until August 20th.⁵⁶⁰ Although it does not form part of the plot of the novella, the battle is incorporated into the narrative near the end when, after the victory at Gurugú, soldiers return to tell of the horrors they discovered on the battlefield:

Aquel siniestro Barranco del Lobo, donde quedaron insepultas las víctimas del 27 de julio, se había recorrido en la última descubierta. Los que llegaron hasta él contaban

⁵⁶⁰ Gabriela Pozzi, ‘Carmen de Burgos and the War in Morocco’, *MLN*, 115.2, 2000, pp. 188-204.

con horror el espectáculo lúgubre de los cadáveres insepultos, desnudos, despedazados por los cuervos y profanados por los rifeños feroces.

Muchos dormían con los brazos tendidos, de cara al azul, y algunos se agarraban á su compañero o a la tierra en la desesperación de la agonía solitaria. Todos presentaban bárbaras mutilaciones; las cabezas machacadas con piedras, las sienas atravesadas con palos; saltados a punta de gumía los ojos, los cuerpos, abiertos, rellenos de piedras y los brazos y las piernas cortadas [...] en una pequeña casita se veían los esqueletos de multitud de soldados, clavados a la pared, cuyas cabezas, descarnadas y secas, se mecían en lo alto de los árboles próximos como una siniestra decoración veneciana. (56)

The use of the imperfect tense puts the emphasis on description rather than action here. The pathos that Burgos evokes with the image of the dead men clinging to each other and to the earth is extraordinarily similar to the aforementioned textual descriptions of Monte Arruit in *El Diario de Barcelona*, particularly the description of the dead as ‘abrazados fuertemente los unos a los otros’.⁵⁶¹ This suggests that there was a cultural script for describing the victims of the Rif War shared across literary and press narratives that drew on other narratives and the emotions they invoked as much as on first-hand descriptions of the scenes of battle. Likewise, the narrator’s use of the word ‘espectáculo’ is an acknowledgement of the same fascination with death and violence that drew viewers to the Alfonso photographs of Monte Arruit in 1921. The skeletons and severed heads that the Riffians have used to adorn the house and trees like macabre ornaments emphasise the theatrical nature of the scene and draw on the longstanding Orientalist cultural cliché of ‘Moorish’ cruelty and brutality. The scene described by Burgos is strongly reminiscent of a photograph that appeared in a range of newspapers in September 1909 of severed heads displayed by Muley-Hafi after his victory over El Rogui (See Appendix 6 Figure 1). The caption of the photo described it as ‘las crueldades que reproducen en Marruecos

⁵⁶¹ *Diario de Barcelona*, 29 de octubre de 1921, in Cañellas Romero, 2004, p. 96.

los tiempos de mayor barbarie'.⁵⁶² Burgos did not see the battlefield herself, and therefore most likely drew inspiration from images like this one in her depiction of Barranco del Lobo.

As well as highlighting the spectacle of death, however, the narrator highlights the vulnerability of the bodies. The corpses are naked, their entrails are exposed, and they appear to be asleep, the most defenceless human state and the closest to death.⁵⁶³ There is a clear emphasis on invasion here, on foreign objects inside the bodies, 'las sienes atravesadas con palos [...] los cuerpos, abiertos, rellenos de piedras' (33).

The most striking feature of the portrayal of Barranco del Lobo is the underlying fear of racial contamination encoded onto these profaned corpses invaded by foreign objects. While the primary function of the dichotomy between the Berber warrior and the Spanish soldier is to separate the civilised from the uncivilised, because it is founded on theories of biological determinism and degeneration, there remains the possibility of slipping back into a diseased or regressive state. According to transformism, species were continually changing and evolving through the direct influence of the environment on the organism and its behaviour. In terms of social Darwinism, this implied that the contact of the human organism with an uncivilised or contaminated environment could cause the contamination or regression of that organism. In this way, Darwinism and transformism eroded the distinction between man and beast, and the moral privilege based on that distinction.⁵⁶⁴ Racism emerges out of this very fear that qualities associated with 'inferior' races will contaminate 'superior'

⁵⁶² 'Las crueldades de Muley- Hafi, *Nuevo mundo* 9 septiembre, 1909, p. 17

⁵⁶³ Sleep (hypnos) is the brother of death (thanatos) in Greek mythology.

⁵⁶⁴ Sappol and Rice, 2010, p. 13.

racas. As Susannah Heschel tells us, it is the instability of race, not its immutability, which lies at the heart of its invention.⁵⁶⁵

As a result, in the construction of the cultural boundaries between Spain and North Africa, and between the physical bodies of Spaniards and North Africans, there remains a constant threat of the invasion of the dominion of the same by the contaminating force of the other.⁵⁶⁶ There is an anxiety underlying Burgos' narrative that Spanish men could, despite the attainment of high levels of civilisation, become degenerate through contact with the 'uncivilised' environment of Morocco. In an article written the same year as the novella with the same title, '¡En la guerra!' the author expresses this anxiety clearly:

Pero más que todo esto, me ha horrorizado la crueldad que la guerra despierta, cómo remueve el fango en nuestras almas, cómo nos habitúa con el sufrir ajeno hasta casi la indiferencia, y sobre todo, ¡cómo penetra el odio en los corazones! Sí, con la barbarie de la guerra surgen los atavismos bestiales borrados en nuestra selección.⁵⁶⁷

It is clear from the novella that it is not just war itself that awakens the basest of human instincts and causes hatred to 'penetrate' the human heart, it is particularly this colonial war against what the author perceives as a primitive and brutal society. In this way, Burgos' literary portrayal of the Rif War ultimately expresses anxieties about Spain's ability to preserve boundaries within and around the bodies of its citizens, in this case, its soldiers.⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶⁵ Susannah Heschel, 'The Slippery yet Tenacious Nature of Racism: New Developments in Critical Race Theory and Their Implications for the Study of Religion and Ethics.' *Journal of the Society of Christian Ethics*, 2015, 35.1, pp.3-27, p. 15.

⁵⁶⁶ Graff Zivin, 2008, p. 30.

⁵⁶⁷ Concepción Nuñez Rey, *Carmen de Burgos, Colombine (1867-1932): Biografía y obra literaria*, Madrid: Editorial de la Universidad Complutense, 1992, p. 46.

⁵⁶⁸ Forth, 2008, p. 13.

Arturo Barea, *La ruta*

Arturo Barea also raises the question of the vulnerability of Spanish men in Morocco and the contagious nature of brutality, albeit from a different historical and ideological vantage point. Unlike Burgos, Barea creates a more definitive image of affinity with Moroccans in the shared backwardness of Spain and North Africa, as discussed in the previous chapter, but his novel is also significantly concerned with the brutality of the Rif War and with the Africanist movement that is beginning to emerge from within the Spanish army in Morocco. As a result, this section focuses on Barea's representations of the alterity of the Tercio as well as of the Berber enemy, arguing that because of the brutality and violence that became intrinsic to Africanist identity and because of their eventual role in conspiring to overthrow the Republic in 1936, the author locates the Spanish Africanists outside of the boundaries of the imagined community of Spain, Othering them alongside the Berbers.

In contrast to Ernesto Giménez Caballero's narrative, which explores the cultural characteristics of Morocco and often dwells in city spaces, *La ruta* represents Moroccans predominately in a context of war and locates most of the action of the novel in the harsh rural landscape of the Rif. Barea uses the climate and geography of the Rif to establish a brutal and hostile atmosphere for the novel, emphasising the jagged contours of its mountain ranges, its blazing heat, 'la luz violenta [...] del sol de África que vuelve la carne fresca en vivero de gusanos (89)', and its unknown and dangerous environment, 'campos oscuros con aullidos de perros e hienas en la distancia' (83), which rendered the Spanish troops vulnerable and virtually powerless in the face of an enemy that knew the

territory intimately and frequently employed tactics of guerrilla warfare and ambush in its assaults on the Spanish troops.

The relationship between the Moroccan landscape and the Moroccan body is significant in this context, both in terms of its visibility (corporeality) and its threatening invisibility. In terms of corporeality, the harsh and rugged geographical environment of the Rif reflects and produces the primitive bodies of its inhabitants: peasant women shrivelled up by the sun, children and the elderly living alongside animals, ‘todos juntos, revoloteando entre las chozas, picando, mordisqueando, revolcándose en el polvo’ (8). In one instance, the narrator describes the body of a Moroccan man suffering from scabies:

Una figura lastimera, alto, huesudo peludo, con olor de cabra desprendiéndose de las innumerables capas de sudor resecaadas sobre su piel, descalzo, con las piernas desnudas, piernas y pies semejantes a las patas de una gallina vieja, escamosas, paliqueadas de sarna y basura sujetas por una envoltura córnea. La cabeza rapada estaba apuñalada de costurones de la sarna y de las cortaduras que el barbero salvaje había prodigado [...] Llevaba encima una carga horrible de suciedad acumulada sobre la piel en la mísera de toda su vida miserable. (22)

The animalistic physicality and filth attributed to the man here, despite its racist undertones, is not put to the service of evolutionary theories like in Burgos’ novella, but rather used to convey pathos in the reader for the destitute poverty and unsanitary conditions of the Riffian kabilas. Yet despite this undercurrent of pathos in Barea’s representation of the inhabitants of the Rif, like *En la guerra*, *La ruta* draws an emotional distance between the Spanish troops and their Moroccan enemy. This distance is necessary for Barea’s socio-political narrative of the Rif War as a landmark event in the oppression of the common men of Spain. Although the main oppressor in this narrative is the Africanist officer class, the Berber enemy acts alongside them as an agent of social oppression and national fragmentation.

As a result, the Berbers are often portrayed as distant, menacing figures, as threatening as the landscape that surrounds them. Their *raison d'être* is their rifle, 'un fusil era todo su futuro, un fusil para matar soldados españoles' (24). They appear on mountaintops, 'en su caballejo nervioso de crines espesas, agitando en el aire el fusil,'(8), 'figuras distantes, color de tierra [...] haciendo sus zalemas al sonido del canto bárbaro, ululante, con sus fusiles al lado' (79) or as snipers, 'cien pares de ojos detrás de la mira de sus fusiles' (82). In this aspect, the influence on Barea's writing of popular press imagery of Riffian alterity is also clear. These descriptions seem to be based on the impressionistic images of warriors on horseback silhouetted with their rifles against the Rif mountains sketched by Mariano Bertuchi (see Appendix 6 Figures 2 and 3).

Unlike the Spanish soldier, the Berber warrior in *La ruta* is at ease within his environment, the colonial territory that Spain is attempting to penetrate but that the Berber claims and defends, often unseen. Invisibility is a recurrent feature of Barea's representations of the Berbers, 'un enemigo impalpable que se encuentra en todas partes' (80). 'Nosotros no luchamos, ni casi vemos al enemigo' (82), declares the narrator. Melilla in the summer of 1921, held under siege by Abdel Krim's forces during the Battle of Annual, is described as:

Una ciudad sitiada, bajo la amenaza constante de la entrada de un enemigo que se ha prometido a si mismo botín, vidas, y carne fresca de mujer [...] Nadie sale de las casas, las calles están oscuras en la noche y el peligro se esconde tras cada esquina (88).

The Berber insurgents never actually enter Melilla, but their presence in the hills outside the city is enough to fill its inhabitants with fear.

The invisibility of the Moroccan man here, and the unfamiliar spaces he traverses in the Rif and the streets of Melilla, stand in stark contrast to the invisibility of the Moroccan woman discussed in 3:1:1. Here the dark and

narrow streets of the Moroccan city become horrifying rather than enticing, nurturing the imagination with scenes of violence and terror rather than Orientalist fantasies. The representation of concealed femininity fosters masculine desires to penetrate the secretive space, while the representation of the unseen Berber enemy fosters masculine anxieties of encountering a violent and martially superior enemy. From this perspective, although Spain occupies the territory as a colonial power, the Spanish troops cannot 'occupy' the space in terms of moving within the Rif freely, without fear, and from a position of power. It is the bodies of Berber men that are in a position of power and control, moving about with ease, while the bodies of Spanish soldiers are rendered immobile and inactive. They are trapped in 'blocaos' (isolated military outposts) or in the city under siege, constantly exposed to unseen snipers and ultimately mutilated, dismembered, and castrated on the battlefields of Annual.

Barea's account of Monte Arruit (80-89) represents the pinnacle of the vulnerability of Spanish men at the hands of the Berber enemy. He describes the arrival of his regiment in Melilla, after marching 100 km: 'unos pocos miles de hombres agotados hasta el límite de su resistencia [...] mal vestidos, mal equipados, y peor comidos' (87). 'No dormíamos', he writes, 'nos moríamos cada día, para resucitar la mañana siguiente, y en el intervalo vivíamos unas pesadillas horrendas' (90). Leaving Melilla and venturing into the open battlefield of Annual, they encounter the horror of its aftermath:

Una gran casa acribillada de balas [...] En las ventanas del primer piso, uno, dos, tres, cinco muertos, un muerto en cada ventana, alguno con un agujero limpio en la frente, caído como una muñeca de la que se ha escapado el aserrín, otros hundidos en el charco de su propia sangre. Cartuchos vacíos, rodando por el suelo, haciendo escurrir cómicamente delante de los muertos. En los cuarteles del piso bajo, huellas sangrientas, huellas de hombres arrastrados por los hombros con la sangre corriendo a lo largo de sus piernas y trazando con los talones dos paralelas vacilantes como tiza roja sobre las losas de piedra.

En el cuarto de atrás había cinco hombres muertos. Estaban empapados en su propia sangre, la cara, las manos, los uniformes, el cabello, las botas. Millones de moscas, zumbando incesantes, que se emborrachaban en el festín (88-89).

Unlike the images that appear in the press, Barea's narrative of dismemberment is not a spectacle for the reader, but rather a combination of the expression of the author's personal experience of the trauma of the battle, a statement of witness of an atrocity that had become a landmark in cultural memory of the Rif War, and a metaphor for the fragmentation of Spanish society as a result of the war.

Carden-Coyne has argued that war trauma is often articulated through the visualisation of the war-wrecked body.⁵⁶⁹ Barea's account of the infamous vision of Monte Arruit represents an example of how veterans often use highly sensory language to convey scenes of trauma. In doing this, he centres on the image of male bodies in fragments: 'Sin ojos, sin lengua, sin testículos, violados con estacas de alambrada, las manos atadas con sus propios intestinos, sin cabeza, sin brazos, sin piernas, serrados en dos' (89). He describes blood literally painted across the walls and stone floors like the vivid strokes of a surrealist painting, the sound of empty cartridges and buzzing flies, a stench of death so intense that it submerged everything and everyone in it, 'como se entra en las aguas de un río' (89). Barea's *Annual* is macabre to the point of bordering on fantastic, taking on the grotesque character of a theatrical scene of Valle-Inclán or of Goya's 'Desastres de guerra'. The narrator's reference to the nightmare-like memory of the scene (90), his horrible visions of the dead, and his expressions of paralysing fear and dissolution of self are all psychological symptoms of what would now be diagnosed as trauma.⁵⁷⁰ He describes his sense

⁵⁶⁹ Carden-Coyne, 2009, p. 59.

⁵⁷⁰ Carden-Coyne, 2009, p. 61.

of self disintegrating when he is confronted with the horror of the battlefield:
'estuve allí pero no sé donde' (90).

This detachment from self expresses trauma and at the same time fulfills the purpose of collectivising Barea's narrative of Annual. Introducing his account of the battlefield, the voice of Barea the author seems to take over the narrative voice, 'lo que yo conozco es parte de la historia nunca escrita, que creó una tradición en las masas del pueblo' (87). He emphasises the importance of his role as a witness to a significant event that he feels has been misrepresented in the 'tradición oficial' of Monte Arruit. In this way, beyond being an expression of personal trauma or even individual vulnerability, the disturbing image of fragmented bodies that Barea presents serves as a metaphor for the powerlessness of the Spanish lower classes. Like Burgos' representation of Barranco del Lobo, Barea's Annual contests the language of heroism that prevailed in Africanist narratives of the Rif War. By focusing on an image of violated bodies, literally castrated and emasculated by the colonised culture, he provides a stark juxtaposition of imperial and masculine power, strength and wholeness that patriotic discourses glorified. The removal of the eyes of these corpses renders them blind, the removal of their tongue renders them voiceless, and their hands tied behind their backs render them incapable to act, to defend themselves, just as the Spanish lower classes find themselves without a political voice, incapable of seeing the cause for which they are fighting, and incapable of defending themselves against the system that oppresses them. The physical vulnerability and profanation of the male body here conveys a political and social reality of disenfranchisement and oppression.

As a result, while the Spanish corpses depicted by Burgos reflect anxieties concerning degeneration, Barea's profaned bodies reflect concerns about fragmentations in national identity. Like Barranco del Lobo in 1909, *Annual* became a landmark of oppression in working class identity and further widened the gap between Spanish society and the military in Morocco, where the radically militaristic subculture of the Africanists was beginning to take shape. In this sense, the bodies sawed into two by a brutal Berber enemy can be read as foreshadowing a nation divided against itself in a civil war in which the Moroccans in fact returned to Spain to continue their destruction of Spanish unity.

However, Barea and Burgos' narratives of the Rif War coincide significantly in one aspect, which is their concern about the contagious nature of brutality in the Spanish encounter with the Riffian enemy. As mentioned previously, Burgos expresses this anxiety of contamination in her article with the same title as the novella, in which she asserts, 'con la barbarie de la guerra surgen los atavismos bestiales borrados en nuestra selección'.⁵⁷¹ Early on in *La ruta*, the narrator introduces the same concept: 'es terriblemente fácil para un hombre el caer en un estado de bestialidad' (62). The idea is raised again by Sánchez, a friend of the protagonist who has enlisted in the Foreign Legion:

¿Sabes? La bestialidad es seguramente la cosa más contagiosa que existe. Cuando la primera Bandera fue a Melilla inmediatamente nos pusimos a tono con el salvajismo de los moros. Ellos les cortaban los testículos a los soldados y se los atascaban en la boca, para que se murieran asfixiados [...] entonces nosotros inventamos un juego: les cortábamos las cabezas a los moros y adornábamos el parapeto de la posición durante la noche con ellas (173).

In his history of the colonial campaigns, Balfour shows that the Legion assimilated the highly performative war rituals of the Riffian tribes, including

⁵⁷¹ Nuñez Rey, 1992, p. 46.

their battle cries, the dramatic flourish of their dust-raising cavalry runs, and their customs of decapitation and mutilation.⁵⁷² The Legion fought alongside native Moroccan troops, the Regulares, in the Rif campaigns and again in July 1936. In its advance towards Madrid in the summer of 1936, this so called ‘Army of Africa’ became infamous for its brutality, and stories of pillaging, rape, and other atrocities committed by Moroccan troops and Legionnaires alike circulated widely in the Republican press. Martín-Márquez asserts that the Africanists projected onto Moroccan men an image of fanaticism and barbaric violence and that this particular model of masculinity was re-assimilated into their own martial identity.⁵⁷³

Barea’s narrative highlights this assimilation by the Africanists of the ‘salvajismo de los moros’. The protagonist of *La ruta* first encounters the subculture of the Legion in their camp tavern, la taberna del Tercio. In his expressionist description of the blood-red furniture in the tavern — ‘era como una puñalada sangrienta en la blancura de cal de la pared’ (74)— the narrator immediately marks the space occupied by the Legionnaires with a culture of violence, and his choice of adjectives and metaphors enhance the raw brutality of the scene. The metallic character and taste of the wine (‘sabía fuertemente a sulfato de cobre’ (75)), which in Morocco was often adulterated by adding chemicals to prevent rapid fermentation,⁵⁷⁴ can also be read as an allusion to Spanish (and European) interests in exploiting iron ore, copper lead, and other minerals in the area of Northern Morocco, a clear underlying motive of the

⁵⁷²Balfour, 2002, p. 47.

⁵⁷³ Martín-Márquez focuses particularly on homoerotic representations of Moroccans, suggesting that Africanist military culture promoted greater degrees of homosocial or even homosexual bonding in order to enhance apprenticeship, cement solidarity among soldiers and produce a more effective fighting force.

⁵⁷⁴Balfour, 2002, p. 35.

colonial campaigns. The tavern's name, 'Nuestra señora de África', and its congregation of legionnaires and prostitutes present an incongruous blend of religious imagery that suggests piety and transcendence mingled with a display of masculine violence and virility. Barea represents it as a sacred place for what Martín-Márquez describes as 'the religiously inflected cult of violence and virility of the Legion'.⁵⁷⁵ The reader is offered a glimpse into this cult in a speech by Millán Astray to his troops, which integrates a religious vocabulary of spiritual cleansing:

¡Caballeros legionarios! Caballeros del Tercio de España, sucesor de aquellos viejos Tercios de Flandes [...] ¿Quiénes sois vosotros? Los novios de la muerte. Los caballeros de la Legión. Os habéis lavado de todas vuestras faltas, porque habéis venido aquí a morir y ya no hay más vida para vosotros que esta Legión [...] Sois caballeros españoles, todos. Como caballeros eran aquellos otros legionarios que conquistando América, os engendraron a vosotros. En vuestras venas hay gotas de la sangre de Pizarro y Cortés, aquellos aventureros que conquistaron un mundo [...] ¡Viva la muerte! (76)

In Barea's fictionalised portrayal of a historical character, Millán Astray is depicted in such triumphant terms that it seems the narrator himself is drawn momentarily into the Tercio's fanaticism. He describes the response of the Legion, a body of 8,000 men, to Millán Astray's speech: 'El cuerpo todo [...] había sufrido una transformación histórica. Su voz tronaba, sollozaba, aullaba [...] Los arrastraba en una furia fanática a un sentimiento de caballerosidad' (76). The Legionnaires are offered the acquisition of a new and elite identity, a rebirth into a heroic lineage that is traced back to the myths of the Roman legion, the mercenary armies of the House of Austria that fought in defence of the Spanish empire in Europe, and the conquistadors of the Golden Age. After his speech, Millán Astray throws himself violently upon a soldier who challenges

⁵⁷⁵ Martín-Márquez, 2008, p. 35.

him with the proclamation, ‘¡yo soy más que tú! ¡Mucho más hombre que tú!’ (77), beating him until he is left unconscious on the ground.

The defensiveness of masculinity often stems from an inward vulnerability.⁵⁷⁶ In the context of Spain, the colonisation of Morocco began after the humiliating defeat of Spain in the war of 1898, which gave rise, among other fears, to a preoccupation with the crisis of Spanish masculinity. This preoccupation is expressed in the writings of intellectuals like Gregorio Marañón and Ramón Pérez de Ayala as well as the discourses of the press and the military. The Spanish army in Morocco sought to create a radical new model of manhood, just as anti-modernist and anti-intellectual pre-fascist movements in Italy and Germany in the 1920s exalted violence and traditional warrior culture, rejecting the ‘weakened virility’ of bourgeois urban society. Millán Astray was strongly influenced by fascist ideals, and like its German and Italian fascist counterparts, the Spanish Legion built its model of masculinity on European war myths and identities.

Likewise, the belief in the regenerative value of pain and violence was a feature of Western nationalist ideologies and military cultures from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Some European theorists also called for a rediscovery of ‘savage’ aspects of white masculinity that had been concealed by the veil of modern civilisation.⁵⁷⁷ In Anglophone societies, this was envisioned as spending time in more ‘primitive’ colonial locations to reinvigorate their virility, but never involved emulating these cultures. In the Spanish colonial context, however, this regeneration of masculinity involved emulating the non-

⁵⁷⁶ Peter Middleton, *The Inward Gaze: Masculinity and Subjectivity in Modern Culture*, London, Routledge, 1992, p. 32.

⁵⁷⁷ Forth, 2008, p. 159.

European masculine cultures of North Africa. Barea's representation of the culture of the Legion clearly illustrates how Millán Astray was inspired by Moroccan rites of manhood in his exaltation of primitive rites of violence and blind and ferocious aggressiveness over restraint and military professionalism.⁵⁷⁸ In this aspect, he illustrates the implementation of the re-masculinisation of Spanish military culture that Giménez Caballero begins to reflect on and call for in *Notas marruecas*. In fact, there is an uncanny similarity between Barea's portrayal of Millán Astray's religiously inflected cult of violence and the 'Hamacha' ritual that fascinated Spanish commentators. Like the Muslim penitents, the Legionnaires are 'embriagados' and 'enardecidos', driven to a state of religious frenzy. They too are religious fanatics aroused by a spectacle of violence: Millán Astray's beating of the Legionnaire until he gushes blood, not unlike the 'Hamacha' performer who cuts open his own head with an axe.

La ruta ultimately represents Africanist and Berber culture within a similar framework of violence and brutality and traces the formation of this subculture directly forward to the splintering of Spain in civil war in 1936.⁵⁷⁹ The novel makes a brief but significant reference to Franco, who in 1921 was still a relatively obscure commander in the Legion: 'Entre los "heróicos" estaba el nuevo jefe del Tercio', he writes, emphasising the irony of the self-title, 'y el Tercio crecía rápidamente como un estado dentro del estado, como un cáncer dentro del ejército [...] de ser un héroe de esta clase a un rebelde —y un fascista— no hay más que un paso' (180). The novel foreshadows how the alter-

⁵⁷⁸ As Balfour (2002) argues.

⁵⁷⁹ It should be noted, however, that the culture of the Legionnaires is not representative of the identity of the Africanists as a whole. For example, the officers that commanded the Regulares drew ideological and military inspiration from models of French colonial warfare and Prussian professionalism above Berber culture and fascist ideologies. Within the Spanish army in Morocco there were a range of identities, of which Foreign Legion was arguably the most radical.

identity forged within the Legion would spread, and how from the Legion and more generally the Africanists would arise the group of generals who conspired against the Republic. For Barea, who represents the Rif War in light of the Civil War, they are the men who defended the costly wars against the ‘Moors’, only to bring an army of Moroccans to Spain in 1936 to wage war against their own people in the name of patriotism. In this sense, Franco is a don Julián figure who, like the legendary count that betrayed the Gothic King Rodrigo to Muslim invaders, re-opens the gates of Spain to the ‘Moors’ in July 1936.⁵⁸⁰

3:3:2. Feminised alterity

In addition to these representations of hypermasculinised Moroccan Muslim culture, the literary narratives examined in this thesis engage with the trope of the secretive, feminised Orient discussed in 3:1:1 in a variety of ways. However, all three texts coincide in their demystification of the image of the desirable Orient. In this process of figurative unveiling, the texts under study in this thesis reveal a feminised image of Morocco that is repulsive, dangerous, or disturbingly familiar.

En la guerra initially emphasises the concealment of women in North Africa. ‘Parecía que en Melilla, cristianos, moros, y judíos rivalizaban para ocultar a sus hembras. No se veían mujeres por las calles’ (14). The native women that Alina occasionally catches a glimpse of are elusive, ‘blancas figuras de medrosas y recatadas moras’ (25). However, at the end of the novella, a ‘horde’ of Berber women suddenly descends on Melilla, fleeing the villages that are being shelled by Spanish artillery during the Battle of Gurugú. Any image of

⁵⁸⁰ See Juan Goytisolo, *Reivindicación del Conde don Julián* (1970) for a more recent re-working of the Don Julián legend.

secrecy and mystery that might surround North African woman is completely shattered in this rather masculinised revelation of Riffian femininity. These women are not veiled, as it was not common for Berber women to wear a veil, and they are not remotely victimised in the context of the conflict. Rather the same image of cruelty and violence that is applied to the Riffian men on the battlefield is applied to the women:

Aquellas mujeres que venían a acogerse a la hidalguía castellana sabían combatir como todas las hembras de los pueblos nómadas al lado de los hombres; ellas eran las que les alentaban ferozmente la matanza y hasta les ayudaban saciando su odio religioso [...] apaleaban con porras de madera, claveteadas de hierro, a los soldados rendidos y moribundos. Más de una hora había perecido en el campo de batalla y algunas se arañaban el rostro con desesperación de furias infernales cuando sufrían una derrota. (52)

Various historians have argued that women played an active role in the Riffian resistance, often by acting as spies or by smuggling weapons and ammunition.⁵⁸¹ Burgos portrays them not only as active warriors but also as primary instigators of the conflict. They are the ones who fuel the religious hatred and thirst for death of the Berber men. They are morally Othered as viciously cruel, dishonourable, and self-seeking, fighting, the narrator tells us, not to defend their loved ones but out of sheer hatred for Spain. Their moral degeneracy is mirrored in their physical ugliness, ‘eran todas feas, deformadas, negras [...] Las cabelleras, tan lindas desde lejos, consistían en madejas de algodón negro [...] que ocultaban la tiña de sus pelados cascos’ (53). There is a hint of rivalry in the way that the narrator seems to feel the need to provide a close-up of their appearance and behaviour that is repulsive and horrifying to the reader in order to dispel any myths about the beauty of Oriental women, which are explicitly demystified: ‘las leyendas de su apasionamento eran tan falsas

⁵⁸¹ C.R. Pennell gives an example in 1916 of women in the Anjara tribe near Tangier who took the place in the firing line of their men who were killed during the fighting against the Spanish. In 1921, women of another tribe in the Yeballa used guns that they had hidden in the mountains to ambush a Spanish Patrol (Pennell, 1987, p. 115).

como las de su belleza' (52). Their only redeeming feature is their dark eyes, 'en los que había algo del misterio de los gitanos' (53), a reference to a culture that many contemporary observers in Spain also regarded as Oriental.

The image of women as cultural vessels, the scaffolding upon which the identity of the nation rests, is discussed throughout this study.⁵⁸² In Burgos' narrative, the degenerate and ugly female Moroccan body is intended to reflect the moral and racial backwardness of Morocco as a whole. However, in a number of her later works of fiction set in her Andalusian hometown of Rodalquilar, she also explores the question of degenerate femininity in rural areas in the South of Spain.⁵⁸³ For example, her novel *Venganza* (1918), which unfolds in Rodalquilar, also portrays a rural society that degenerates into violence fuelled by morally corrupt and savage women, 'hembras morunas y ardientes', who are responsible for inciting conflict between the men in their community.⁵⁸⁴ The similarities in her literary portrayals of Andalusian women in this novel and Moroccan women in *En la guerra* are striking. Burgos' location of otherness in Southern Spain as well as Morocco further signals her anxieties about the lack of cultural difference between Spain and North Africa.

In her analysis of Colombine's writing within its cultural context, Catherine Davies has suggested that Carmen de Burgos equated the threat of disintegration in Spain not with class or gender, but with race.⁵⁸⁵ This cultural insecurity causes her to attempt to edify 'strict border controls' between the

⁵⁸² Monhanram, 1999, p. xvii.

⁵⁸³ Portrayals of degeneracy in rural areas appear in fiction set in her home town Rodalquilar, for example, in the significantly entitled early novel *Los inadaptados* (1909) and the later stories, *Venganza* (1918) and *El último contrabandista* (1922).

⁵⁸⁴ Helena Establier Pérez, *Mujer y feminismo en la narrativa de Carmen de Burgos 'Colombine'*, Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 2000, p. 120.

⁵⁸⁵ Davies, 1998, p. 129.

cultures of Spain and North Africa in *En la guerra*.⁵⁸⁶ She intends for the vilified image of Riffian women and their ‘unnaturally’ savage nature to stand in stark contrast to the Spanish heroine Alina, who is posited as a beacon of the values of Spanish civilisation and seemingly is both racially and morally a feminine ideal. She provides ‘el aliento vivificante con que el alma de las mujeres dignas sabe envolver la misión del combatiente’ (15), while these Berber women ‘alientan ferozmente la matanza’ (52). Where Alina is motivated by love, ‘la irradiación del amor de todas las madres, de todas las amantes’ (17), these Berber women are motivated by hatred. However, this border that Burgos attempts to establish between the ‘civilised’ European woman and the ‘degenerate’ North African women unravels at the end of the novel with Alina’s hysterical breakdown, a phenomenon also closely associated with degeneration as well as sexual un-fulfilment. In my view, Alina’s unravelling is ultimately an unintended display of the cultural anxieties underlying Burgos’ attempts to separate modern Spain from its North African heritage.

When the Madrid newspaper *El Sol* reviewed *Notas marruecas* in 1923, the overwhelmingly positive review included a remark that the author had a tendency towards ‘un exotismo artístico’.⁵⁸⁷ In relation to his portrayal of Moroccan women, Giménez Caballero’s exoticism is tinged with the male fantasies of sexual conquest and possession that underlie travel writing about the Orient. European male travellers to North Africa had long associated the Oriental world with the escapism of sexual fantasy, a place where they could search for erotic experiences that were unattainable to them in Europe.⁵⁸⁸ This

⁵⁸⁶ Elaine Showalter, cited in Davies, 1998, p. 129.

⁵⁸⁷ Foard, 1975, p. 41.

⁵⁸⁸ Said, 1995, p. 43.

commodification of the feminine Other is embedded in the romantic travel writings of French romantics like Flaubert and Chateaubriand as well as in the narratives of Spanish travellers to North Africa in the nineteenth century.⁵⁸⁹ Giménez Caballero shows an awareness of this tradition when he states, ‘ando buscando tipos femeninos de las *Mil y una noches*, tan citadas por los que están en Marruecos de paso’ (155). In this aspect, his writing conforms to Said’s view of Western literature moulding the Orient into ‘Europe’s collective daydream’.⁵⁹⁰ Yet like in Burgos’ text, there is a de-mystification that follows mystification, in this case, contempt for the familiarity of the conquered, or unveiled, Moroccan woman. Herein we find the two archetypal representations of Oriental femininity that pervade *Notas marruecas*: the woman that offers herself up or reveals herself unveiled, and the woman that remains unattainable.

The pursuit of an erotic ‘fantasía moruna’ (92) carries through Giménez Caballero’s notes, which are invigorated by fleeting glimpses of indigenous women, both Muslim and Jewish, eluding the narrator. This pursuit is set in urban spaces that represent the threshold of the inaccessible private spaces discussed in detail in Section 3:1:1. Women appear fleetingly in a ‘portal entreabierto’ (92), ‘los quicios de las puertas’ (121), ‘un ventanillo alto’ (137). These women are not mystified by virtue of wearing a veil — in fact most are unveiled — but rather by virtue of their inaccessibility. For example, in a scene where the narrator is beckoned into a house by an elderly ‘mora’, perhaps a brothel madam, he asks with a certain degree of self-consciousness: ‘¿Será una celestina berebere? ¿Qué fantasía morisca puedo presumir a consecuencia de

⁵⁸⁹ See introduction for references.

⁵⁹⁰ Said, 1995, p. 21.

esta llamada?’ (92). The appeal of fantasy is heightened by his invocation of the literary archetype of La Celestina, the manipulative old woman who arranges clandestine encounters between lovers. When he approaches her door he catches a glimpse into the patio beyond, where he sees ‘una mujer perfectamente ataviada, pisando ligeramente el mosaico con sus pies descalzos y con ese paso sensual, lascivo, que transmite el pie desnudo a las carnes sin corsé, trémulas y libres’ (95).

The description of the girl’s corporeality conjures up an image of unbounded sensuality and sexual promise. However, just as the narrator is about to follow this magnificent apparition, the old woman stands in the doorway, barring him entry, and the girl vanishes. Her disappearance preserves her mysteriousness, allowing Giménez Caballero to construct an erotic fantasy upon the mere suggestiveness of her sexuality. The woman that remains unknown and unattainable is rendered highly desirable. She is also an instrument, a material for Giménez Caballero, the artist, to mould into an imagined figure to his liking, ‘irreal y fantástica’ (95). The analogy of the artist is invoked in his description of Jewish women, who are portrayed in their urban setting of the judería as if it were the backdrop of a painting: ‘los atardeceres por esas calles melancólicas, toledanas, de la judería. ¡Esas muchachas que en los quicios de las puertas miran tristemente, maravillosamente, con unas miradas y actitudes a lo Romero de Torres!’ (131) ⁵⁹¹

Giménez Caballero moulds these inaccessible women into exotic creatures endowed with an exuberant, almost animalistic sexuality. A young Moroccan girl is described as having ‘ojos hermosos [...] una fuerte mirada animal [...]’

⁵⁹¹ Romero de Torres (1874-1930) was a painter from Córdoba, contemporary of Giménez Caballero.

uno de esos precoces frutos maduros de los climas cálidos tan opulentos como fugaces [...] verdaderamente en sazón' (155). He contrasts the supposedly unbridled passion of Moroccan women with the methodical, regulated sexuality of European prostitutes: 'El kif recuerda a la mujer Oriental, que practica el amor súbitamente en un ambiente entre sucio y lujoso [...] el cigarrillo trae a la memoria la cocotte europea, que sabe una técnica metódica del placer' (19).

These attributes are what Homi Bhabha defines as 'fixities', a form of knowledge and identification in colonial discourse that confers upon the object permanent characteristics, traits which are presented as already known, such as the essential 'duplicity' of the Asian or the 'sexual license' of the African, which seemingly need no proof but in fact cannot be proven'.⁵⁹² The lasciviousness of Moroccan women could not be proven because outside of the context of rape — which Balfour and Madariaga have argued was common particularly among soldiers in the Legion⁵⁹³ — the only women that Spanish soldiers had access to were in brothels, which proliferated during the protectorate to cater to the needs and entertainment of Spanish soldiers and officers. As a result, the only sexual comparison that Giménez Caballero can make between European and North African women is in the context of prostitution.

However, the portrayal of actual Moroccan prostitutes — in other words women who are easily accessible to the narrator — is contemptuous. In a scene that finds Giménez Caballero wandering the streets of Tetuán once again, chasing 'una químera nada platónica' (137), he and his companion discover a girl gazing down on them from a high window, which excites them. However,

⁵⁹² Bhabha, 2012, p. 21.

⁵⁹³ Sebastian Balfour and Pablo la Porte, 'Spanish Military Cultures and the Moroccan Wars: 1909-1936' *European History Quarterly*, 30:3, 2000, pp. 307-332, p. 321.

upon climbing the tower to reach her they are disappointed to find a common prostitute surrounded by dirty children and a young disabled woman. The contrast between the ideal the men had imagined and the physical manifestation before them is emphasized:

Nuestra venus estaba en chancletas [...] Su cuerpo, delineado a través de la bata sucia, no hubiera motivado un concurso en Grecia. Sus manos, las varitas mágicas de toda cortesana, eran el resultado de largos años de fregar cacharros y encalar paredes, esto es una porquería (137).

These women are also Jewish, but in contrast to Giménez Caballero's previous comparison of Jewish women to the feminine portraits by Romero de Torres, they are likened to Velázquez's 'pinturas patológicas' (138), which presumably is a derisive reference to the portraits of Spanish royals by the famed artist in the seventeenth century.

The anti-Semitic undertones of this passage stand in stark contrast to Giménez Caballero's philosephardic portrayal of the Moroccan Jewish community discussed in Chapter 2. There is a suggestion of racial degeneracy and biological determinism in the reference to the disabled girl in the room, 'ejemplar de idiota [...] de ojos inmóviles, anodinos, acristalados' (137), and in the horde of children swarming around her like flies. The narrator implies that the filthy and diseased Jewish bodies of the women are a product of their unsanitary living conditions in the judería. Although he notes the economic motive of the prostitute's advances, there is no compassion in his tone; his emphasis lies on his disgust at her forwardness rather than her destitute condition. He refers to the woman as the archetype of 'la hebrea lúbrica, capaz de pegársela al hijo más pintado de Adonai' (138). Exuberant sexuality and voluptuous beauty here become repulsive lasciviousness and physical

degeneracy. The Moroccan woman as an ideal has been de-mystified, the veil of fantasy has been removed to reveal a disappointing reality.

In his autobiography, Giménez Caballero refers to his ‘admiración por el tema de Don Juan,’ the masculine archetype that provided a polemical subject for many Spanish writers at the time.⁵⁹⁴ Giménez Caballero held a view of Don Juan as a type of Nietzschean superman and as a model of Spanish masculine virility, ‘el hombre que cree en los más altos derechos del Hombre, como son esos de vencer y arrollar al sexo contrario [...] en lucha. En él está el placer, la satisfacción de su orgullo sexual’.⁵⁹⁵ Like Gregorio Marañón, who wrote extensively on the subject of human sexuality and sexual difference, Giménez Caballero regarded the success of a man as dependent on the attraction, or conquest, of women. In an essay published in *El Sol* in 1927 he writes: ‘vibra en el aire una nueva postulación, un ansia renaciente [...] un dónde estás mujer, para que te salude y te venere otra vez?’⁵⁹⁶ He laments the fact that women now give themselves up too easily. According to this view of masculinity, by revealing herself, the prostitute in *Notas marruecas* has robbed the men of their ‘innate’ right to conquer and possess her. Her derisive representation is the result of Giménez Caballero’s conception of the innate right of male dominance in gender relationships as well as colonial relationships.

Perhaps Giménez Caballero’s contempt for the veil also stems out of the denial of this male power fantasy. The narrator complains that the ‘wall’ of the

⁵⁹⁴ Including Gregorio Marañón, who suggested that Don Juan was actually a homosexual who concealed his orientation by boasting about conquest. Marañón claimed that the success of a man depended on the attraction of a woman (in Shirley Mangini, *Las modernas de Madrid: las grandes intelectuales españolas de la vanguardia*, Barcelona, Ediciones Península, 2001, p. 104).

⁵⁹⁵ Giménez Caballero, 1979, p. 34.

⁵⁹⁶ Selva, 2000, p. 70.

veil destroys the faces of Moroccan Muslim women. 'El color de las moras tapadas', he writes, '¡caras tumefactas, verdes, podridas, descompuestas!' (156), although one wonders how he saw these faces if they were hidden behind veils. The veil prevents Giménez Caballero from bringing the North African woman within his reach, from conquering her and making her an object of possession. Equally, the adjectives of disease and death that are employed here suggest that what is concealed is frightening or disturbing.

In fact, the faces beneath the veils are disturbing because they are familiar rather than exotic. When he discovers the Jewish woman in the tower, he notes that she looks like a common maid from Madrid, 'una daifa madrileña' (138). In a later episode, he makes the following lament:

Yo he indagado mucho buscando tipos femeninos de esas *Mil y una noches* [...] Pero no he encontrado ninguna cara de luna, ni he visto palidecer el sol por la belleza de las moras. Rostros de campesinas castellanas o andaluzas de los vulgares y quemados, de esos sí, muchos. (156)

In this aspect, while Burgos intentionally demystifies the image of North African women in order to anxiously erect strict border controls, Giménez Caballero sets off to pursue an exotic fantasy of Oriental femininity but is ultimately confronted with the familiar faces of Spanish maids and peasants. Said and Bhabha have observed that Otherness can be at once an object of desire and derision as the Orient 'vacillates between the West's contempt for what is familiar and its shivers of delight in — or fear of — novelty'.⁵⁹⁷ In this case it proves to be sameness, not Otherness. What is desired is what remains unknown, what is fleeting, allowing the author to create his own fantasy about feminine otherness. What is derided and disturbing is what is familiar, in this case the

⁵⁹⁷ Edward Said cited in Bhabha, 2012, p. 105.

Spanishness that Giménez Caballero discovers in the foreign women he has fantasised about.

Barea's de-mystification of Moroccan women centres on the image of the Moroccan woman as a prostitute, an image that is metaphorically applied to the colonial venture itself. It is embodied in the character of Luisa, a Jewish woman who is introduced to the protagonist Barea early on in the novel in his first visit to a brothel in Tetuán. She has raised herself out of the destitute poverty of the judería and become extraordinarily wealthy as the owner of the brothel. Unlike the desperate Jewish prostitute that Giménez Caballero encounters, Luisa is portrayed in highly eroticised terms as elegant, beautiful, and powerful.

Luisa's character and her personal narrative represent the only portrayal in *La ruta* of Sephardic Jewish culture, and they are rife with anti-Semitic tropes and stereotypes. Luisa tells Barea the story of her family's medieval exile from Spain and their longing to return to Toledo. In her obsession with wealth — she boasts of her jewels, 'la herencia de generaciones de hombres que han manejado y tocado la plata' (39), and of being the wealthiest woman in Tetuán — she represents the anti-Semitic archetype of the greedy and usurious Jew. The narrator emphasises her beauty, likening her to the Biblical Queen of Sheba, however, she is also associated with similes and metaphors of death, as the following passage illustrates:

En uno de sus meñiques brillaba una esmeralda. Cuando dejó de tocar [el piano], la piedra se apagó, casi muerta, con solo un reflejo profundo, funeral. Tenía un rubí sangriento colgado entre sus pechos y cuando respiraba, la piedra me lanzaba un destello a los ojos como una señal [...] Dejó las manos sobre el teclado como dos pájaros muertos, volvió la cabeza, y se recostó más pesadamente sobre mí (39).

In this aspect, she is the epitome of the beautiful but dangerous Jewess, an image that forms part of the canon of European anti-Semitic myths, as summarised by Klaus Theweleit: ‘beauty personified, wealth, elegance, serpent, whore, countess [...] Miriam will capture you like the witch she is... whatever she loves will be horribly destroyed’.⁵⁹⁸ A Spanish literary antecedent is found, for example, in Pérez Galdós’ *Aita Tettauen* (1904) in the character of Mazaltob, an alluring seductress well skilled in the esoteric practices of Jewish witchcraft.

Luisa is witchlike in her cold beauty, seductive charm, and treacherous nature. Her deception begins with the act of concealing her true identity; it is only after seducing the narrator that she reveals her Jewish name, Miriam. Again this is reminiscent of sixteenth-century ‘conversos’ who were believed to conceal their Jewish heritage and practices. She is described as ‘una actriz perfecta’ (39), and it is revealed later on in the novel that she acts as a spy for the Spanish military but passes on to the French and the Moroccans the military secrets she obtains from the generals she draws in. In fact, Moroccan Jews played an important role as informants for the Spanish during the Rif War.⁵⁹⁹ The secrets of both the Spanish and Riffian armies leaked to the other side with remarkable ease, and a considerable number of the spies were women. The historian C.R. Pennell cites a Spanish officer reporting that ‘the most dangerous and prejudicial espionage of which the rebels make use is that carried out by women’.⁶⁰⁰ In reference to Luisa’s role as a double spy, the narrator writes derisively, ‘era una zorra que está chupando por los dos lados’ (98). Like

⁵⁹⁸ Klaus Theweleit, *Male fantasies*, trans. Stephen Conway, Erica Carter and Chris Turner, Cambridge, Polity, 1987, p.13.

⁵⁹⁹ Friedman, 2011, p. 37.

⁶⁰⁰ C.R. Pennell, ‘Women and Resistance to Colonialism in Morocco: The Rif 1916–1926,’ *Journal of African History*, 28.1, 1987, pp. 107-118, p. 113.

Burgos, he chooses the figure of a woman to represent the character of Moroccan culture, specifically Sephardic Jewish culture in this case, as duplicitous, opportunistic, and dangerous.

Barea also feminises the territory of the protectorate — specifically the city of Xauén — using a metaphor of prostitution to describe how the city, once ‘la sagrada y la misteriosa’, has been demystified under Spanish colonisation. Although his first impression of Xauén is its likeness to Toledo, as discussed in Section 2:3:3, Barea fuses an image of thrilling otherness alongside familiarity. He engages with the trope of Oriental secrecy in terms of the double significance of the veil in guarding a space that is forbidden because it belongs to the Muslim man, but also because it is sacred. The city, ‘en una garganta estrangulada por montañas’ (84) and surrounded by tall granite walls, is concealed like a woman by her veil and remained impenetrable by European invaders for centuries. According to *La ruta*, it had been considered sacred because of this resistance to Christian incursions and because of the legend of a miracle of burning stones witnessed by Muslim pilgrims (84). Barea’s depiction of the streets of Xauén and the bodies of its women echoes the images in the press discussed in Section 3:1:1: a labyrinth of steep and winding streets that presented an opportunity for adventure in their mystery and danger, ‘donde no era raro que un soldado español fuera atravesado por una gumiya sin saber de dónde había surgido el golpe’ (85). He describes women rushing by in their veils, ‘tapadas y envueltas en la amplitud las blancas telas que no dejan nada vivo en sus ropas fantasmales, más que la chispa de sus ojos’ (85), and suspicious and furtive Jewish inhabitants, ‘silenciosos deslizándose a lo largo de las paredes, tan pegados a ellas como sombras sin cuerpos, corriendo siempre a pasitos cortos, rápidos y

furtivos' (84). He emphasises in particular the guardedness of the Jewish quarter, heavily enclosed by iron gates, 'gruesas paredes, puertas estrechas, troneras por ventanas' (84).⁶⁰¹ The perceived defensiveness and mysteriousness of the Jews by the author may reflect, more than a representation of exotic impenetrability, an interpretation of the wariness of a community that had suffered a great deal of persecution.⁶⁰²

However, the narrator laments the fact that this Xauén he once knew no longer exists. 'La invasión española barrió la mágica de la vieja ciudad [...] La ha invadido la taberna y el burdel y se ha prostituido' (85-86). The personification of a city as a harlot in relation to cultural exchange is a Biblical image of Jewish culture. The Old Testament prophets decry that Jerusalem has prostituted herself by turning to worship the idols of foreign nations and giving herself over to sin.⁶⁰³ The interesting aspect of this allegory is that the initiative is taken by the city, in this case Xauén. It is not the Spanish who conquer it, but rather the city that willingly gives itself over and allows itself to be filled with brothels, taverns, and other businesses designed to submit to the Spanish. Like Burgos' representation of Melilla, the inhabitants of Xauén are portrayed as opportunistic and untrustworthy, 'moros obsequios y falsos' (84), not as victims of colonial domination, but as active agents who seek to exploit Spain in whatever capacity possible.

⁶⁰¹ In fact, all three authors draw attention to the guardedness of the Jewish mellahs of Xauén and Tetuán, emphasising the physical structures designed to conceal, protect, and exclude the outside world. Giménez Caballero of Tetuán, 'todo da la sensación de defensa [...] de encastillamiento contra un ataque,' (131), and Burgos writes of Melilla, 'al pasar el coche cerca del barrio se cerraban todas las puertas, las mujeres y los muchachos corrían a esconderse' (21).

⁶⁰² However, these portrayals are very unlike Pedro Antonio de Alarcón's accounts of the Sephardic Jews throwing open the gates of their quarter to welcome the Spanish troops with excitement in Tetuán in 1859, nor do they reflect the widespread historical accounts of the support of the Sephardic Jews for Spanish colonial rule and their frequent collaboration with the colonial administration under the protectorate.

⁶⁰³ See for example Isaiah 1:21 NIV: 'See how the faithful city has become a prostitute! She once was full of justice; righteousness used to dwell in her-- but now murderers!'

The allegory of the Xauén as a harlot that sells herself represents a corruption of the male power fantasy of colonial domination, where the drive of colonial conquest is its ‘erotics of ravishment’.⁶⁰⁴ This corruption of the power fantasy is played out in a parallel way in Barea’s relationship with Luisa, where she declares to Barea, ‘el ama aquí soy yo’ (38). The image of the city as a harlot-Jewess strengthens the argument that Barea’s portrayal of Luisa is intended as a metaphor for the protectorate as a whole. Luisa attempts to exert power over the protagonist through seduction, but he claims to ultimately ‘dominate’ her in a sexual encounter in which the author seems to self-consciously want to assert his own masculinity through the narrative voice:

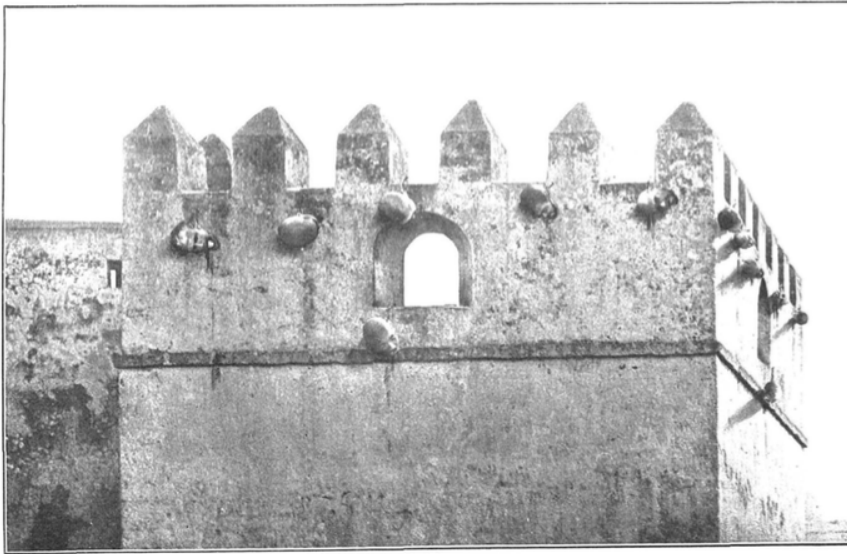
Se rebelaron todos mis instintos. ¡El ama era ella! Podía ser el ama de la casa, pero no iba a ser el ama de mí [...] No era más que una zorra como las otras [...] Y no me daba la gana de aceptar que si yo le gustaba al ama, me tenía que acostar con ella (38).

However, in his personal sexual encounter with Luisa, he does not succumb to her seduction and ultimately succeeds in exerting power over her, while in the colonial relationship as a whole, the dominance of Spain over Moroccan culture is never made clear in *La ruta*.

⁶⁰⁴ McLintock, 1995, p. 364.

Appendix 6

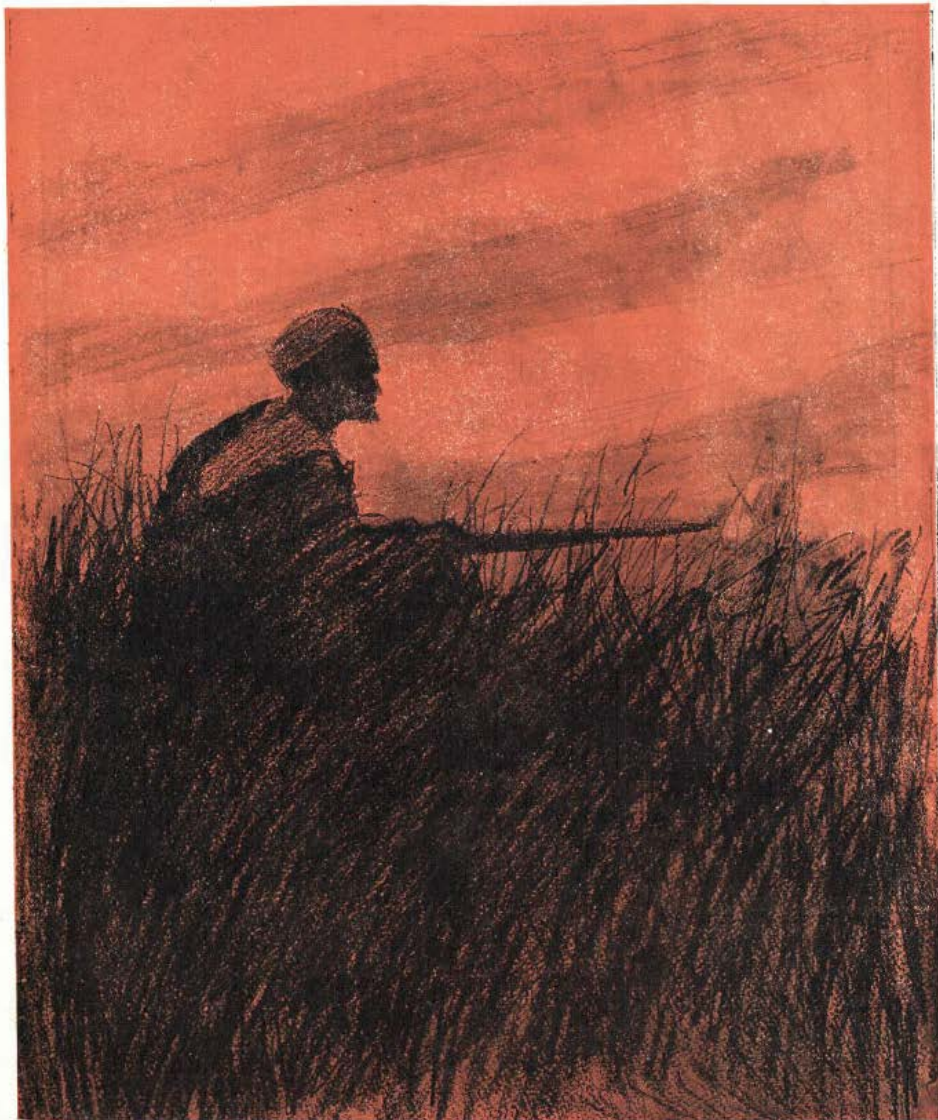
LAS CRUELDADES DE MULEY HAFID



La victoria de Muley-Hafid sobre El Rogui y la captura de éste ha sido señalada con crueldades que reproducen en Marruecos los tiempos de mayor barbarie. Una de las comitivas triunfales llevó á Fez treinta caóveres de enemigos decapitados, y además traía consigo sesenta prisioneros encadenados, cada uno de los cuales llevaba en la espalda una cabeza de otro roguista. Las cabezas fueron, como de costumbre, expuestas en las murallas pp. 11, 1127

Figure 1: ‘Las crueldades de Muley Hafid’, *Nuevo mundo*, 9 septiembre 1909, p. 17

REVISTA DE TROPAS COLONIALES ^{no 9}



Núm. suelto: 1'25 Ptas.

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SERVICIO DE EMBOSCADA (por M. Bertuchi).

Figure 2: M. Bertuchi, 'Servicio de emboscada' cover of *RTC*, septiembre 1925.



Figure 3: M. Bertuchi, cover of *RTC*, enero 1926.

Conclusion

Drawing together the analysis of the visual and textual constructions presented throughout this chapter, a number of key themes emerge around the body and the city as indicators of alterity. Broadly speaking, Morocco is either feminised as indecipherable and desirable cultural Other or hyper-masculinised as a threatening and violent racial Other.

The city, and the female body that it often symbolically personifies, are the central motifs in representations of the cultural otherness of Morocco. Press narratives of the protectorate dramatise urban spaces and Moroccan women around the trope of the secretive, impenetrable Orient that is highly desirable in its mystery. However, this dramatisation suggests a fear that unveiling may reveal not otherness but sameness. Likewise, the closure of intimate spaces by means of the veil and the wall represents a disruption of colonial authority because it denies the gaze, and physical access, of the Spaniard into these intimate spaces. More widely, the representation of Moroccan culture as ‘indecipherable’ undermines the colonial objective of cultural domination.

The literary texts examined in this chapter also posit women and urban spaces in Morocco as vessels of the character of Moroccan culture, but in doing so they demystify hegemonic notions of a mysterious and desirable Orient. Burgos shatters the mystery of North African femininity by concluding her novella with a ‘horde’ of ugly women descending on Melilla who are portrayed as responsible for fuelling the violence that Berber men commit against Spain. She employs the image of their corporeal and moral savagery as evidence for the alleged degeneracy of Morocco, although her Spanish protagonist eventually

joins in this 'regression' with her degeneration into madness at the end of the novella. The pursuit of an exotic sexual encounter fuels Giménez Caballero's explorations of the cities of the protectorate, but this 'fantasía moruna' is demystified when he discovers that what lies behind the veil and the wall are 'caras tumefactas' and 'rostros de campesinas castellanas y andaluzas'. In the bodies of these women, the narrator is confronted with unsettling familiarity rather than Otherness. Barea's de-mystification of Moroccan women centres on the image of the duplicitous prostitute, which is also metaphorically applied to the city of Xauén. The metaphor of the colonial territory as a harlot that willingly sells herself represents a corruption of the male power fantasy of colonial domination, where colonial conquest represents an erotics of ravishment.

Male corporeality, specifically the 'indomitable' body of the Berber, the 'degenerate' body of the Moroccan Jew, and the mutilated body of the Spanish soldier, is central to representations of the racial otherness of Moroccans, based on a conception of race that fuses ethnicity, moral characteristics, and predominantly religious identity as an indicator of difference. In fact, because of the lack of external or visible markers of difference in the Moroccan body in relation to the Spanish body, representations of racial alterity rely on these additional indicators, which are expanded on and exaggerated, or fictionalised, in literary representation.

These constructions of the body across modes of representation reveal an otherness that is threatening. In the press, the image of the unrestrained body of the 'Hamacha' penitent serves to display the indomitable character of the 'Moorish race,' arousing anxieties about Spain's ability to dominate the

protectorate. The influence of these press narratives on literary testimonies of the Rif War is clear in Burgos' and Barea's narratives, which facilitate the process of fictionalising racial and cultural otherness by dramatising the Berber enemy as monstrous and demonic. Barea is additionally concerned with the Africanists' assimilation of the 'salvajismo de los moros', which results in their being 'othered' alongside the Berbers in his novel.

Likewise, although the Jew is presented as a symbol of traditional Castilian culture in the texts examined in Chapter 2, an opposing image is seen in Catholic anti-Semitic discourses, which focus on the 'degenerate' Jewish male body as a pathological signifier for the threat of modernity and the ideologies it produces, namely capitalism and revolutionary socialism. Lastly, both Moroccan Muslims and Jews are unsettling because they represent the return of the repressed, the uncanny embodiment of the non-Christian facets of Spain's cultural heritage, which are exorcised in traditionalist narratives of Spanish identity that consider the Reconquista as the foundational event in the formation of the nation. These narratives draw on religion, race, and history to establish the innate difference of Spain from Muslim and Jewish cultures.

This chapter also reveals the existence of a common cultural script shared across literary and press narratives in representations of Moroccan culture. Visual narratives of Berber 'racial' alterity, as well as the literary accounts of Barea and Burgos, centre on the image of the mutilated Spanish dead on the battlefields of Barranco del Lobo and Annual to represent the violence and cruelty of the Berber enemy. However, this image also reveals the vulnerability of the Spanish soldier, who is rendered defenceless in the space of the Rif that he attempts to occupy but in which he cannot move freely but rather

is surrounded and defeated by the Berber insurgents, the true 'occupiers' of the territory. More widely, the image of the powerless male body reveals the vulnerability of the Spanish nation. Burgos' portrayal of the Spanish dead at Barranco del Lobo, violated and penetrated by foreign objects, reflects the threat of the invasion of the dominion of the same by the contaminating force of the other and the author's fear of Spanish degeneration into a less civilised state through contact with Morocco. Barea's portrayal of the dismembered and mutilated corpses in Monte Arruit serves as a metaphor for the vulnerability of Spanish lower classes and ultimately foreshadows the eventual fragmentation of the nation in the Spanish Civil War. In this sense, the broken male body is symptomatic of the weak and broken nation. As Patricia Grieve has argued, 'the body is the metaphorical battleground on which cultural myths of identifications, exclusions, violations, and blame get scored in the construction of Spanish national identity'.⁶⁰⁵

In conclusion, Spanish journalists, writers, and photographers discover in Morocco either a sameness they feel compelled to assert their difference from, or an otherness that once demystified, reveals sameness. In asserting their difference from Morocco, they attempt to establish cultural and racial boundaries, 'border controls' that maintain a construct of Spanish identity as dominant and superior. However, these boundaries are undermined by the representations themselves, which reveal the vulnerabilities and shortcomings in Spanish colonial power. The notion of Morocco as impenetrable, its Berber Muslims as indomitable, and its Jews as subtle contaminators, reveal cultural anxieties about non-difference, cultural regression and national fragmentation. These representations suggest that Spain is unable to

⁶⁰⁵ Patricia Grieve, *The Eve of Spain: Myths of Origins in the History of Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Conflict*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 2009, p. 27.

reproduce and maintain the boundaries of the nation in cultural production, and that its masculine colonialist fantasies of conquest, possession, and domination are ultimately left unrealised. The examples analysed here undermine Said and Bhaba's view of colonial discourse as an apparatus of power, because here the discourse of colonialism reveals a failure of domination instead of one of supremacy and hegemony.

Conclusion

The Rif War unfolded at a time when Spain was facing a significant crisis of cultural identity. The loss of the last of its once vast empire in the war of 1898 left the nation questioning whether it could maintain any influence as a colonial power in the age of colonial expansion, and the military disasters that resulted from the colonial campaigns in Morocco further exacerbated this insecurity. Spain's late but rapid modernisation at the turn of the century and the dramatic changes in society and culture that resulted from industrialisation and urbanisation led to the emergence of new and conflicting political and social identities, and the Rif War widened the gap between an emerging working class culture that strongly opposed the colonial campaigns and a military culture that found itself increasingly alienated from metropolitan society and discontent with the political systems of democracy. In the discourse of the Africanistas and later Francoism, Africa was portrayed as the birthplace of the 'new' Spain. García Figueras, who would become a key Africanist ideologue under Francoism, would write in 1939:

Barranco del Lobo, Annual y Monte Arruit no eran más que el precio doloroso de una obra fecunda de maternidad [...] de esa España auténtica, que representaba el Ejército, nacida en Marruecos, como término de un largo proceso histórico, un nuevo hijo espiritual de España.⁶⁰⁶

His metaphors of birth and maternity reveal the significance of the Rif War in creating a new vision of Spanish identity. In this sense, Morocco incubated both the embryo of the Republican identities that would oppose Francoism and the embryo of Francoism itself.

This thesis has revealed how these conflicting identities are represented through and in relation to Moroccan culture during the colonial campaigns and how

⁶⁰⁶ Tomás García Figueras, *Marruecos (la acción de España en el norte de África)*, Barcelona, Ediciones Fe, 1939, p. 8.

these representations differ across modes of expression. Despite their claims of maintaining an objective style of reporting and their purported ‘documentary’ use of photography, Spanish press publications display the range of social, political, and ideological responses surrounding the Rif War and represent the first instance of the use of photographs in journalism to articulate those responses, which is what makes them valuable sources to the cultural historian. Literary discourses provide a counterpoint to the press because they offer counter-hegemonic narratives of the war and more complex reflections on Spanish cultural identity, which is why the study of the two mediums (literature and journalism) has been undertaken here side by side.

In fact, Burgos and Barea present their novella and autobiographical novel respectively as counterpoints to press narratives of the war, which in their view had been tainted by military censorship, industrial interests, and ideological bias. In Burgos’ initial note to the reader in *En la guerra*, she refers to the text as a cathartic expression of the horrors of war that she had witnessed face to face as a journalist in Morocco, ‘una sangría que me aliviara de todo el exceso de sangre que bebieron mis ojos’.⁶⁰⁷ In the 1909 campaigns, all telegrams from war correspondents were censored by the military in Morocco in an attempt to avoid lowering the morale of the civilian population with news of a war that was already highly unpopular.⁶⁰⁸ In her essay ‘Guerra a la guerra!’ (1910), Burgos claimed that she was silenced on a number of occasions, and that several of her articles were prevented from being published. However, it is interesting that the question of economic motives behind the colonial conflict, which was causing heated debate in the Spanish press, is notably absent from *En la guerra*. Because Carmen de Burgos earned a living as a writer, she had to ensure that she complied with the ideology of *El Heraldo*. The industrial interests

⁶⁰⁷ Burgos, 1909, p. 3.

⁶⁰⁸ Bachoud, 1988, p. 120.

driving the newspaper that employed her may have limited her in terms of the type of protest she made of the war.

Barea also explicitly distinguishes his account of the war from press accounts. The protagonist of *La ruta*, the younger Barea, declares: ‘la guerra — mi guerra — y el desastre de Melilla — mi desastre — no tenían semejanza alguna con la guerra y con el desastre que estos periódicos españoles desarrollaban ante los ojos del lector’.⁶⁰⁹ Likewise, he strongly criticises the wave of reporters and photographers that descended on the Rif after significant battles, the so-called ‘harka⁶¹⁰ periodística’, commenting to a friend when on leave in Madrid:

Yo he visto los corresponsales de guerra españoles, agregados al cuartel general de la columna, vestidos mitad de uniforme y mitad en traje de sport, con los prismáticos colgados en bandolera, observando el frente a cinco kilómetros de distancia, [...] creaban para el beneficio de sus lectores una guerra tan artificial como el argumento de un filme [...] sabéis tanto de Marruecos aquí como de lo que pasa en la luna.⁶¹¹

The protagonist expresses a basic assumption that is held in this study, which is that the media itself is a form of fiction. However, as the previous chapters have shown, Barea also draws significantly on the socialist narrative of the Rif War, making his account by no means ideologically neutral.

In fact, what emerges clearly from the comparison of literary and press accounts is the existence of a common pool of cultural references, tropes, and stylistic devices across modes of representation. Public discourse on the war no doubt influenced the writers studied in this thesis, all of whom were journalists at some point in their literary careers, like most of the key literary figures in Spain at the time. Burgos was a correspondent for *El Heraldo* between 1905 until the end of her life in 1932, Giménez Caballero regularly contributed

⁶⁰⁹ Barea, 1958, pp. 112-113.

⁶¹⁰ The Moroccan Arabic term for ‘war’.

⁶¹¹ Cañellas Romero, 2004, p. 12.

articles to *La Libertad* and *El Sol* throughout the 1920s, and Barea worked for the BBC Spanish American service from his arrival in Britain in 1939 until the end of his life. Likewise, the influence of literary trends is clear in the narrative style of Spanish journalists. For example, the writers in more conservative newspapers and magazines like *ABC*, *Nuevo mundo*, *La Esfera* and the colonial press present a picture of Morocco that is strongly reminiscent of the nineteenth century 'cuadro de costumbres' in terms of their nostalgic allusions to classic literature and Castilian culture references, and their use of ornate prose.⁶¹² More generally, the idealising, fantastic, subjective, and strongly Orientalist tendencies of romantic prose discourse are evident throughout press discourses during the Rif War.⁶¹³ This existence of a common cultural script across modes of representation has facilitated the focus of analysis on the city, the body and the medieval Castilian ballad as key themes in Spanish constructions of Muslim and Jewish culture. Spanish writers and photographers inscribe upon them the hierarchies of power and discourses of difference that inform the construction of Spanish identity in relation to Moroccan identity, but they also reveal crises of power, fears of non-difference, and perceptions of unstable and permeable cultural boundaries that underlie the colonial relationship.

From the range of cultural documents examined in this study we can conclude that the Spanish colonial enterprise in Morocco brought to the forefront the instability of cultural boundaries between Spain and North Africa. The way the relationship was perceived by Spanish photographers, journalists, and writers reveals the collective crisis of identity and the fragile image that many of these commentators held of their own nation. These anxieties ultimately result in

⁶¹² A short prose piece that chronicled region social and cultural customs.

⁶¹³ Michael Iarocci, 'Romantic Prose, Journalism, and Costumbrismo', in David T. Gies (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008.

conflicting constructions of Moroccan Muslim and Jewish cultures in relation to Spanish culture. In this sense, Morocco serves as a vortex both for national anxieties and aspirations, inviting two opposing questions: ‘where do we come from?’ and ‘what do we define ourselves against?’

As a case study of European imperialism, the Spanish colonial ventures in the Rif thus presents a series of problems that challenge the paradigm for colonial relationships that has dominated colonial and post-colonial studies, which is largely based on the Anglo-French model of colonialism. According to this paradigm, the coloniser’s attempt to exert political and economic domination over the colonised is both legitimised and reaffirmed by cultural discourses that emphasise cultural and ethnic difference in a hierarchical structure. Although colonial relationships themselves are full of contradictions and ambiguities and create hybrid identities that cannot be dichotomised, as McClintock (1995), Stoler (2010), and Bhaba (2012) have argued, the self-image of the coloniser is secure in its sense of being geographically and culturally removed from the colonised. This sense of distance often results in a desire for an exotic colonial Other fuelled by masculine imperialist fantasies of conquest and possession, or in derision towards a ‘primitive’ or ‘savage’ culture in need of Western ‘civilisation’.

But in this case, Morocco is neither culturally nor geographically distant from Spain. It shares a common history that has left a cultural and ethnic imprint on both sides of the Strait, so difference cannot be clearly asserted. Likewise, Spain’s weakness as a colonial power, which is revealed in military encounters like Annual and Barranco del Lobo, and as I have argued here, also surfaces in cultural representations of Morocco as indecipherable or indomitable, and brings

into question Spain's ability and legitimacy to dominate the protectorate. As a result, what is desired is not merely the exotic Other, but the rediscovery of the pre-modern 'self' in colonial spaces and bodies, which is revealed in the aforementioned fascination with the Sephardic romances as well as Giménez Caballero's fixation on the irrational and violent 'Hamacha' ritual as a primitive cypher for Spanish fascist masculinity, among other examples. Likewise, what is derided is the sameness that Spaniards encounter in Morocco that they cannot fully assert their difference from, which is exemplified in Burgos' anxious portrayal of the degeneracy and brutality of Berber culture and Giménez Caballero's revulsion at the 'caras tumefactas' that he discovers beneath the veils of Moroccan women.

It is this self-awareness about non-difference and failures of domination that unsettles the predominant paradigm of colonial discourse studies. Spain is not necessarily the only case where this self-awareness exists, but it challenges the prevailing model in critical theory. This same inner conflict can be applied to the study of cultural identity in contemporary Europe, where cultural boundaries are no longer as clear and identities are more fluid and unstable. How and in what contexts is power asserted in cultural encounters in this case? And where do these assertions of power fail?

The anxieties about Muslim and Jewish cultures that this thesis has highlighted are also significant in the parallels they show with contemporary Europe, particularly in terms of the complexity of its present relationship with Muslim cultures. Firstly, because twenty-first-century Europe has — or at least claims to have — integrated Muslim identity within the range of identities that constitute pluralistic European society, Islam is no longer the quintessential

Other to Christian Europe, but part of the culturally diverse European self. Yet the same oscillations can be seen between celebrations of the integration of Muslim culture into European identity and virulent rejections of it as antithetical to the values of European secularism, which are strongly evocative of the Spanish Catholic traditionalist discourse on Islam and which in many cases also involve the racialisation of Muslim identity. Fears about the penetration of Islamic fanaticism into the fibre of European society after a proliferation of terrorist attacks by Islamic extremists who are European citizens have transformed Muslims into an ‘enemy within’ in Islamophobic discourses much like the Jews were imagined in earlier Spanish (and European) anti-Semitic discourses. In its discussion of the racialisation of religious identity, Chapter 3 of this thesis shows that the Muslim and Jewish faith, not Moroccan culture, is the pivotal factor used by Spanish writers to ‘other’ Moroccans as either racially degenerate (in the case of Jews) or as cruel, violent, and indomitable (in the case of Muslims). I would argue that faith continues to be an important factor in the racial Othering of North African, Middle Eastern, and Asian communities across Europe.

The most significant parallel however, is the cultural anxiety that informs representations in both contexts. In the context of the Spanish colonial campaigns, Moroccan identity is ‘othered’ in a way that positions the Spanish coloniser as insecure and threatened rather than as self-assertive and secure. Contemporary European representations of Muslim alterity, based on the conclusions I draw here, come out of a similar place of vulnerability and not out of assertions of cultural power. From this perspective, this project ultimately has broader implications for current conceptions of multiculturalism within

European identity and the highly problematic construct of its frontiers; particularly in light of the refugee crisis, which has shown that nationalism is not a historical ideology but a resurgent one, and that European societies that conceive of themselves as secular in fact still envision European cultural identity, and its Others, along ethno-religious lines. The cultural production of the Rif War that this study has focused on ultimately illustrates how a threatened and unstable sense of cultural identity is often most clearly revealed not in how a society portrays its own culture, but rather in how it portrays the cultures against which it seeks to define itself.

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